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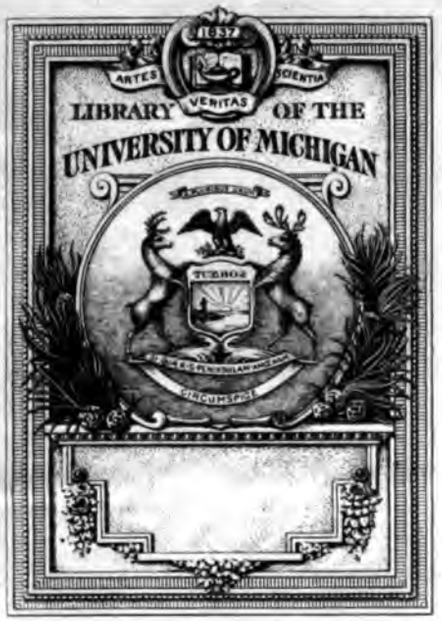
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THE WORKS OF NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL,

Secretary of State to the Republic of FLORENCE.

Newly TRANSLATED from the ORIGINALS;

ILLUSTRATED WITH

Notes, Anecdotes, Diſſertations, and the LIFE of MACHIAVEL,

Never before publiſhed;

And Several New PLANS on the ART of WAR.

By ELLIS FARNEWORTH, M. A.

Vicar of Roſthern in Cheſhire,

Tranſlator of the LIFE of POPE SIXTUS V. and DAVILA's HISTORY of the CIVIL WARS of FRANCE.

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON,

Printed for THOMAS DAVIES, in Ruſſel-Street, Covent-Garden; THOMAS WALLER, in Fleet-Street; R. and J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall; JAMES FLETCHER, in St. Paul's Church-yard; Meſſ. BALFOUR and HAMILTON, at Edinburgh; and Mr. JAMES HOEY, junior, at Dublin.

M.DCC.LXII.

TO

SAMUEL EGERTON, Esq.

OF

TATTON-PARK,

Member of Parliament for the County of Chester.

SIR,

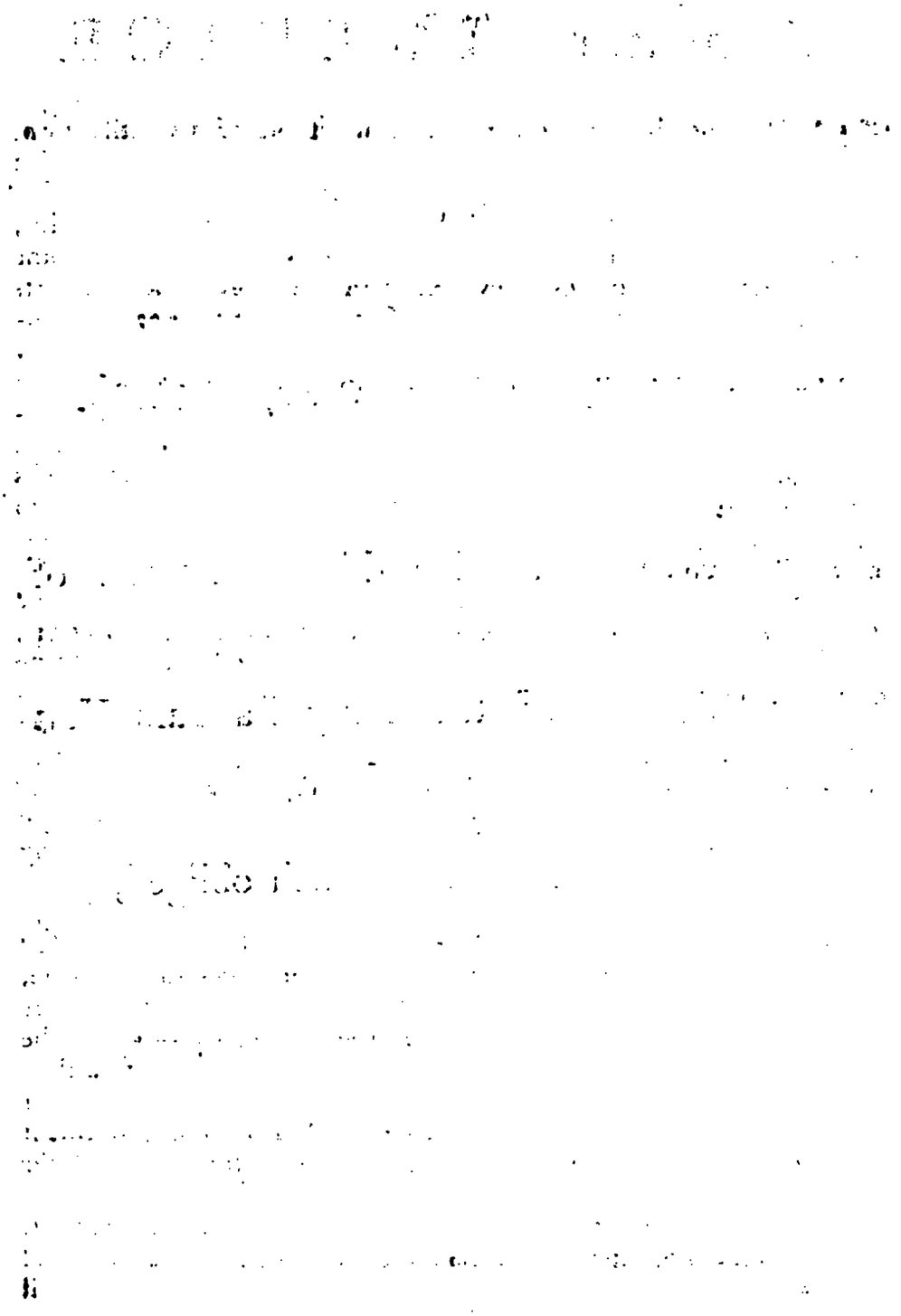
I Beg Leave to inscribe this VOLUME of MACHIAVEL'S WORKS to YOU, in grateful Acknowledgment of the many Favours You have conferred upon me, and am, Sir,

Your very much obliged,

and most obedient,

humble Servant,

ELLIS FARNEWORTH.



THE Tranſlator's PREFACE.

THE generality of Readers, eſpecially thoſe of a volatile turn, are apt to overlook Prefaces, as nothing more than lumber and rubbiſh; or at beſt, but as Offices and Out-houſes to the main Fabrick: and perhaps, if any ſhould by chance caſt their eyes over this, they may ſee no great reaſon to alter their opinion. There are ſome other prefatory Diſcourſes, however, at the head of the ſeveral parts of this work, collected and tranſlated from different writers and languages, which are not only very curious and intereſting, but abſolutely neceſſary to be read by thoſe that would have a clear comprehenſion of the enſuing Treatiſes; and as ſuch, the Editor begs leave to recommend them to the peruſal of every one that is deſirous to be thoroughly acquainted with the ſcope and tenour of Machiavel's writings. A ſhort Preamble, therefore, and that chiefly relative to the execution of this, and ſome other Engliſh verſions of his Works, may ſuffice at preſent.

In the year 1588, his ſeven Books of *the Art of War* were *ſet forth in Engliſh* (as the Tranſlator calls it) by one Peter Withorne, or Whitehorne, who ſtyles himſelf *a Student at Gray's Inn:* a ſample of which performance is prefixed to the beginning of thoſe Dialogues in the ſecond Volume of this Tranſlation; and therefore, it is not neceſſary to ſay any more of it in this place, than that there is not ſo much as one Note throughout the whole, nor any Plan that is intelligible; and that the language is ſo obſolete, that nobody can now form any judgment whether it was well or ill tranſlated, after making all reaſonable allowances for the Idiom of the times.

The next piece that is neceſſary to be mentioned here, is *a Tranſlation of the Political Diſcourſes upon Livy, by E. Dacres, printed at London, in the year* 1636; in which there is here and there a Note, though ſeldom much to the purpoſe: the moſt pertinent of them are inſerted in this verſion, and ſet down in their reſpective places to the Author's account. But as there was an interval of no more than forty-eight years betwixt the publication of this piece, and the other juſt now mentioned, there ſeems to have been but little improvement made in our language, during that period; to ſay nothing of its other defects.

For the ſame reaſon, much more cannot be ſaid in this reſpect, (though ſomething indeed) in behalf of an Engliſh Tranſlation of

all Machiavel's proſe writings, firſt publiſhed at London, in the year 1675; which was afterwards reprinted in 1680, and again in 1694, without the leaſt alteration or amendment (though full of errors and other faults) and without any body's name to it. At the concluſion of it, there is a Letter addreſſed to Zanobi Buondelmonte, ſaid to be written by Machiavel himſelf, in vindication of his writings and principles; which is a moſt bitter invective againſt the Clergy, and at the ſame time, a bold ſtroke at Monarchy: but as it is not to be met with, either in any Italian Edition of his works, or foreign tranſlation of them, and ſeems not only to be of more modern date, but calculated by ſome atrabilair writer, to ſerve certain particular purpoſes in the laſt century, one may juſtly be allowed, I think, to reject it. Upon which account, it is omitted in this verſion: for in a Performance, intituled, *A Tranſlation of Machiavel's Works*, it muſt have been a ſhameleſs thing to inſert a Piece as tranſlated from Machiavel, by a perſon who never ſaw the Original himſelf, nor ever heard of any other man that did.

But to ſpeak a little more particularly of the Tranſlation of all Machiavel's proſe works, juſt now ſaid to be firſt publiſhed at London, in the year 1675. The language in general, is poor and jejune, full of vulgariſms, quaint ſayings, and what the Italians call *il modo baſſo*, or low-life expreſſion. But that is not the worſt of it: for the meaning of the Author is very often groſſly miſtaken; of which the Reader may take the following inſtances in the Hiſtory of Florence, out of numberleſs others in every part of the work. In the ſecond book of that Hiſtory, the Author ſays, " I Fiorentini dopo queſta rotta Sforzarono le loro torri all intorno, et il Re Robert Mando per loro Capitano il Conte di Andria, detto il Conte Novello; per i portamenti del quale, overo perche ſia naturale a i Fiorentini *che ogni ſtato rincreſca*, & ogni accidente divida, la Citta, non oſtante la guerra haveva con Huguccione, in amici & nemici del Re ſi diviſe:" which the old Engliſh Tranſlator has erroneouſly rendered in this manner. " After this diſaſter, the Florentines fortified at home as much as they could, and King Robert ſent them a new General, called Count di Andrea, with the Title of Count Novello. By his deportment (or rather by the genius of the Florentines, whoſe property it is *to increaſe* upon every ſettlement, and to fall afterwards into factions upon every accident) notwithſtanding their preſent war with Uguccione, they divided again, and ſome were for King Robert, and ſome againſt him." But ſurely it might have been more properly thus tranſlated. " After this overthrow, the Florentines began to fortify all the towns and caſtles round about them, and applied to King Robert

Robert for another General: upon which he ſent them the Count di Andria, commonly called Count Novello; whoſe behaviour, added to the impatient temper of the Florentines (which is *ſoon tired* of any form of government, and ready to fall into factions upon every accident) occaſioned the City to divide again, notwithſtanding the war they were engaged in with Huguccione, and ſome declared for King Robert, and ſome againſt him."

Again, in the fourth Book, Machiavel ſays, "A chi ricorreranno eglino ora per aiuto? A Papa Martino, ſtato a contemplazione di Braccio ſtraziato da loro?" "To whom (ſays the old Tranſlator) will they now addreſs for ſupplies? To Pope Martin? *Braccio can be witneſs* how they uſed him before:" which ſhould have been rendered in this manner, or ſomething like it. "To whom will they now have recourſe for aſſiſtance? To Pope Martin, whom they have ſo vilely abuſed, only to gratify Braccio da Montone?" *A contemplazione* being an Italian phraſe, which ſignifies *for the pleaſure, gratification, or ſatisfaction of any one; on account of, or in conſideration of ſuch a perſon or thing.*

The laſt inſtance I ſhall quote, is, from the ſeventh Book of the ſame Hiſtory, where the following paſſage occurs. Carlo Viſconte, perche s' era poſto piu propinquo alla porta, & eſſendogli il Duca paſſato avanti, quando da i Compagni fu aſſalito, non lo potette ferire d'avanti; ma con duoi colpi *la Schiena* & la ſpalla gli trafiſſe:" which is thus tranſlated. "Carlo Viſconte being placed nearer the door, the Duke was paſt him before he was aſſaulted, and therefore he could not ſtrike him *before he was dead: however, he muſt do his part*, and with *a Schine* gave him two deep wounds upon his ſhoulder. Now, what in the name of wonder is *a Shine?* one would be apt to think it was ſome dreadful murdering weapon like a Butcher's Cleever, or ſomething of that kind. Tremble not gentle Reader, it is no ſuch matter. Indeed, I believe it is nothing at all: for the word *Schine* is not to be found in any Dictionary. The meaning is plainly this. "Carlo Viſconte, who ſtood nearer the door, and by whom the Duke had paſſed before he was attacked by his accomplices, not having an opportunity of ſtriking him *in the fore part of his body*, gave him a ſtab *in the back*, and another in the ſhoulder." Miſtakes and unwarrantable liberties of this ſort, are to be met with in almoſt every page: ſo that it would be not only an endleſs but unneceſſary taſk to collect them; as any Reader muſt be pretty well ſatisfied already with theſe ſpecimens.

In the preſent Tranſlation, the Editor may truly ſay, that no pains have been ſpared to make it acceptable to the Public: for

which

which reaſon, he is not altogether without hope it will be looked upon with candour. The ſtyle of the Author, indeed, (notwithſtanding the encomiums which have been beſtowed upon him in that reſpect by ſome writers) is generally ſhort, broken, ſententious, and difficult to connect in common periods: his tranſitions are ſudden; his meaning often deep, abſtruſe, and intricate; his argumentation cloſe and ſevere. But great care has been taken to elucidate his meaning, to explain dark and difficult paſſages, to connect his periods, and to give his arguments their full ſcope by the addition of Notes, Diſſertations, and Plans, where they ſeemed neceſſary; as well as of ſeveral other pieces tranſlated from different languages, and never before publiſhed in the Engliſh tongue; of which ſome mention has been already made: and if the Tranſlator has now and then indulged himſelf in a moderate and reaſonable uſe of circumlocution, it is hoped it will be excuſed; ſince it would otherwiſe have been impoſſible to do the author juſtice.

If it ſhould paſs into another Edition, the Public ſhall have timely notice of it; when any manner of aſſiſtance from other hands, which may ſerve to throw freſh light upon Machiavel's writings, will be gratefully acknowledged by one, who living altogether in the Country, has had very little (or indeed none at all) in this; and who will think himſelf very much obliged to thoſe that will point out any errors or deficiencies in the work, that ſo they may be corrected or ſupplied another time. Should any typographical inaccuracies occur, (which no book eſcapes) they cannot well be imputed to the Tranſlator, who is at ſo great a diſtance from the Preſs, that it was not poſſible for him to reviſe the proof ſheets: but, it is hoped there will not be many, and thoſe not very material; eſpecially, as they will be collected into a table in each Volume, to which the Reader may have recourſe, if at any time the ſenſe ſhould ſeem broken or defective.

As to the further merit, or demerit of the Author, little needs to be added here: the Reader will find what has been ſaid both for and againſt his Writings, fairly and impartially laid before him elſewhere, and is left to judge for himſelf. Nothing has been either palliated or aggravated: it is true, where his Principles are liable to exception, (as in ſome places they certainly either are, or at leaſt ſeem to be ſo) they have been combatted *pro virili*, and an antidote attempted for the poiſon: in others, where he is blamed, though not juſtly blameable, his Character has been vindicated. Much cenſure, indeed, and great applauſe, have been, and ſtill are, beſtowed upon him; which (how much

much ſoever they may tend to influence the living) can have no effect upon one who has now been dead above two Centuries, and far out of *the uncertain ſound* of both trumpets. His Tranſlator, who is ſtill within diſtance, and ſubject to human feelings, does not pretend to be indifferent to either: and though he is ſenſible how ſlender a title he has to one, he would willingly, if poſſible, eſcape the other. Conſcious of a good intention, however, in this undertaking, he has made bold to inſcribe one Volume of it to a Gentleman of diſtinguiſhed Virtue, as well as Fortune; and the other to a Dignitary, whoſe Doctrine and Example do great honour to the Church of England.

MACHIAVEL

DEDICATORY EPISTLE

TO

POPE CLEMENT VII. [a]

HOLY FATHER,

AS your Holineſs was pleaſed to lay your commands upon me, to write a Hiſtory of Florence, long before your Exaltation to the Pontificate, I accordingly applied myſelf to it with the utmoſt care and attention, and with all the abilities which Nature and Experience have afforded me, that I might ſhew my readineſs to obey you in every thing. But after I had brought it down to the time when the death of the illuſtrious Lorenzo de' Medici gave a new turn

[a] This Pontif, whoſe Name was Julio de' Medici, was ſon to Juliano, killed at Florence, by the Pazzi, in 1478. *See Book* VIII. *of this Hiſtory.* He was a Knight of Rhodes, afterwards made Cardinal by his Uncle, Leo X. and ſucceeded Adrian VI. in 1523. His Pontificate was diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral conſiderable Events. All Germany was divided about the new Doctrine preached by Martin Luther; and Clement, dreading the power of Charles V. having entered into a league with the French and Venetians, wrote in very haughty terms to that Emperor, who anſwered him in the ſame ſtyle. But the Colonni, who were of the Imperial party, riſing againſt the Pope, cited his Holineſs to appear before a general Council, which Charles intended to call at Spire, and forced him to retire into the Caſtle of St. Angelo, in 1526. The next year, Charles of Bourbon, the Emperor's General, took and plundered Rome, and obliged the Pope to pay 400,000 Ducats for his ranſom; to raiſe which, all the veſſels of gold and ſilver that belonged to the Churches were melted down and coined, and the vacant Cardinal's Hats ſold by public Auction. Beſides other conceſſions, it was likewiſe agreed, that his Holineſs, and thirteen Cardinals, ſhould remain priſoners in the Caſtle, where they were to be confined till the money was paid, and afterwards go to Naples, or Gaieta, till the Emperor's further pleaſure was known. In the year 1529, he made a peace with that Emperor, by a marriage betwixt Alexander de' Medici, created Duke of Tuſcany, and Margaret, Charles's natural daughter; which alliance was afterwards confirmed by the marriage of Catharine de' Medici to Henry II. King of France. During theſe tranſactions, Henry VIII. of England, divorced his Wife, Catharine of Auſtria, and was excommunicated by Clement for ſo doing: upon which, he declared himſelf *Head of the Church in his own dominions*, and promoted the Reformation, which he had, till then, oppoſed. *Platina continued by Sir Paul Ricaut.* It was ſaid of this Pope, whilſt he was in priſon, *Papa non poteſt errare.* Though Machiavel was much eſteemed by him, he at laſt incurred his heavy diſpleaſure, on a ſuſpicion of being engaged with the Soderini in a conſpiracy againſt him; concerning which, the Reader will meet with ſome other anecdotes in the courſe of this work.

to

to the affairs of Italy, and found the Events which afterwards happened, grew ſo intereſting and important, that they deſerved to be related in a higher ſtyle, and more ſpirited manner, I reſolved to preſent what I had already digeſted, in one Volume, at your Holineſs's feet; that ſo you might have a taſte at leaſt of the fruit which you yourſelf planted, and an earneſt of my endeavours to bring it to maturity.

In the peruſal of it, your Holineſs will ſee to what havock and diſtractions our Country was expoſed for many ages after the declenſion of the Roman Empire in the Weſt; how often it varied its form of government; and to how many different People and Princes it became ſubject. You will ſee how the Popes, your Predeceſſors, the Venetians, the Sovereigns of Naples, and the Dukes of Milan, by turns came to bear the chief rule in this Province. You will ſee your native City, after it had ſhaken off the yoke of the Emperors, labouring under continual diſcords and civil diſſenſions, till the government of it happily fell into the hands of your family.

But as your Holineſs (equally deſpiſing flattery, and eſteeming juſt praiſe) ſtrictly enjoined me to avoid all kind of Adulation, when at any time I ſhould have occaſion to mention the names of your Anceſtors, I am afraid I ſhall ſeem to have tranſgreſſed that command, when I extol the virtue and liberality of Giovanni, the prudence of Coſimo, the affability of Pietro, the magnificence and wiſdom of Lorenzo de' Medici. For which, and all other paſſages that may appear in any wiſe fulſom or offenſive, in the courſe of this Work, I moſt humbly entreat your Holineſs to admit my Apology, when I ſay, that it was not poſſible to avoid it. For as I found all the Memoirs of thoſe times full of their merit and praiſes, I ſhould juſtly be accuſed either of deviating from truth, if I repreſented them in any other light, or of extreme envy if I paſſed them over in ſilence. And if there was any private or ambitious view concealed under their glorious endeavours to ſerve their Country, as ſome have not ſcrupled to hint, I do not think myſelf at liberty to ſay ſo; as that has not appeared to me. Indeed it may eaſily be perceived, that in all other parts of this Hiſtory, I have never endeavoured to throw a veil of Honeſty over a foul deed, nor to calumniate any one that was worthy of praiſe, by meanly inſinuating that it was done to ſerve ſome vile purpoſe. How little I have been guilty of flattering any one, will more particularly appear in the ſpeeches and harangues to the Public, and in my private reflections and obſervations; which are always delivered without reſtraint or reſerve, and in a manner conſiſtent with the actions, character, and temper of the perſon that ſpeaks, or is

ſpoken of: and I have at the ſame time ſtudiouſly endeavoured to avoid all odious names of diſtinction and party difference, as unbecoming the Dignity of Hiſtory, and of very ſmall account in the ſupport of truth.

No one certainly, therefore, who reads this hiſtory with candour, will upbraid me as a Sycophant and Time-ſerver, eſpecially when he finds that I have made but little mention of your Father: for, indeed, he was ſnatched away from us at ſo immature an age, and when his Reputation was but juſt beginning to ſpread itſelf amongſt mankind, that I might otherwiſe have been thought too partial to his Virtues. Nevertheleſs, if he had had nothing elſe to boaſt of, the Glory alone of having given your Holineſs to the world, is ſufficient to balance all the ſplendid actions of his Anceſtors, and will add many more ages of Fame to his memory, than the malevolence of his Deſtiny ſo enviouſly cut off years from his Life.

I have endeavoured, Holy Father, as much as I could, (without doing violence to truth) to ſay nothing that might offend any one; and yet perhaps, I have pleaſed no one. And, indeed, I ſhall not be at all ſurprized, if that ſhould be the caſe: ſince it is almoſt impoſſible for a man to write a Hiſtory of his own times, without giving offence to many. However, I come boldly into the Field: for as I have been honoured with your Countenance, and preferred by your Bounty, I am not without hope, that I ſhall likewiſe find ſhelter under the ſanction of your favourable opinion and great wiſdom. In this confidence I ſhall purſue my Undertaking with the ſame ſpirit and alacrity that I have proceeded thus far, if life and health continue, and your Holineſs ſtill vouchſafes to ſupport me with your protection.

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ADVERTISEMENT to the READER

Concerning the HISTORY of FLORENCE:

From the French Tranſlation, publiſhed at the Hague, in 1743 [a].

AS the bare title of *The Hiſtory of Florence* may appear a little dry at firſt ſight, to thoſe that are not acquainted with its merit, it ſeems neceſſary in ſome meaſure to premiſe, that the intereſts and concerns of that Republic were ſo intimately connected and interwoven with thoſe of the reſt of Italy, that it was impoſſible to ſpeak of one, without frequent mention of the other. For here we ſhall find many things that relate to the Popes, the Republic of Venice, the Duchy of Milan, and ſeveral other conſiderable States; which all together make almoſt a complete Hiſtory of Italy, during a period, that has not had much light thrown upon it, though very fertile in remarkable events.

With regard to Florence alone, the Reader would have no occaſion to complain of being neither improved nor entertained by the Hiſtory of it, if he met with nothing more than a detail of the conduct by which the Houſe of Medici, from a mercantile condition, at laſt exalted itſelf to ſovereign grandeur and authority.

But there are many other admirable Leſſons to be learnt from it, which may be of great uſe to ſuch as are called to the government of Republics. They will ſee what means are moſt expedient to preſerve the Liberties of a free State, and to fruſtrate the attempts of Ambition to ſubvert them. They will find thoſe wiles expoſed to the world, which deſigning men have practiſed for that purpoſe: and this may be ſo far of uſe as to deter others from treading in the ſame Steps, when they perceive, that the Mine is already ſprung, and theſe dangerous Artifices now clearly ſeen through by every one. They will learn from the proceedings of the Florentines, to judge of

[a] There had been ſeveral Editions of this French Tranſlation before. The Tranſlator's name was Tetard, a French Refugee and Phyſician at the Hague. He was a native of Blois, and of the Family of Monſieur Tetard, a Miniſter there, who made a good deal of noiſe in the French Synods, at the time of the Controverſy concerning *Univerſal Grace*, at Saumur.

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the views and inclinations by which the ſeveral degrees of mankind are actuated. For as the government of their City was ſucceſſively in the hands of the Grandees, the Nobility, the Commons, and the Plebeians, the predominant paſſion of every one of theſe different Governors will plainly appear to be the ſame; and that whatſoever may be the rank or condition of thoſe that are at the helm of ſuch States, the form of Government will always degenerate into inſupportable Tyranny, if they are not reſtrained by good Laws, and thoſe Laws maintained in their full force and vigour.

As the Author abounds with political reaſonings and reflections in all his other works, he has not been ſparing of them in this, eſpecially in his Harangues; of which there are many that may ſerve for excellent models, in the like circumſtances, to ſuch as are employed in the adminiſtration of public affairs, and have ſometimes occaſion to avail themſelves of Eloquence in moving the paſſions and affections of men. And though this Hiſtory may poſſibly be thought too limited and circumſcribed by particular perſons, the very name of Machiavel will ſtill be ſufficient to recommend it to the notice and eſteem of the public. Great Maſters always ſtamp ſuch marks of Genius upon their works, as diſtinguiſh them from all others: and if the Facts that are related in this, ſhould not be deemed ſufficiently intereſting to any other people on this ſide the Alps, yet the judicious manner in which they are collected and digeſted, by a man who ſo well knew how both to chuſe himſelf, and point out to others, what was moſt uſeful and worthy of obſervation in Hiſtory, will always make it appear in a reſpectable light.

Whoſoever then ſhall carefully and attentively read the preſent, which relates the Tranſactions of a wiſe and perſpicacious people, may reap as much advantage from it, in my opinion, as from almoſt any other whatſoever. But as to ſuch as reliſh no ſort of Books, except thoſe in which a quarter of the world at leaſt, is dragged upon the theatre at one time, they may better amuſe themſelves, if they pleaſe, with reading Gazettes, or Abridgements of Chronology, where ſudden Revolutions and Downfalls of great Empires, and ſuch aſtoniſhing Events, occur in every page: from which they will receive juſt as much ſatisfaction and improvement as thoſe ignorant people who ſit wondering at the ſtrange geſtures of Puppets upon a ſtage (as well they may) whilſt they know nothing of the ſecret ſprings that put them in motion. Our Author, indeed, is not altogether ſo ſententious as Cornelius Tacitus: but yet he enters ſo

deep

deep into matters of fact, and lays open the remote causes of them with so much perspicuity, that the Reader himself will naturally draw proper conclusions. And perhaps this may be the better way of the two to form the judgment: for such remarks and reflections as seem to be the result of our own reasoning, commonly please us more, and make a deeper impression, than those that are obtruded upon us by others.

There may be some, perhaps, who will think many circumstances in this History might have been omitted, as trifling or superfluous. But every one is not capable of distinguishing what are the most proper materials for such a composition; and those that really are, will pay great deference to the Judgment of an Author, whose Abilities and Understanding at least have never been called in question. Others, very likely, who are ready to allow him these endowments, will not so easily be prevailed upon, to make the same concessions in regard to the goodness of his heart: but as the Reader will find that Matter more amply discussed in the Preface to his Political Discourses, and other detached Pieces of this Work, let it suffice at present, to give a remarkable proof of his integrity and love of truth, in speaking so boldly of the Pontifs, through the whole course of a History, dedicated to one of the most powerful of them, who was of the House of Medici too, and had been his great Patron and Benefactor. For not content with relating many of those horrible truths with which the Lives of the Popes abound, he says, in his first Book, after a recital of the miseries and distractions his Country had already groaned under, "that all the wars which Foreigners afterwards made upon Italy, were chiefly owing to the Popes, and most of the several inundations of Barbarians that poured themselves into it, in a great measure occasioned by their incitement and instigation: which practices being continued *even to this time*, have so long kept, and still keep Italy weak and divided." This was but an awkward manner, some may think, of paying court to such a Pontif as Clement VII. and especially in so great a Politician as Machiavel. Even our common Parochial Clergy of Paris, would have behaved with more politeness. They say finer and handsomer things in their addresses to their Archbishop, than perhaps they would do to Our Saviour himself, and his holy Apostles, if they were now upon Earth.

What I would infer from this Stricture is, that a Man, who dares to speak the whole truth in such delicate circumstances, cannot be suspected

ſuſpected of either ſuppreſſing or diſguiſing it upon any other occaſion, out of puſillanimity or private intereſt: ſo that how deficient ſoever he may appear to ſome people as a Courtier, he certainly deſerves great applauſe from every one, as an Hiſtorian who has written with ſtrict impartiality and regard to truth.

THE

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION.

WHEN I firſt reſolved to write the Hiſtory and Tranſactions of the Florentines, both at home and abroad, it was my deſign to have begun with the Year 1434, at which time the Family of Medici, by the merits of Coſimo, and his Father Giovanni, had acquired a greater degree of authority than any other in Florence; imagining that [*a*] Leonardo d'Arezzo, and Marco Poggio [*b*], two

[*a*] Leonardo Aretino was one of the moſt learned men of the fifteenth Century, and the reſtorer of the Greek Tongue in Italy. Pope Innocent VII. made him Secretary of the Briefs, merely on account of his merit: which office he diſcharged with great credit, during the Reign of that Pontif, and the four next. He attended Pope John XXIII. at the Council of Conſtance, in 1413, and was afterwards Secretary, or, as ſome ſay, Chancellor to the Republic of Florence, by which he amaſſed great riches. A catalogue of the books he wrote, which were many, may be ſeen in Geſner's *Bibliotheca*, and in Baretti's *Italian Library*, a very uſeful work, publiſhed by the Author at London, in 1757; in which he ſays, it was reported, that this Leonardo had found a piece of Tully, intituled, *De Gloria*, that he made uſe of it in ſome of his Latin works, and then deſtroyed it. The Florentines were ſo pleaſed with his Hiſtory of Florence, that when he died, they buried him with a chaplet of laurel round his head, and a copy of that book laid upon his breaſt. There is ſtill a marble monument to be ſeen over his grave, in the Church di Santa Croce at Florence. It is ſaid, that a copy of his Letters was found ſome years ago amongſt the manuſcripts of the public Library at Oxford, in which there are forty that have never yet been printed. He died at the age of 74, in the year 1444. The inſcription upon his monument does him great honour. It is as follows: "Since the death of Leonardo, Hiſtory is in mourning, Eloquence is become mute, the Greek and Latin muſes are in Tears." *Mabillon Iter. Ital.* p. 165. *L'Enfant's Poggiana*, tom. i. p. 11.

[*b*] Some call him Bracciolino, or Brandolino Poggio. He was ſecretary to Pope Eugenius IV. Nicholas V. and ſix other Popes, as he himſelf ſays. From Rome he was recalled to Florence, at the age of 74, to ſucceed his friend, Leonardo, in the office of Chancellor to that republic. He had been very intimately acquainted with him during his life, and wrote a critique upon his works. His learning was conſiderable, but his genius ſatyrical, as appears from his invectives againſt Laurentius Valla, and his Hiſtory of Florence is not looked upon to be either candid or exact. Whilſt he attended the Council at Conſtance, he and Mabillon (as the latter ſays in his *Muſæum Italicum*, tom. i. part. i. p. 211.) diſcovered ſeveral very old manuſcripts, in the Abbey of St. Gall, about twenty miles from that City, and particularly a perfect one of Quintilian's Works; the news of which was received with great pleaſure by the *Literati*,

excellent Historians, had given a particular account of all the events which happened before that period. But afterwards, having carefully perused their writings, to see in what method and order they had proceeded, that so I might recommend my own by imitating them, I found they had been very accurate indeed in their relation of the wars which the Florentines had been engaged in with foreign Princes and States: but that they were either totally silent concerning their civil dissensions and domestic animosities, and the consequences of them, or had touched upon them in so cursory and superficial a manner, that the Reader was neither in the least profited nor entertained by it; which, I suppose, they did, either because they thought those occurrences rather trifling and insignificant, than worthy of being recorded; or out of fear of offending the descendants of such as they should have been otherwise obliged to mention with dishonour. Both which reasons, if I may be allowed to say so without offence, seem to be altogether unworthy of so great men. For whatsoever is either instructive or entertaining in history, principally results from a clear and circumstantial narration of Facts. If any reading can be of service to such as govern Republics, it must be that chiefly which lays open the first causes of discord and divisions in them; by which they may grow wise at the expence of others, and learn to preserve peace and unanimity at home: if examples drawn from foreign communities are apt to affect mankind in some degree, surely those that are deduced from their own, must naturally be more useful, and make a deeper impression: and if the Factions that ever existed in any State were worthy of notice, it is certain, those that have distracted Florence are still much more so. For whereas most others that we know any thing of, have only been divided into two, which have sometimes added strength to, and sometimes been the destruction of them, that City has been subject to many. In Rome, as every

as they had no complete copy before. Though it is said, there is one in the Bodleian Library above 500 years old, and several of very ancient date in the French King's. In his travels through Germany, he transcribed the Books of Tully *de finibus* & *de legibus*, which had not been seen in Italy before that time. Many other works he published, and died in the year 1450, at the age of eighty.

It is said, this Poggio sold a Manuscript of Livy's works, very fairly transcribed with his own hand, for 120 crowns, to the celebrated Panormita, Secretary to Alphonso, King of Naples. Upon which, the Secretary, in a letter to his Majesty, says, "I intreat you, of your great wisdom, to let me know, whether Poggio or I, act the more prudent part? he, in disposing of Livy, to purchase a farm near Florence, or I, who sell an Estate to buy that author, in his hand-writing. Your goodness and modesty encourage me to ask you this familiar question." *Gallois traite des Bibliotheques*, p. 164, 165. This Alphonso was a lover of Letters, and gave Poggio a large sum of money for a translation of Xenophon's Cyropædia.

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one knows, there aroſe a conteſt betwixt the Patricians and Plebeians, after the expulſion of their Kings, which continued till the utter diſſolution of that Republic. The ſame happened at Athens, and in all the other Common-wealths that flouriſhed in thoſe ages. But in Florence, the firſt diſſenſion was amongſt the Nobility; the ſecond, betwixt the Nobility and the Citizens; and the laſt, betwixt the Citizens and the People, or Plebeians. In all which, one Faction had no ſooner got the upperhand, but it divided itſelf into two: and the conſequence of thoſe diviſions was ſuch a ſeries of aſſaſſinations, executions, baniſhments, and diſperſion of families, as is not to be paralleled in the hiſtory of any people that has deſcended to our times. And, in my opinion, nothing demonſtrates the ſtrength of our City ſo clearly as the effects of thoſe Diviſions, which were ſufficient to have ſubverted almoſt any other in the world. But ours, on the contrary, ſeems to have gathered freſh vigour, and to have riſen ſtronger from them. For ſuch was the Virtue and Patriotiſm, and ſo powerful the good genius of the Citizens, that ſome who eſcaped thoſe evils, contributed more effectually by their courage and conſtancy to the exaltation of themſelves and their country, than the malignity of Faction had done to depreſs them, though it had ſo grievouſly harraſſed the one, and diminiſhed the number of the other. And, indeed, if ſuch a form of Government had fortunately been eſtabliſhed in Florence, as would have kept the Citizens firmly united together, after they had ſhaken off the yoke of the Empire, I don't know of any Common-wealth, ancient or modern, that could have been deemed ſuperior to it, either in Military power, or the arts of peace. For it is well known, that after the Ghibelines were baniſhed the City in ſuch numbers that all Tuſcany and Lombardy ſwarmed with them, the Guelphs and thoſe that remained in poſſeſſion of it, were able to raiſe an Army of twelve thouſand foot and twelve hundred heavy armed horſe out of their own Citizens for the expedition againſt Arezzo, which was in the year before the Battle of Campaldino. And afterwards, in the war with Philip Viſconti Duke of Milan, when they were obliged to truſt to dint of money and Stipendiary forces, (as their own were then very much reduced) the Florentines expended three millions and five hundred thouſand [c] Florins during the

[c] A coin firſt ſtamped by the Florentines. That of Palermo and Sicily is worth about 2s. 6d. Sterling; that of France 1s. 6d.; of Germany 3s. 4d.; of Spain 4s. 4d.; of Holland and Poland 2s.; of Savoy 3d. half-penny; of Gold 5s. The laſt is moſt probably meant here.

conſiderable which laſted five years: and it was no ſooner ended, but diſſatisfied with the Peace, and deſirous of making a further diſplay of their ſtrength, they marched out with an army and laid ſiege to Lucca.

I can ſee no reaſon, therefore, why the cauſes and progreſs of the civil Diſſenſions which happened in this Republic, ſhould not be thought worthy of a minute and particular relation. And if thoſe noble Authors were deterred from it only by the fear of hurting the memory of ſome whom they ſhould neceſſarily be obliged to ſpeak of, they widely miſtook the matter, and ſhew they were not ſufficiently aware of that latent ambition which is naturally implanted in all men, and their deſire of having their own names and thoſe of their Anceſtors tranſmitted to Poſterity. Nor did they recollect that many, who never had any opportunity of Signalizing themſelves by virtuous and laudable atchievements, have endeavoured to perpetuate their memory by the moſt flagitious and deteſtable means [*d*]. Neither did they conſider that tranſactions which carry an air of greatneſs along with them, ſuch as thoſe of States and Governments, ſtill reflect more honour than infamy upon the Actors, what ends ſoever they have had, or in what light ſoever they are repreſented. Theſe conſiderations prevailed upon me to alter my firſt Plan, and to begin my Hiſtory from the very foundation of our City. And ſince it is not my intention to tranſcribe what has been already publiſhed by others, I ſhall relate ſuch things only as happened *within* the City to the year 1434, taking no further notice of foreign tranſactions than what will be abſolutely neceſſary for a better underſtanding of what occurred at home: after which period, I ſhall give a diſtinct account both of one and the other. And that the Reader may have a clearer and more extenſive proſpect both ways in this Hiſtory, before I come to treat of the affairs of Florence, I will ſhew by what means Italy became ſubject to thoſe Princes who governed it at that time: all which will be included in the four firſt books. The firſt ſhall contain a brief recital of the principal events that happened in Italy from the declenſion of the Roman Empire to the year

[*d*] As Eroſtratus, who burnt the Temple of Diana at Epheſus, which was reckoned the moſt magnificent ſtructure in the world. A great author obſerves, that, "the love of riches and pleaſure is not ſo predominant amongſt mankind, in general, as the thirſt of fame.

1434. The ſecond, a general account of affairs from the foundation of Florence, to the war that was commenced againſt the Pope, after the Expulſion of the Duke of Athens. The third will conclude with the death of Ladiſlaus King of Naples: and in the fourth we ſhall arrive at the Year 1434. After which, we ſhall give a particular Narrative of all proceedings, both within and without the City, till we come down to our own times.

CON-

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THE

HISTORY

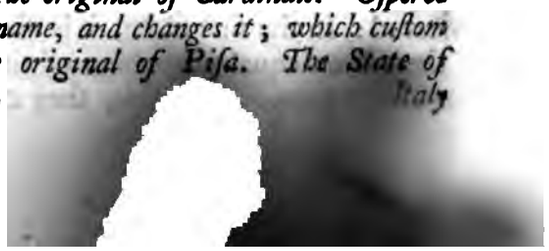
OF

FLORENCE.

BOOK I.

ARGUMENT.

The Roman Empire ruined by inundations of Barbarians. The Weſtern Goths the firſt invaders of it. Rome taken and ſacked by them under the command of Alaric. The Huns invade Italy, take Aquileia under the conduct of Attila, and advance to Rome; but retire at the requeſt of the Pope. The firſt reſidence of the Roman emperors at Ravenna. Odoacer cauſes himſelf to be ſtyled King of Rome, and is the firſt of the Barbarians that thought of fixing in Italy. The Empire is cantoned out into ſeveral diviſions. Theodoric invades Italy, kills Odoacer, calls himſelf King of Rome, and holds his reſidence at Ravenna. His great actions and death. Beliſarius appointed General for the Emperor Juſtinian. He is recalled and ſucceeded by Narſes, or Narſetes, an Eunuch. Longinus changes the form of government in Italy. The Lombards invade it under their King Alboin, who is afterwards aſſaſſinated by Almachild, at the inſtigation of his own wife. The Biſhops of Rome begin to extend their authority. The Eaſtern Empire ruined in the time of the emperor Heraclius. Charlemagne exempts the Pope from all human juriſdiction, and is choſen emperor of the Weſt. The original of Cardinals. Oſporco being elected Pope is aſhamed of his name, and changes it; which cuſtom is followed by ſucceeding Popes. The original of Piſa. The State of



Italy in the year 931. *Pope Gregory the Fifth is driven out of Rome, but returns thither. He deprives the Romans of the power of chuſing their emperors, and confers it upon Six Princes of Germany, who are afterwards called* Electors. *Nicholas* II. *deprives the Romans of their right of approving the Popes when elected, and reduces the election to the ſuffrages of Cardinals only. An Antipope is ſet up, which cauſes a ſchiſm in the Church. A Quarrel betwixt the Emperor Henry* IV. *and the Pope gives riſe to the Guelph and Ghibeline Factions. The original of the Kingdom of Sicily. The firſt Cruſade againſt the Saracens promoted by Urban* II. *Why ſo called. Another Antipope. The penance enjoined Henry* II. *King of England, upon the complaints made about the murder of Thomas Becket Archbiſhop of Canterbury. The orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis inſtituted in the year* 1218. *The Title of King of Jeruſalem transferred to the Kings of Naples. The Houſe of Eſte become Lords of Ferrara. The Guelphs ſide with the Church, the Ghibelines with the Emperor. The firſt mention made of Pope's Nephews. Celeſtine* V. *reſigns the Pontificate to Boniface* VIII. *The Jubilee inſtituted by Boniface, and at firſt appointed to be celebrated every hundredth year. Clement* VI. *removes with his Court into France in the year* 1036. *The Viſconti a great family in Milan, become Princes of that city by the expulſion of the Torri. The firſt Duke of Milan. The Dukedom falls to the Sforza's. The original of the Venetians. Candia ceded to them by the French. Nicolò di Lorenzo under the title of Tribune makes himſelf the chief Magiſtrate of Rome. The Jubilee reduced to fifty years. Avignon given to the Pope by the Queen of Naples. Gregory* XI. *returns with his Court to Rome, after it had reſided ſeventy one years in France. Clement* VII. *Antipope. Great Guns firſt uſed in the war betwixt the Genoeſe and the Venetians. Three Popes at one time. The Queen of Naples calls in the King of Arragon to her aſſiſtance, adopts him, and makes Braccio da Montone her General. The ſtate of Italy at that time. A character of the ſeveral Princes and chief Commanders.*

THE people who inhabit the Northern parts that lie beyond the Rhine and the Danube, living in a healthful and prolific climate, often increaſe to ſuch a degree, that vaſt numbers of them are forced to leave their native country, and go in ſearch of new habitations. For when any one of thoſe Provinces begins to grow too populous, and wants to diſburthen itſelf, the following method is obſerved: In the firſt place, it is divided into three parts, in each of which there is an equal proportion of the Nobility and Commonalty, the rich and the poor. After this, they caſt lots; and that diviſion, which the

lot falls upon quits the country, and goes to ſeek its fortune, leaving the other two more room and liberty to enjoy their poſſeſſions at home. Theſe demigrations proved the deſtruction of the Roman empire: to which the emperors themſelves alſo did not a little contribute. For as they abandoned Rome, the ancient ſeat of their government, and went to reſide at Conſtantinople, the weſtern parts of the Empire became weak and defenceleſs, being far removed from their inſpection, and conſequently more liable to be plundered both by their own ſubſtitutes and the incurſions of foreign enemies. And indeed, if the indolence and puſillanimity of the Princes, the perfidy of their Miniſters, the fury, ſtrength, and obſtinacy of the Invaders, had been in any degree leſs than they were, an Empire ſo powerful, and founded in the blood of ſo many brave men, could not well have been ſubverted: ſince it was not till after many of theſe inundations that its ruin was finally accompliſhed.

The firſt of theſe Northern nations that invaded the empire, after the [a] Cimbri (who were ſubdued by Marius a Roman Citizen) were the Viſigoti, or Weſtern Goths as we call them, to whom the Emperors after ſeveral battles fought upon the confines of the empire, at laſt aſſigned the country that extends itſelf along the banks of the Danube for their habitation; of which they maintained the poſſeſſion for a great number of years. And though they afterwards often invaded the Ro-

[a] Theſe people, according to Cluver, at firſt came from the extremity of the North, and then poſſeſſed the whole of that large peninſula which extends itſelf into the German ocean, formerly called *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, and now *Jutland*. And this opinion is confirmed by the teſtimonies of Velleius Paterculus, Eutropius, and Oroſius. They left this angle, about the year 639 of Rome, or 3940 of the world, either becauſe the ſea had encroached upon it, or that it was not any longer capable of ſuſtaining ſo vaſt a multitude of inhabitants, who, as ſome ſay, amounted at that time to above 500,000, beſides women and children; and joining with the outcaſt of ſeveral other nations, they over-ran all Germany, Iſtria, Sclavonia, the country of the Griſons, and Switzerland: from whence they fell into Dauphinè, Languedoc, and Provence, and laſt of all into Italy. The Romans being aſtoniſhed at ſuch ſwarms of Barbarians, ſent out their armies againſt them, which were often defeated: but at laſt Marius beat them near Arles in the plains of Camargue, and afterwards gave them a total overthrow betwixt Aix and St. Maximin. The monuments of which victory are yet to be ſeen upon the ſame road, where the Romans erected pyramids in memory of this deciſive battle, fought in the year of Rome 652, and 102 years before the Chriſtian æra. Some authors ſay the Cimbrians firſt invented drums: but that, if it is worth their while, is left to the diſquiſitions of the curious. Strabo ſays, they ſtretched the ſkins of animals over their open chariots in time of war, and beat them with ſticks at the beginning of the fight. They were a very fierce and warlike people, large of ſtature, and uſed to rejoice, ſays Valerius Maximus, over any of their relations or friends that fell in battle, and to make great lamentation over thoſe that died of ſickneſs; looking upon the one as a glorious and happy death, the other as infamous and diſhonourable.

man Provinces at different opportunities and upon various occaſions, they were as often repelled by the power of the emperors. Theodoſius, to his great honour, was the laſt that defeated and entirely reduced them to obedience: after which, they did not chuſe any other King of their own to reign over them, as they uſed to do before, but voluntarily ſubmitted to his government, received his pay, and fought under his banners. But when that Prince died, and his two ſons Arcadius and Honorius were left heirs to the crown, though not to the valour and good fortune of their father, the times, like the Emperors, began to alter for the worſe.

Theodoſius had appointed three Governors to preſide over the three parts of the empire, Ruffinus over the Eaſt, Stilico over the Weſt, and Gildo over the South; but, after his death, they all reſolved to drop the title of governors, and aſſume the ſovereign dominion over thoſe provinces themſelves. Gildo and Ruffinus were ſoon ſuppreſſed: but Stilico concealing his ambition with more artifice, endeavoured to inſinuate himſelf into the favour and confidence of the new Emperors, with a deſign, however, to perplex and embarraſs their affairs, that ſo he might afterwards the more eaſily ſucceed in his attempts. To ſtir up the Viſigoths againſt them, he adviſed the Emperors to retrench their former pay; and leſt that nation alone ſhould not be able to raiſe a rebellion in the empire, he likewiſe incited the Burgundians, Franks, Vandals and Alans, (Northern people like the others, and already in motion to ſeek new habitations) to invade the Roman provinces.

The Viſigoths, therefore, ſeeing their uſual ſubſidies reduced, determined to redreſs themſelves. For which purpoſe, they made Alaric King over them, under whoſe conduct they invaded the empire, and after many other enterprizes, not only took and ſacked Rome itſelf, but over-ran all the reſt of Italy. Not long after theſe victorious atchievements Alaric died, and was ſucceeded by Ataulph, who marrying Placidia, ſiſter to the Emperors, promiſed them in conſequence of that alliance, to march with an army to the relief of Gaul and Spain, which provinces were then much harraſſed by the incurſions of the Vandals, Burgundians, Alans, and Franks. The Vandals who had ſeized upon that part of Spain called Betica, being now hard preſſed and reduced to extremities by the Viſigoths, were called over by Boniface, (who at that time governed Africa in the name of the Emperors) to come and ſettle there: for as he was then in open rebellion himſelf, he was afraid of being called to account and puniſhed for it by thoſe Princes. The Vandals, therefore, willingly embarked in this enterprize, for the reaſons above mentioned, and under the banners of Genſeric their King made a deſcent upon the coaſt of Africa.

In

In the mean time Theodoſius, the ſon of Arcadius, ſucceeded to the empire; but as he gave himſelf little trouble about the affairs of the Weſt, theſe new intruders began to think of eſtabliſhing themſelves in their acquiſitions. Accordingly, the Vandals ſoon made themſelves maſters of Africa, the Alans and Viſigoths of Spain, and the Franks and Burgundians not only over-ran Gaul, but gave names to the places of which they had reſpectively poſſeſſed themſelves, calling one part of it France, and the other Burgundy. The ſucceſs of theſe adventurers inviting others to invade the empire, the Huns ſiezed upon Pannonia, a province on this ſide the Danube, and gave it the name of Hungary, which it retains to this day. And what ſtill increaſed theſe misfortunes, was, that the Emperor ſeeing himſelf attacked in ſo many different places, began to treat, firſt with the Vandals, and then with the Franks, in order to leſſen the number of his enemies, which very much diminiſhed his own power and authority, and at the ſame time added conſiderable ſtrength and reputation to the Barbarians. Nor was the iſland of Britain, now called England, exempt from its ſhare in theſe troubles. For the Britons beginning to grow apprehenſive of the people that had conquered Gaul, and ſeeing the Emperor not able to protect them, called in the Angli, a German nation, to their aſſiſtance. The Angli, accordingly, under Vortiger their King, undertook to defend them, and for ſome time behaved like faithful allies, but afterwards drove them out of the iſland, and taking poſſeſſion of it themſelves gave it the name of England. Being thus expelled their country, and become deſperate by neceſſity, the Britons reſolved to invade ſome other, though they had not been able to maintain their own: and with this reſolution having paſſed the ſea, they poſſeſſed themſelves of that part which lies upon the coaſt of France, and called it Bretagne, or Britany. The Huns who, as we ſaid before, had ſeized upon Pannonia, joining with divers other people, as the Zepidi, Eruli, Turingi, and Oſtrogoti, or Eaſtern Goths, put themſelves in motion once more and went in queſt of freſh quarters. But not being able to force their way into France, which was then bravely defended by the Barbarians, they penetrated into Italy under the conduct of their King Attila, who not long before had murdered his brother Bleda; by which he rid himſelf of all partnerſhip in the government, and became ſo powerfull that he reduced Andaric King of the Zepidi, and Velamir King of the Oſtrogoths, into a ſort of ſubjection to him. And having thus got footing in Italy he inveſted [b] Aquileia, before which place he continued two years without moleſtation, and

[b] The capital of Friuli, formerly a city of great eminence, but now very much decayed. It is at preſent ſubject to the Houſe of Auſtria, though the Patriarch is appointed by the Venetians.

during

during the ſiege not only laid waſte the whole country round about it, but totally diſperſed the inhabitants, which, as we ſhall relate in its proper place, firſt gave riſe to the city of Venice. After he had taken and demoliſhed Aquileia and many other cities, he advanced towards Rome, which he ſpared however out of reverence to the [c] Pope, whom he held in ſo great veneration, that at his interceſſion only he withdrew out of Italy into Auſtria, where he died [d]. After his death, Velamir King of the Oſtrogoths, and ſome chiefs of the other nations took up arms againſt Tenric and Euric the ſons of Attila, one of whom they killed, and drove the other with all the Huns over the Danube again into their own country: upon which the Oſtrogoths and Zepidi eſtabliſhed themſelves in Pannonia; and the Eruli and Turingi continued upon the banks of the Danube.

After Attila had left Italy, Valentinian then Emperor of the Weſt, reſolved to attempt the reſtoration of that empire to its former greatneſs and ſplendor; and that he might be enabled to defend it with more eaſe and convenience againſt the irruptions of the Barbarians, he choſe

[c] Leo I. commonly called St. Leo; he enjoyed the pontificate from the year 440 till 461.

[d] He was called *the Scourge of God*, ſince there was hardly any nation in Europe that did not feel the weight of his arms. The peace which he made with Theodoſius the younger was very diſhonourable to that emperor: for he obliged him to advance ſix thouſand pound weight of gold in ready money, and promiſed to pay him a thouſand pound weight every year for the future. So that the eaſtern empire, notwithſtanding the ſpecious name of *penſion*, which was given to this exaction, in fact became tributary to the Huns. *Maimbourg, Hiſt. de l'Ariani ſme. Tom.* iii. *p.* 4. The ſame author ſays, *Hiſt. de St. Leon. l.* iii. *p.* 220. that Attila having ſeen a picture at Milan, which repreſented an emperor ſitting upon his throne with Scythians in chains under his feet, ordered it to be removed, and another to be put up in its room, wherein he himſelf was drawn, ſitting upon a throne ſurrounded with emperors loaded with bags of ſilver and gold, which they came to empty at his feet in a very ſubmiſſive manner; intimating by this, that as he had obliged Theodoſius ſeven or eight years before to pay him tribute, he would force the Emperor Valentinian to do the ſame, in order to ſave his life and the miſerable remains of the empire. It is ſaid he deſigned to have eſtabliſhed his own language in the empire upon the ruins of the Roman. Alcyonius in his *Medices Legatus* introduces Giovanni de' Medici ſpeaking in the following manner, "There is preſerved in our library a book written in Greek by an unknown author, concerning the wars of the Goths in Italy. I remember to have read in it, that King Attila, after his victories, being reſolved to propagate the Gothic tongue, publiſhed an edict to prohibit all perſons from ſpeaking Latin, and ſent for teachers out of his own countrey to inſtruct the Italians in the Gothic language." This ſort of ambition ſeems to have been common to moſt conquerors. The Greeks, Romans, Turks, Moors, Normans, and many other nations attempted it, and ſome of them with ſucceſs. The French in theſe times are extending their language at a great rate, and endeavouring by all manner of artifices to make it become general throughout Europe at leaſt. This Prince was either ſuffocated by an eruption of blood from his noſe, as ſome ſay; or murdered by his bride, according to others, on his wedding night.

Ravenna

Ravenna inſtead of Rome for the place of his reſidence. Theſe calamities which the Weſtern empire ſuſtained, had often obliged the Emperor who reſided at Conſtantinople to give the government of it to other people, as a charge attended with too great trouble and expence. Indeed the Romans themſelves, when they ſaw they were thus ſlighted and abandoned, often created Emperors to defend them, without his permiſſion to do ſo: and ſometimes private perſons, availing themſelves of their own intereſt or authority, uſurped the Imperial dignity; as it happened after the death of Valentinian, when Maximus, a citizen of Rome, ſeized upon it, and forced his widow Eudoxa to marry him; who being of royal extraction and diſdaining the embraces of a private citizen, in revenge for ſo violent an outrage, ſecretly encouraged Genſeric, King of the Vandals and at that time maſter of Africa, to invade Italy, by repreſenting how eaſy and glorious the conqueſt of it would be to him [*r*]. That Prince accordingly, being animated by the hope of ſo great an acquiſition, made a ſudden deſcent upon Italy, and finding Rome deſerted, he ſacked it, and continued there fourteen days. He likewiſe took and plundered many other towns, and having glutted both himſelf and his army with ſpoil, returned into Africa. Upon his departue, Maximus being now dead, the Romans returned to the city and made choice of one Avitus, a Roman, for their Emperor. After this and many other revolutions both within Italy and without it, and after the death of ſeveral Emperors, the empire of Conſtantinople fell into the hands of Zeno, and that of Rome, by intrigue and underhand practices, to Oreſtes and his ſon Auguſtulus. But whilſt they were making preparations to maintain it by force, they were invaded by the

[*r*] Petronius Maximus, Grandſon to Flavius Magnus Clemens, was at firſt a Roman ſenator. He had a very beautiful wife, with whom Valentinian III. fell in love, and endeavoured, though in vain, to debauch her. But that Emperor having won all the money that Maximus had, and his ring beſides, one night at play, ſent the ring, as from Maximus himſelf, for his wife to come to the palace, where he raviſhed her. Maximus however diſſembled his knowledge of the fact, and concealed his reſentment till he had an opportunity of revenging himſelf, which he did not long after, by cauſing the Emperor to be diſpatched in the Campus Martius: after which, he ſeized the empire, married the Empreſs Eudoxa by force, created his own ſon Cæſar, and married him to Eudoxa the Emperor's daughter. But having told the Empreſs one night, that it was for the love of her that he had killed the Emperor, ſhe was ſo incenſed at it, becauſe ſhe knew the contrary, that ſhe ſent to intreat Genſeric King of the African Vandals to deliver her from the tyrant who kept her as his wife by force. Genſeric came, according to her invitation, and Maximus fled from Rome, but was purſued and ſtoned to death by the people, or killed by a ſoldier as ſome ſay, and afterwards pulled to pieces by the Empreſs and her ſervants and thrown into the Tiber. But ſhe herſelf and her daughters were carried away priſoners by the conqueror. *Procop. de bell. Vandal. l.* i. *p.* 15.

Eruli

Eruli and Turingi, who, as we have related, had repaſſed the Danube after the death of Attila and ſettled themſelves again in their former habitations on the other ſide of that river. Theſe nations having confederated themſelves afreſh, under the command of Odoacer, for this expedition, left their own country to the Longobardi, or Lombards, another northern nation, who took poſſeſſion of it under the conduct of Godoglio their King, and were the laſt that invaded Italy, as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter.

Odoacer then having entered Italy, not long after defeated and killed Oreſtes in a battle near Pavia; but Auguſtulus made his eſcape. After this victory, Odoacer changing the title both of the governor and the government, aboliſhed the name of Emperor and Empire, cauſed himſelf to be ſtyled *King of Rome*, and was the firſt chieftain of thoſe nations which then over-ran the world, that reſolved to fix in Italy: for all the reſt before him, either out of an apprehenſion that they ſhould not be able to maintain a territory that might ſo eaſily be ſuccoured by the Emperor of the Eaſt, or for ſome other private reaſon, had contented themſelves with ravaging and plundering it, and then always retired to ſeek ſome other countrey to live in, which they thought more tenable.

In this manner then, the ancient Roman empire was cantoned out under the following princes and people. Zeno reſiding at Conſtantinople, governed the whole empire of the Eaſt: the Oſtrogoths were poſſeſſed of [*f*] Mœſia and Pannonia: the Viſigoths, Suevi, and Alans of Spain and Gaſcony: the Vandals of Africa: the Franks and Burgundians of Gaul: and the Eruli and Turingi of Italy. The Kingdom of the Oſtrogoths was devolved upon Velamir's nephew Theodoric, who being in amity with Zeno, the Eaſtern Emperor, wrote to him, "That his Oſtrogoths being ſuperior in valour to all other nations, thought it hard and unjuſt to be inferior to them in extent of territory and command; and that it would be impoſſible for him to confine them within the narrow limits of Pannonia: that as he was conſequently under a neceſſity of complying with their deſires, and of ſuffering them to take up arms, in order to provide themſelves with larger and more convenient territories, he thought fit to give him timely notice of it; that ſo he might avert the danger if he pleaſed, by voluntarily aſſigning them ſome country, where, by his favour, they might live with more comfort and reputation." Zeno therefore, partly out of fear, and partly out of a deſire of driving Odoacer out of Italy, gave Theodoric free leave to march againſt him and wreſt it out of his hands if he was able. This offer he accepted, and immediately quitting Pannonia, where he left his

[*f*] Now called Boſnia and Servia.

allies

allies the Zepidi, he entered Italy, killed Odoacer and his ſon, and after his example, not only called himſelf *King of Rome*, but took up his reſidence at Ravenna, for the ſame reaſons that had before prevailed upon Valentinian to do ſo.

Theodoric was a great and excellent Prince both in the arts of war and peace: in the former he always came off victorious, and in the latter, was continually doing good to the cities and people that were ſubject to him. He diſtributed his Oſtrogoths through the ſeveral towns, and ſet chiefs over them, to lead and conduct them in time of war, and to adminiſter juſtice in the intervals of peace. He enlarged Ravenna, repaired Rome, and reſtored all its honours and privileges, except its military diſcipline. He kept all the Barbarian Princes, who had cantoned out the Empire, in their due bounds, without the noiſe or tumult of war, merely by his own wiſdom and authority. He built ſeveral towns and fortreſſes betwixt the extremity of the Adriatick and the Alps, to obſtruct any future incurſion of Barbarians into Italy. And if ſo many great virtues had not been ſullied by ſome cruelties, that he was guilty of towards the latter end of his life (amongſt which may be numbered the putting Symmachus and Boetius to death, though virtuous and innocent men, out of a ſuſpicion that they were conſpiring to depoſe him) his memory would have been every way unblemiſhed and worthy of being held in the higheſt honour. For by his valour and goodneſs, not only Rome and Italy, but all the other parts of the Weſtern Empire, were freed from the continual troubles to which they had been ſubject for ſo many years, by the repeated irruptions of Barbarians, and at the ſame time reduced into good order. And certainly, if any times were ever to be called wretched in Italy and the other provinces that were thus over-run, they were thoſe that intervened betwixt the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius, and that of Theodoric. For if we conſider the calamitous and ruinous conſequences, that generally enſue upon a change of Prince or form of government either in a kingdom or commonwealth, when effected, not by external force, but by civil diſſenſions, (in which, experience has ſufficiently ſhewn us that the leaſt alterations have proved fatal to ſuch ſtates, though exceeding powerful) we may eaſily conceive how much Italy and the reſt of the Roman provinces muſt have ſuffered in thoſe days, when they were forced to change, not only their Princes and form of government, but their laws, cuſtoms, manner of living, religion, language, habit, and even their very names. To reflect only upon any one of theſe circumſtances, is enough to make the ſtouteſt man tremble, much more the ſeeing and enduring them all. But if they proved the deſtruction of ſome cities, they likewiſe occaſioned the foundation and

augmentation of many more. In the number of thoſe that were deſtroyed, we may reckon Aquileia, Luni, Chiuſi, Popolonia, Fieſoli, and ſome others: amongſt thoſe that were new built, were Venice, Siena, Ferrara, Aquila, and many more, both towns and caſtles, which, for the ſake of brevity, I ſhall here omit. Thoſe that from ſmall beginnings became great and reſpectable, were Florence, Genoa, Piſa, Milan, Naples, and Bologna: to all which may be added, the ruin and inſtauration of Rome, and ſeveral other cities, which were demoliſhed and afterwards rebuilt. Theſe devaſtations and reiterated incurſions of new people produced new languages, as appears from thoſe now uſed in France, Spain, and Italy, which, being compounded of that of their invaders and the ancient Roman, are very different from what they were before. Not only provinces, but lakes, rivers, ſeas, and men likewiſe, loſt their names: France, Italy, and Spain, being full of ſuch as are altogether unlike the old ones. To omit many others, we ſhall only inſtance the Po, Garda, and Archipelago, in the firſt caſe: and with regard to the proper names of men, inſtead of Cæſar, Pompey, &c. thoſe of Peter, John, Matthew, &c. now took place. But amongſt all theſe revolutions and changes, that of Religion was of the greateſt conſequence: for the cuſtom and preſcription pleaded by Paganiſm againſt the Miracles of Chriſtianity, produced very great tumults and diſſenſions amongſt men, which yet would not have been ſo fatal if the Chriſtian Church had continued united. But the Greek and Roman Churches, and that of Ravenna, being at variance together, and the Hereticks and Catholicks fiercely oppoſing each other, occaſioned infinite confuſion and miſery in the world: as Africa in particular can teſtify, which ſuffered much more from the Spirit and Effects of Arrianiſm (a doctrine eſpouſed by the Vandals) than from their natural ferocity, or any oppreſſive diſpoſition peculiar to that people. Whilſt men lived expoſed to ſuch dreadful perſecutions, the terror and dejection of their hearts were legible in their countenances: for beſides the numberleſs afflictions they otherwiſe endured, many were deprived of all recourſe to the mercies of God, the ſureſt refuge in adverſity and diſtreſs: for as they were uncertain to what Being they ought to addreſs themſelves for protection, they miſerably died without any hope or comfort.

Theodoric therefore deſerved no ſmall return of thanks, as he was the firſt that gave them any reſpite from ſo great Evils, and reſtored Italy to ſuch a degree of Grandeur, during the thirty-eight years which he reigned there, that hardly any thing was to be ſeen of its former deſolation. But when he died, and the government devolved upon Athalric, the ſon of his daughter Amalaſontha, its evil deſtiny being not yet ſatiated, it ſoon relapſed into the ſame miſerable condition it had been

been in before. For Athalric dying not long after his grandfather, the kingdom reverted to his mother, who was betrayed, and put to death by Theodate, a miniſter whom ſhe had employed to aſſiſt her in the government of the ſtate. After which, he ſeized upon the kingdom himſelf, to the infinite diſguſt of the Oſtrogoths; a circumſtance that encouraged the Emperor Juſtinian to attempt the diſpoſſeſſing him of Italy. For which purpoſe, he appointed Beliſarius his commander in chief for that Expedition, who had already driven the Vandals out of Africa, and reduced it to its former obedience to the Empire. That general accordingly, in the firſt place made himſelf maſter of Sicily; from whence he tranſported his army into Italy, and there recovered Naples and Rome. Upon which, the Goths ſeeing the havock he daily made amongſt them, laid hands on their King Theodate, and having put him to death, as the author and occaſion of it, they ſet up Vitiges in his ſtead; who, after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, was at laſt beſieged and taken priſoner in Ravenna by Beliſarius. But the latter not having gained a complete victory, was recalled by Juſtinian, and ſucceeded in his command by Johannes and Vitalis, two generals ſo much inferior to him both in valour and conduct, that the Goths recovered their ſpirits, and made choice of Ildovadus, at that time governor of Verona, to rule over them. That Prince being killed ſoon after, the reins of government fell into the hands of Totila, who routed the Emperor's forces, regained Tuſcany, and ſtripped the Imperial generals of almoſt every ſtate that Beliſarius had recovered. Juſtinian, therefore, thought fit to ſend him back again into Italy: but as he came only with an inconſiderable force, he rather loſt the reputation he had acquired before, than made any addition to it. For, whilſt he lay with his army at Oſtia, Totila beſieged Rome and took it, as it were, before his face: but, conſidering he could not well maintain it, and that it would be dangerous to leave it behind him in the condition it then was, he demoliſhed the greater part of the city, diſperſed the citizens, carried the ſenators along with him, and making little account of Beliſarius, advanced with his army into Calabria, to cut off the ſupplies that were coming out of Greece to reinforce him. Beliſarius, however, ſeeing Rome abandoned in this manner, reſolved to attempt ſomething that might re-eſtabliſh his reputation: and having once more taken poſſeſſion of that city, ruinous as it was, he rebuilt the walls with the utmoſt expedition, and then ſent to invite the inhabitants to return to it. But fortune did not favour ſo meritorious an undertaking: for Juſtinian, being at that time invaded by the Parthians, was obliged to recall him. So that in obedience to the commands of his ſovereign, he [g] quitted

[g] He afterwards acquired great glory in the Parthian and many other wars. It is ſaid by Crinitus, Volaterran, and other Latin writers, that being accuſed of con-

Italy, and left that province to the mercy of Totila, who retook Rome, but did not exerciſe the ſame rigour upon it that he had done before: for being moved by the entreaties of St. Benedict, (a perſon in thoſe days held in great veneration for his ſanctity) inſtead of pulling it down again, he immediately began to repair the ruins.

In the mean time, Juſtinian had made a peace with the Parthians, and reſolving to ſend freſh ſuccours into Italy, was prevented by a new alarm from the Sclavi, another northern nation, who had paſſed the Danube, and fallen into Thrace and Illyria; ſo that Totila had made himſelf maſter of almoſt all Italy. But as ſoon as the Emperor had repelled the Sclavi, he ſent another army into Italy, under the conduct of Narſes or Narſetes, an eunuch, but a commander of great experience. At his arrival in Italy, he defeated and killed Totila; after whoſe death, the remainder of the Goths retired into Pavia, and made Teia King over them. On the other hand, Narſetes, after his victory, took Rome again, and then marching againſt Teia, not only engaged, but routed and killed him near Nocera: by which overthrow the name of the Goths was utterly extinguiſhed in Italy, after they had reigned there for the ſpace of ſeventy years, that is, from the time of their King Theodoric to that of Teia. But Italy had ſcarcely freed itſelf from their yoke, when Juſtinian died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Juſtinus, who, at the inſtigation of his wife Sophia, recalled Narſetes out of Italy, and ſent Longinus thither to ſuperſede him. Longinus, after the example of his predeceſſors, kept his reſidence at Ravenna, but introduced a new form of government into Italy, not appointing governors over Provinces, as the Goths had done, but ſetting up a Chief in every city and town of any note, with the title of *Duke*. Nor did he make any diſtinction betwixt Rome and the other cities in this reform: for aboliſhing the names and authority of conſuls and ſenate, which had continued till that time, he yearly ſent a Duke from Ravenna of his own nomination, to take upon him the government of it, which was called the *Ducby*, or *Dukedom* of Rome. But he that preſided at Ravenna, and more immediately repreſented the Emperor, having the ſuperintendance of all Italy

ſpiring againſt Juſtinian, he was not only deprived of all his employments, but had his eyes put out by that Prince in the year 551, and was reduced to ſuch a degree of poverty, that he was forced to beg his bread in the ſtreets of Conſtantinople: of which diſtreſsful condition, there is a fine repreſentation in a picture amongſt the late Lord Burlington's collection at Chyſwick, if I miſtake not, by Vandyke, with this inſcription under it, *Date obolum Beliſario.* On the contrary, the author of *the mixed hiſtory of Conſtantinople*, Cedrenus, Alciat, and others, ſay, that he had not his eyes put out, that he was reſtored to all his employments the year following, and died in peace at Conſtantinople, in 565. There is likewiſe another original painting of him by Salvator Roſa, in Lord Townſhend's collection.

committed

committed to his charge, was called the *Exarch*. This new diviſion not only facilitated, but exceedingly haſtened the ruin of Italy, by giving the Lombards an opportunity of poſſeſſing themſelves of it. Narſetes was very much diſguſted at the Emperor for depriving him of the government of that Province, which he had bravely recovered at the expence of his own blood: and Sophia not thinking it a ſufficient diſgrace to get him recalled, had alſo made uſe of ſome taunts and contemptuous expreſſions; ſending him word, *that ſhe wanted him at home to ſpin as other Eunuchs did* [*b*]. At which he was ſo outrageouſly provoked, that he incited Alboin, who then reigned over the Lombards in Pannonia, to come and invade Italy.

The Lombards, as we have already related, had taken poſſeſſion of ſuch places upon the Danube as were abandoned by the Eruli and Turingi, when Odoacer their King conducted them into Italy. There they continued ſome time, till the kingdom fell into the hands of Alboin, a fierce and enterprizing man, who paſſed the Danube, engaged Cunimund, King of the Zepidi, a people ſettled in Pannonia, and not only defeated him, but made himſelf maſter of all that country. And though he married Roſamond, one of the daughters of Cunimund, whom he found amongſt the Priſoners that were taken, yet ſuch was the ſavageneſs and inhumanity of his nature, that he ordered a cup to be made of her father's ſkull, out of which he ſometimes drank in memory of that victory. But being invited into Italy by Narſetes, with whom he had contracted a friendſhip during the war with the Goths, he left Pannonia to the Huns, (who, as we have ſhewn, returned into their own country after the death of Attila) marched into Italy, and finding it cantoned out into ſo many diviſions, he made himſelf maſter of Pavia, Milan, Verona, Vicenza, all Tuſcany, and the greater part of Flaminia, now called Romagna. And imagining, from the greatneſs and ſuddenneſs of his conqueſts, that all Italy was now in a manner his own, he made a magnificent banquet at Verona; at which he got drunk, and filling the

[*b*] This general, however, though ſo unworthily diſgraced, and deſigned for a ſpinſter by womaniſh malice and petulance, left many noble traces of his proweſs in Italy: of which, the following inſcription upon a bridge, about three miles from Rome, may ſerve as one teſtimony.

Quam bene curvati directa eſt ſemita Pontis,
Atque interruptum continuatur iter!
Calcamus rapidas ſubjecti gurgitis undas,
Et libet iratæ cernere murmur aquæ.
Ite igitur faciles in gaudia veſtra Quirites,
Et Narſem reſonans, plauſus ubique canat:
Qui potuit rigidas Gothorum ſubdere mentes,
Et docuit durum flumina ferre jugum.

See a Book, called, *Inſcriptionum Metricarum Delectus*, publiſhed in 1758.

ſkull

ſkull of Cunimund with wine, he cauſed it to be preſented to Roſamond his Queen, who ſat over againſt him at the table, ſaying (loud enough to be heard by her) *that, upon ſo joyful an occaſion, ſhe ſhould drink with her Father.* Stung to the quick at ſo cruel a ſarcaſm, ſhe ſecretly vowed revenge; and knowing that Almachild, a noble and brave young Lombard, had an amour with one of her women, ſhe prevailed upon her to contrive that ſhe herſelf might have an opportunity of lying with him in her ſtead: for which purpoſe he was introduced into a dark room, where he lay with Roſamond, ſuppoſing it had been her maid. After which, ſhe diſcovered herſelf and told him, it was now in his option either to kill Alboin and enjoy her and the Kingdom, or to be put to death by him for violating his bed. Almachild therefore agreed to kill his maſter: but after they had perpetrated the murder, finding they were not likely to maintain poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, but rather to be knocked on the head by the Lombards, out of the affection they bore to Alboin, they fled with all his treaſure to Longinus at Ravenna, who received them with much honour.

During theſe troubles, Juſtinus the Emperor died, and Tiberius was elected in his ſtead; who being engaged in a war with the Parthians, could not ſend any relief into Italy. Longinus therefore, thinking this a fair opportunity to make himſelf King of the Lombards, and of all Italy beſides, by the help of Roſamond and her treaſure, communicated his deſign to her, perſuading her to diſpatch Almachild, and afterwards to take him himſelf for her huſband: which propoſal ſhe accepted, and having prepared a cup of poiſoned wine for that purpoſe, ſhe gave it to Almachild with her own hands, as he came thirſty out of the Bath: who having drank about half of it, and finding it began to operate, ſoon perceived what ſhe had given him, and thereupon immediately forced her to drink the reſt of the potion herſelf, of which they both died in a few hours, and Longinus loſt all the hopes he had conceived of obtaining the Kingdom: for the Lombards aſſembling at Pavia, which they had now made the ſeat of their government, choſe Cleſi for their King, who rebuilt Imola, a town that had been demoliſhed by Narſetes. He likewiſe reduced Rimini, and almoſt all the country betwixt that place and Rome, but died in the midſt of his victories. This Cleſi treated not only ſtrangers, but even the Lombards themſelves, with ſuch a degree of rigour and cruelty, that they now growing weary of a monarchical government, determined to have no more kings, and appointed thirty *Dukes* to rule over them.

This change of their Conſtitution was the occaſion that the Lombards could never thoroughly ſubdue Italy, nor extend their conqueſts any further than Benevento: for as to the cities of Rome, Ravenna, Cremona,

mona, Mantua, Padua, Montfelice, Parma, Bologna, Faenza, Forli and Seſena, ſome of them defended themſelves a conſiderable time, and others never came under their dominion at all. For as they had no King, they were leſs diſpoſed to war; and when they afterwards created Kings again, the taſte which they had had of liberty made them leſs obedient to their Prince, more apt to quarrel amongſt themſelves, and not only checked the courſe of their victories at firſt, but, in the end, was the cauſe of their being totally driven out of Italy.

The affairs of the Lombards being thus circumſtanced, the Romans and Longinus came to an accommodation with them: and it was agreed that all parties ſhould lay down their arms and enjoy what they were reſpectively poſſeſſed of.

About this time the Biſhops of Rome likewiſe began to aſſume a greater degree of authority than ever they had done before. The firſt ſucceſſors of St. Peter having been held in the higheſt veneration for the ſanctity of their lives and the Miracles they wrought, their Examples gave ſuch credit to the Chriſtian Religion, that many Princes embraced it to put an end to thoſe evils and diſtractions which then reigned in the world. And the Emperor of Rome being converted amongſt the reſt, and quitting that Capital to hold his reſidence at Conſtantinople, the Roman Empire began to decline (as we have obſerved before), whilſt the Church of Rome, on the other hand, daily gather'd freſh ſtrength and grew more powerful. Nevertheleſs, as all Italy was ſubject to the dominion either of the Emperors or Kings, till the coming in of the Lombards, the Biſhops of that See took upon themſelves no other Authority than what was given them out of reverence to their learning and the holineſs of their lives: in civil affairs they were ſtill ſubject to thoſe Princes, who often employed them as their Miniſters, and ſometimes put them to death for mal-adminiſtration. But what gave them ſomething more weight in the affairs of Italy was the reſolution taken by Theodoric, King of the Goths, to remove the ſeat of his Government to Ravenna: for as Rome was thereby left deſtitute of a Prince, the Romans were obliged, for their own ſafety, to put themſelves under the protection of the Pope. This, however, did not make any great addition to their authority: for the only point they gained at that time, was, that the Church of Ravenna ſhould acknowledge itſelf ſubject to the juriſdiction of that at Rome [*i*]. But after

[*i*] Rome never recovered the fatal blow it received from Conſtantine's transferring the ſeat of the Empire. Glory and the love of their country no longer animated the breaſts of Romans: their courage loſt its vigour: the Arts ſunk into decay; and nothing was heard in the place, which had been the reſidence of the Scipios and Cæſars, but diſputes and endleſs contentions betwixt the Biſhops and ſecular Judges. After Juſtinian's time it was governed by a Viceroy, under the title of Exarch, who no longer regarded it as the capital of Italy; but living at Ravenna from thence ſent his orders to

the Lombards had invaded Italy and divided it into ſeveral diſtricts, the Pope took that opportunity of enlarging his power: for as he was the chief perſon and in a manner the Head of Rome, both the Emperor of Conſtantinople and the Lombards ſhewed him great reſpect. So that the Romans, by the Intereſt of the Pope, began to confederate themſelves with Longinus and the Lombards, not as ſubjects, but as friends and equals; and the Popes entering into an alliance ſometimes with the Lombards, and ſometimes with the Greeks, daily became more and more reſpectable and of greater importance. But the Eaſtern Empire ſoon after fell to decay under the reign of Heraclius, in whoſe time the Sclavi, a people before mentioned, invaded Illyria again; and having made themſelves maſters of that Country, called it Sclavonia after their own name: the other parts of the Empire were likewiſe attacked, firſt by the Perſians, afterwards by the Saracens out of Arabia, under the conduct of Mahomet, and laſt of all by the Turks, who diſmembered it of Syria, Africa and Egypt. Upon which the Popes ſeeing the Emperors no longer able to protect them upon occaſion, and the power of the Lombards ſtill increaſing, thought it high time to look out for new friends and confederates, and for that purpoſe applied to the Kings of France. So that all the wars, which foreigners afterwards made upon Italy, were chiefly owing to the Popes, and moſt of the ſeveral inundations of Barbarians that poured themſelves into it, in a great meaſure occaſioned by their incitement and inſtigation; which practices being continued even to this time, have ſo long kept, and ſtill keep, Italy weak and divided. However, in relating the events that happened betwixt thoſe times and our own, I ſhall enlarge no further upon the ruin of the Empire, but proceed to give an account of the exaltation of the Pontifs and other Princes that governed Italy till the invaſion of Charles VIII. King of France: and ſhew not only how the Popes became formidable and revered, at firſt by their Eccleſiaſtical cenſures, then by joining temporal arms to thoſe ſpiritual weapons, and laſtly by adding [*k*] Indulgences to them; but like-

the Romans. The Biſhop indeed daily augmented his authority in theſe times of Barbariſm: the power of the Church increaſed, and the Prefect of Rome was not able to oppoſe the pretenſions of a perſon that were conſtantly ſupported by the ſanctity of his profeſſion. In vain did the Church of Ravenna diſpute a thouſand privileges with that of Rome: the latter was acknowledged by all the Chriſtians of the Weſt as their common Mother: they conſulted her, they petitioned her to ſend them Paſtors, and whilſt the City was in ſubjection the Biſhop ruled abroad.

In this eighth Century, the Popes firſt conceived the deſign of making themſelves maſters of Rome, and ſaw that what would have been deemed a revolt and an ineffectual ſedition at another time, might now be a Revolution excuſable by its neceſſity, and illuſtrious by its ſucceſs. *See Voltaire's general hiſtory of Europe, Vol.* I. *p.* 33, 34.

[*k*] A perpetual tax upon credulity and ſuperſtition; and an inexhauſtible ſource of riches to the Romiſh Church. The word *Indulgence*, amongſt them, ſignifies a remiſſion

wiſe

wiſe how by making an ill uſe of that terror and reverence, with which they had inſpired mankind, they have entirely loſt the one, and lie at the diſcretion and courteſy of the world for the other.

But to reſume the method we at firſt propoſed. Gregory the third being advanced to the Papacy, and Aiſtolphus or Aſtolphus made King over the Lombards, the latter, contrary to expreſs agreement, ſiezed upon Ravenna and made war upon the Pope. Upon which, Gregory ſeeing the Emperor of Conſtantinople ſo debilitated by the above mentioned loſſes, deſpaired of any aſſiſtance from that quarter: and not daring to confide in the Lombards, who had already deceived him more than once, he had recourſe to Pepin, who, from being Lord of Auſtria and Brabant, was become King of France, not ſo much by his own valour, as by that of his grandfather Pepin, and his father Charles Martel. For Charles, being Regent of France, gave the Saracens that memorable overthrow near Tours upon the Loire, wherein above two hundred thouſand of them were killed [*l*]: upon which his ſon Pepin in conſider-

of puniſhment due to Sin, granted by the Church, and ſuppoſed to ſave the Sinner from Purgatory. They found their notion of Indulgences upon the infinite treaſure of the merits of Jeſus Chirſt, the Virgin Mary, and all the Saints; which they ſuppoſe the Church has a right to diſtribute by virtue of the *Communion of Saints*. The Jubilee grants a plenary indulgence for all manner of crimes. Their Caſuiſts ſay that a plenary indulgence does not always prove effectual, for want of complying with the conditions upon which it was granted.

It has been a common practice with the Popes to grant Indulgences for the extirpation of Hereticks. Thus, Clement XII. in one of his Bulls ſays, "That we may ſtir up and encourage the Faithful to exterminate *this ungracious Crew of forlorn wretches* (the Cevennois, then in arms againſt Lewis XIV.) we freely grant and indulge the full remiſſion of Sins, whatever they may be, (relying upon that power of *binding and looſing*, which our Lord conferred on his chief Apoſtle) to thoſe that ſhall liſt themſelves in this *Sacred Militia*, if they fall in battle."

It likewiſe ſignifies a *Diſpenſation*, or *Faculty*, to do ſomething that is otherwiſe prohibited; as, to marry a Relation in ſuch a degree; to hold two Benefices, &c. They prove their right of granting Diſpenſations thus: It is certain the Church has a power of making Laws; a power, which the Apoſtles themſelves exerciſed, and which their Succeſſors have continued to exerciſe after them. Whoever can make, can annul, and much more diſpenſe with a Law in certain caſes. The Church therefore may diſpenſe with the Laws which itſelf has made, as we ſee it actually has done in all ages.

Quam propoſitionem negas?

The Reader may ſee the matter of Indulgences more fully handled in the beginning of Paolo Sarpi's admirable hiſtory of the Council of Trent, in Voltaire's general hiſtory of Europe, Vol. II. pt. iv. p. 50, 51. & alibi paſſim.

There was a large bale of this ſort of *tromperie* found in a Ship that was bound to the Gulph of Mexico and taken by one of our Privateers, during the late war with Spain; which was purchaſed for a trifle by a Jew, and ſold by him again, as he ſaid, at an immenſe profit, *to ſome retail* Prieſts upon the coaſts of New Spain.

[*l*] According to Anaſtaſius, Paulus Diaconus, and ſeveral other hiſtorians, there were three hundred and ſeventy, or three hundred and ſeventy five thouſand Saracens killed, and but fifteen hundred of the French. But in this they have followed an exaggerated

which lay neareſt them and was under the Exarchate of Ravenna, ſhould thenceforth be called *Romagna*. He likewiſe made his ſon Pepin King of Italy, and extended his Juriſdiction as far as Benevento: whilſt all the reſt of it was ſuffered to continue under the dominion of the Grecian Emperor, with whom he had entered into a compoſition.

During theſe tranſactions, Paſcal the firſt was elected Pope; and the Parochial Clergy of Rome, on account of their being neareſt the perſon of the Pope and ready at hand upon every Election, began to call themſelves [*n*] *Cardinals*, (in order to add ſome Dignity to their power by a ſplendid title) and aſſumed ſo much authority, eſpecially after they had excluded the ſuffrages of the Laity, that it hardly ever happened that a Pope was elected who was not one of their Body. So that when Paſcal died, Eugenius, (the ſecond Pontif of that name) Cardinal of Santa Sabina, was choſen by them to ſucceed him: and Italy being thus fallen into the hands of the French, in ſome meaſure changed its face and conſtitution, by the Popes having taken upon themſelves greater authority in temporal affairs, and the French introducing the Titles of *Count* and *Marquis*, as Longinus, Exarch of Ravenna, had done that of *Duke* before. After ſome others, [*o*] Oſporco, a Roman, ſucceeded to the Papacy, who being aſhamed of ſo ugly a name, aſſumed that of Sergius; which firſt gave riſe to the cuſtom of the Popes changing their names, as they now always do at their Election.

In the mean time Charlemagne died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Lewis: but after his death, there aroſe ſuch diſcord amongſt his Sons, that, in the days of his Grandchildren, the Empire was wreſted out of the Hands of the French, and the ſeat of it eſtabliſhed in Germany by Ainolphus, the firſt Emperor of that nation. And indeed the poſterity of Charlemagne not only loſt the Empire, but their Sovereignty in Italy likewiſe, by their diſſenſions: for the Lombards gathering freſh ſtrength, commenced hoſtilities againſt the Pope and the Romans, who, not knowing whither to have recourſe for protection, were forced to make Berengarius, then Duke of Friuli, King of Italy. This encouraged the Huns, who at that time were ſettled in Pannonia, to invade Italy once more: but they were defeated in an engagement with Berengarius, and driven back again into Pannonia, or rather Hungary, which was the name they had given to that province. At that time Romanus was Emperor of Greece, who, having been Admiral of Conſtantine's fleet, had deprived him of the Empire: and becauſe Puglia and Calabria (which, as we ſaid

[*n*] See the original of Cardinals, and the meaning of that word, in the Prolegomena to the Life of Pope Sixtus V, Number V, which is too long to be inſerted as a Note.

[*o*] *Bocca di Porci*; *Os Porci*; *Swine's Face*.

before,

before, were ſtill left ſubject to the Empire) had revolted, during theſe innovations, he was ſo enraged at their rebellion, that he ſuffered the Saracens to invade thoſe Provinces; who having ſubdued them, endeavoured likewiſe to make themſelves maſters of Rome. But the Romans (as Berengarius was ſufficiently employed in defending himſelf againſt the Huns) made Alberic, Duke of Tuſcany, their General: by whoſe valour their city was preſerved from the fury of the Saracens, who being obliged to raiſe the ſiege, retired from thence and built a fortreſs upon [p] Mount Gargano, by which they commanded Puglia and Calabria, and infeſted all that part of Italy. In this miſerable manner was Italy harraſſed at that time, by the Huns on that ſide next the Alps, and the Saracens on the other towards Naples: which troubles continued ſeveral years under three of the Berengarii, who ſucceſſively reigned over it. During which ſpace the Pope and the Church were likewiſe continually moleſted and diſturbed, being deprived of all ſuccour and protection by the diſſenſions which reigned amongſt the Weſtern Princes, and the weakneſs of the Eaſtern. The city of Genoa and all its adjacent territories were alſo over-run and laid waſte by the Saracens: which depopulation gave birth to the greatneſs of Piſa, by the reſort of multitudes thither that had been driven out of their own country. Such was the condition of Italy in the year 931.

But Otho, Duke of Saxony and ſon of Henry and Matilda, ſucceeding to the Imperial crown, and being a man of great reputation and prudence, Agapetus the Pope implored his aſſiſtance to deliver his country from the tyranny of the Berengarii. At that time the ſeveral States of Italy were governed in this manner. Lombardy was under the juriſdiction of Berengarius the Third and Albert his ſon. Tuſcany and Romania, under the dominion of a governor deputed by the Emperor of the Weſt. Some parts of Puglia and Calabria were ſubject to the Grecian Emperor, and others to the Saracens. At Rome two Conſuls were elected every year out of the Nobility, who governed it, according to ancient cuſtom: to whom a Prefect was joined to adminiſter juſtice to the people. They had likewiſe a *Council of Twelve* there, which annually appointed Governors over all the towns in their juriſdiction. The Pope had more or leſs authority in that city and the reſt of Italy, according as he had more or leſs intereſt with the Emperors, or other Princes that had the greateſt power there. Otho therefore marched into Italy and drove the Berengarii out of a Kingdom which they had poſſeſſed fifty-five years; and re-eſtabliſhed the Pope in his former dignity. This Prince had a ſon and a grandſon both of his own

[p] Now called Monte S. Angelo.

name,

name, who in their turns ſucceeded to the Empire: and in the time of Otho the Third, Pope Gregory the Fifth was driven out of the City by the Romans. Upon which, Otho returned into Italy to reinſtate him in his Chair: and the Pope, to revenge himſelf upon the Romans, took the power of creating Emperors from them, and veſted it in ſix Princes of Germany, three of whom were the Biſhops of Munſter, Treves, and Cologne; the other three were temporal Princes, namely, the Duke of Brandenbourg, the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and the Duke of Saxony, who were afterwards ſtyled *Electors*, and their States *Electorates*. This happened in the year 1002.

After the death of Otho the third, Henry Duke of Bavaria, was choſen Emperor by theſe Electors, but not crowned till twelve years after, by Stephen the Eighth. Henry and Simeonda his wife were eminent for their piety, as appears from the many Churches that were built and endowed by them; amongſt which is that of St. Miniato, near Florence. Henry died in the year 1024, and was ſucceeded by Conrade of Suabia; and Conrade by Henry the Second, who came to Rome, and finding a ſchiſm in the Church, as there were then three different Popes ſet up at the ſame time, he depoſed them all, and cauſed Clement the Second to be elected, by whom he was afterwards crowned Emperor.

Italy was then governed partly by Republics, partly by Princes, and partly by the Miniſters of the Emperors, one of whom had the title of *Chancellor*, and preſided over all the reſt. The moſt conſiderable and powerful of all the princes was Godfrey, huſband to the Counteſs Matilda, who was daughter of Beatrice, ſiſter to Henry the Second. She and her Huſband were in poſſeſſion of Lucca, Reggio, Mantua, and all that territory which is now called *the Patrimony of the Church*. The Popes at that time were not a little embarraſſed and diſtreſſed by the ambition of the Romans; for though they had made uſe of the Papal authority to rid themſelves of the Emperors; yet, as ſoon as the Popes had taken upon them the government of the City, and made ſuch a reform in it as they thought proper, the citizens on a ſudden became their enemies, and did them more and greater injuries than any Prince in Chriſtendom: and at a time when the Pontifs made all the Weſtern part of the world tremble at the thunder of their Cenſures, that people alone had the hardineſs to rebel: ſo that each party at laſt reſolved to leave no endeavours untried to pull down the reputation and authority of the other. Accordingly, when Nicholas the Second was promoted to the Papacy, as Gregory V. had taken from the Romans the privilege of chuſing their emperors; ſo *He* deprived them of their right of confirming the election of the Popes by their approbation, and

confined it to the Cardinals only. Nor was he contented with this, but having entered into a treaty with the Princes who then governed Puglia and Calabria, for reaſons which ſhall be preſently explained, he obliged all the magiſtrates that were ſent by the people of Rome into places under their juriſdiction, at the ſame time to acknowledge their authority from the Pope, and ſome he deprived of their offices. After the death of Nicholas, there was another ſchiſm in the Church; for the Clergy of Lombardy would not pay obedience to Alexander the Second, (who had been choſen Pope at Rome) but ſet up Cadolus, of Parma, as Antipope. Upon which, Henry the Emperor, who could not bear to ſee the Popes ſo powerful, commanded Alexander to reſign the Papacy, and the Cardinals to repair into Germany, to make a freſh election: for which he had the honour of being the firſt Prince that was made ſenſible of the weight of ſpiritual weapons. For the Pope cauſing a new council to aſſemble at Rome, deprived him both of his kingdom and empire [q]: and ſome of the Italian States eſpouſing the Pope's party,

[q] There reſided at that time in Rome, a Monk of the Order of Cluny, lately created Cardinal; a man of a reſtleſs, fiery, enterprizing diſpoſition, but chiefly remarkable for his furious zeal for the pretenſions of the Church, which he ſometimes made ſubſervient to his own private intereſts. Hildebrand was the name of this daring man, afterwards the celebrated Gregory VII. He was born at Soana in Tuſcany of obſcure parentage, brought up at Rome, admitted a Monk of Cluny, deputed afterwards to negotiate the affairs of his Order at Rome, and then employed by the Popes in all political concerns that required reſolution and addreſs. He had the chief management of the Church under Alexander II. which led him to conſider the troubles in Germany as a favourable conjuncture for ſtriking a bold ſtroke there. In fact, he engaged Alexander to excommunicate his ſovereign Henry IV. under a pretence of its being reported that Henry ſold Benefices in private, and led a ſcandalous life in the company of lewd women. Upon the demiſe of Alexander, Hildebrand procured himſelf to be elected and inſtalled by the people of Rome, without waiting for the Emperor's permiſſion: but he ſoon obtained that, by promiſing fealty and allegiance. Henry admitted of his excuſes, and his Chancellor of Italy repaired to Rome to confirm the election. But he was ſcarcely ſettled on the Papal throne, when he pronounced Excommunication againſt all thoſe that accepted benefices from the hands of Laymen, and againſt every Layman that conferred them. His deſign was to deprive all ſecular Patrons of the right of preſentation to Church-livings; which indeed was ſetting the Church at open variance with the Sovereigns of all Chriſtian nations. Henry, amazed at this preſumption, called a council at Worms, by the advice of the States, in which he depoſed Gregory as a Simoniac and public diſturber of the Peace of the Church and Empire: and afterwards ſent an envoy to read this decree of the Council to the Pope, and command him to reſign and ceaſe to profane the Holy Chair, of which the Emperor was Guardian. Upon this, the Pope declared in a Council of 110 Italian Biſhops, "That by the Authority of God and St. Peter, he depoſed Henry from the Imperial throne, and abſolved all his ſubjects from their obedience." The Emperor proteſted againſt this Excommunication, and the Pope's uſurpation over his crown; alleging the example of Charlemain, and others, who had the power of confirming the Popes, which ſeveral of them, and particularly Gregory himſelf, had acknowledged to be the Emperor's right. But

and

and ſome the Emperor's, gave birth to the two famous factions of Guelfs and Ghibelines, and to thoſe inteſtine diſcords which tore their country to pieces, after it was at laſt delivered from the ſcourge of Barbarians and foreign inundations.

Henry being thus excommunicated was forced by his own ſubjects to go to Italy, in the year 1080, where he made his peace with the Pope, by aſking pardon upon his bare knees. Not long after, however, there happened another quarrel betwixt him and the Pope, and Henry was again excommunicated: at which he was ſo exaſperated, that he ſent his ſon, whoſe name alſo was Henry, with an army to Rome; where, with the aſſiſtance of the Romans who hated the Pope, he beſieged him in his caſtle: but receiving intelligence that Robert Guiſcard was marching out of Puglia to the Pontif's relief, he did not wait for his arrival, but returned into Germany. The Romans, however, perſiſted in their contumacy to ſuch a degree, that Rome was once more ſacked

the German Prelates and Princes, who had engaged Henry in their cauſe, now deſerting him, and threatening to dethrone him, he was forced to paſs the Alps in the rigour of the winter, with his Empreſs, his Son, and one Gentleman only to attend him; and being almoſt famiſhed with hunger, and ſtarved with cold, this great Emperor, who had been celebrated for ſo many victories, was obliged to throw himſelf at the Pope's feet, after he, his Empreſs, and his ſon, had waited three days at his gate, in the habit of Penitents, bare-footed, with their heads uncovered, though it was then the middle of January, and without eating a morſel of bread: after which, and agreeing to the Pope's terms, he was abſolved. Upon this, the Princes of Italy deſpiſing him as a coward, and the Pope as a Tyrant and Simoniac, conſpired againſt them both. The Emperor, therefore, perceiving how much he had abaſed himſelf, and diſappointed thoſe Princes, who hoped for a Reformation of the Church, through his aſſiſtance, at laſt called them together, and having accuſed the Pope, as the cauſe of the ruin of the empire, he demanded their ſuccour againſt him; by which ſtep he regained their affections, and afterwards kept the Pope in a manner blocked up at home. The German rebels in the mean time, choſe Rodolphus, Duke of Suabia, Emperor, and crowned him at Mentz, in the year 1077; upon which, Henry returned into Germany, and defeated the forces of Rodolphus, which ſo terrified the Pope, that he endeavoured to make an accommodation betwixt them. But the Rebels complaining, that he abandoned them in a cauſe, wherein he himſelf had firſt engaged them, he excommunicated Henry a ſecond time, confirmed the election of Rodolphus, and ſent him a crown, with this inſcription upon it:

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.

Which wretched pun ſerves to ſhew the taſte of thoſe times, and the intolerable pride of the Roman Pontif.

After this, Henry having at laſt totally ſubdued his competitor, called a council at Tyrol, in which he depoſed the Pope, and paſſing the Alps, took Rome by ſtorm, and beſieged him in the caſtle of St. Angelo, from whence, however, he was delivered by the Duke of Apulia, and died ſoon after, leaving behind him, a memory dear and ſacred to the Roman Clergy, who inherited his pride; but deteſtable to the Emperors, and every good Citizen, who conſiders the effects of his inſatiable ambition. See *Voltaire's gen. hiſt. Vol.* I. *from p.* 194 *to p.* 209. And *Hiſtoire d'Allemagne, par Monſieur de Prade,*

by

by Guiſcard, and reduced to that ruinous condition from which it had but lately emerged by the care and pains of ſo many Pontifs. And as a ſon of this Robert firſt founded and modelled the Kingdom of Naples, it may not be foreign to our purpoſe, to give a particular account of his extraction and achievements.

Upon the diſcords that aroſe amongſt the poſterity of Charlemagne, which we have already ſlightly mentioned, the Normans, another northern people, took the opportunity of invading France, and got poſſeſſion of that part of it, which from them is ſtill called Normandy [r]. One diviſion of this people forced its way into Italy, at the time when it was ſo cruelly harraſſed and over-run by the Berengarii, the Saracens, and the Huns; and getting foot-hold in Romagna, during thoſe troubles in that Province, they bravely maintained their ground there. Tancred, one of the Norman chiefs, had ſeveral ſons; amongſt whom, were William, called Ferabar, or Fier-a-bras, and Robert, ſurnamed Guiſcard. After the diſturbances in Italy were in ſome meaſure compoſed, and tranquillity reſtored, William became their prince. But the Saracens being in poſſeſſion of Sicily, daily infeſted the coaſts of Italy, in ſuch a manner, that William was obliged to enter into a confederacy with the Princes of Capua and Salerno, and with Milorcus, a Greek, (who was deputed Governor of Puglia and Calabria by the Grecian Emperor) in order to invade Sicily: and it was agreed, that both the booty and iſland itſelf ſhould be equally divided amongſt them, in caſe they ſhould make a conqueſt of it. The enterpriſe was attended with ſucceſs; for they drove the Saracens out of the country, and took poſſeſſion of it themſelves. But Milorcus having cauſed more forces to be privately tranſported out of Greece, ſeized upon the Iſland in the name of the Emperor, and only divided the ſpoil with the reſt: at which, William was not a little diſguſted, but thinking it proper to diſſemble his reſentment till a more convenient opportunity, he departed out of Sicily with the Princes of Capua and Salerno. But as ſoon as they left him to return to their reſpective homes, inſtead of going back again into Romagna, he made a ſudden march with his army into Puglia, ſurprized Melfi, and ſoon reduced almoſt all Puglia and Calabria, in ſpight of the Emperor's forces; which Provinces were governed by his brother Robert, till the time of Nicholas the Second. And as he afterwards had many diſputes with his Nephews about the inheritance of thoſe States, he intreated the Pope to uſe his authority to compoſe them; which his Holineſs readily complied with, as he was very deſirous to make Robert his friend by any means, that ſo he might ſupport him againſt the power

[r] Before that time called Neuſtria.

of the German Emperor, and the petulance of the Romans: and it afterwards happened, as we have juſt related, that upon the ſollicitation of Gregory VII. he drove Henry away from Rome, and chaſtiſed the inſolence of the Inhabitants.

Robert was ſucceeded by his two Sons, Roger and William, who not only annexed the city of Naples, and all the Country betwixt it and Rome, to their inheritance, but alſo ſubdued Sicily, of which Roger was made Lord. But William going ſome time afterwards to Conſtantinople, to marry the Emperor's daughter, Roger took the opportunity of invading his brother's dominions, which he ſoon made himſelf maſter of; and being elated with ſo great an acquiſition, cauſed himſelf at firſt to be called *King of Italy*, but afterwards was contented with the title of *King of Puglia and Sicily*; being the firſt that gave the Kingdom that name and form of government, which it retains to this day; though it has happened ſince, that not only the reigning family, but the very people have been often changed. For, upon the failure of the Norman Line, the Kingdom was transferred to the Germans; from them to the French; from the French to the Arragoneſe; and from them to the Flemings, who [*s*] ſtill are in poſſeſſion of it.

In the mean time, Urban the Second had ſucceeded to the Pontificate: but as he was a perſon very diſagreeable to the Romans, and did not think himſelf ſecure in Italy, on account of the diſturbances there, he removed, with all his Clergy, into France, where he firſt laid the plan of a very noble and generous undertaking. For having aſſembled a great concourſe of People at [*t*] Antwerp, he made an eloquent and pathetic Harangue againſt the Infidels, which inſpired them with ſuch an ardour, that they reſolved upon an expedition into Aſia againſt the Saracens: and this expedition was called a *Cruſade* (as thoſe of the ſame kind were like-

[*s*] The reader is here deſired to remember, that this Hiſtory was publiſhed in the year 1531. Since which time, the Kingdom of Naples has often again changed its Maſters; particularly in 1707, when the Spaniards, who then had it, were driven from thence by the Imperialiſts: and at the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, Naples was confirmed to the Emperor, and Sicily allotted to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of King. The Spaniards invaded Sicily in 1718, but were forced to abandon it again, and then it was conferred on the Emperor Charles VI. who held it till the year 1735, when the Imperialiſts were driven out of this Iſland, and all their Italian dominions; and Don Carlos, the King of Spain's eldeſt Son, by the Princeſs of Parma, his ſecond Wife, was advanced to the throne of the Two Sicilies, (Naples and Sicily) whither he was convoyed by a ſquadron of Britiſh men of war, under the command of Sir John Norris. It was confirmed to him by a ſubſequent treaty, and ſtill continues in his family, though the Queen of Hungary likewiſe claims a right to this Kingdom.

[*t*] Machiavel is miſtaken in the name of the place; it was at Clermont in Auvergne, where Urban harangued the people in the Market-place. *See Voltaire's Gen. Hiſt. Vol.* I. p. 263.

wiſe.

wiſe afterwards) becauſe all that embarked in it bore a red Croſs upon their armour and cloths. The chief commanders in this enterprize were Godfrey, Euſtach, and Baldwin, Counts of Bouillon, and [u] Peter the Hermit, a man held in exceeding great veneration, both for his prudence and ſanctity of life. Many Princes and Nations contributed to it with their purſes, and numbers of private Gentlemen ſerved as volunteers without any pay or ſtipend: ſuch an influence had Religion at that time over the minds of men, animated by the example of their Commanders! This enterprize was at firſt very ſucceſsful; for all Aſia Minor, Syria, and part of Egypt, were conquered by the Chriſtians: and during the courſe of this War, the Order of the *Knights of Jeruſalem* was inſtituted, which ſtill ſubſiſts, and being in poſſeſſion of Rhodes [x], is the chief bulwark againſt the power of the Turks. The Order of the *Knights Templars* was likewiſe founded in theſe times; but their manners grew ſo diſſolute that it was ſoon aboliſhed. After theſe things, many events happened, in which the ſeveral nations and divers particular men diſtinguiſhed themſelves at different times and upon various occaſions. The Kings of England and France, the States of Piſa, Venice, and Genoa, were engaged in this expedition, and acquired great reputation, carrying on the war with variety of ſucceſs, till the time of Saladine the Saracen, whoſe valour and good fortune, added to the diſcord that aroſe amongſt the Chriſtian Princes, at laſt robbed them of the glory they had gained, and drove them out of a Country where they had ſo happily and honourably maintained their footing for the ſpace of ninety years.

After the death of Urban, Paſcal the Second was made Pope, and Henry the Fourth ſucceeded to the Empire; who, coming to Rome, and pretending great reſpect for the Pope, found means to ſhut up both him and all his Clergy in priſon: nor could he afterwards be prevailed upon to ſet him at liberty again, till he had extorted a licence from him to diſpoſe of all the Churches in Germany as he pleaſed [y]. About this time,

[u] A Pilgrim of Amiens, firſt known by the name of *Coucoupietre*, or, *Cucupierte*. *Ibid.*

[x] They were driven out of Rhodes by the Turks, in the time of Soliman II. and the Emperor Charles V. gave them the Iſle of Malta, when Monſieur de l'Iſle-Adam, uncle to Anne de Montmorancy, Conſtable of France, was their Grand Maſter. And this Iſland has been their chief place of reſidence ever ſince.

[y] After the death of the Emperor Henry IV. his ſon Henry V. being deſirous to be crowned by the hands of the Pope, according to the uſual manner, Paſcal refuſed to put the crown upon his head, except he would renounce his right to the inveſtitures of Benefices. But the young Prince diſdaining ſuch a propoſal, cauſed the Pope and his Clergy, and all the principal perſons of the city of Rome, to be ſeized upon, and kept them in priſon two months; at the end of which, the Pope made his ſubmiſſion and crowned him. It is ſaid, that Paſcal, when he gave part of the Hoſt to Henry, which he had conſecrated at Maſs, ſpoke to him in this manner: "May it pleaſe your Ma-

the Counteſs Matilda died, and left all her poſſeſſions to the Church [z]. After the death of Paſcal and Henry IV. many Popes and Emperors ſucceeded, till the Papacy fell to Alexander III. and the empire to Frederick Barbaroſſa, a Suabian.

The Popes, in that interval, had had many quarrels, both with the people of Rome and the Emperors, which grew to a ſtill greater height in the time of Barbaroſſa. Frederick was an excellent Soldier, but of ſo haughty a diſpoſition, that he could not bear the thoughts of ſubmitting to the Pope: yet he came to Rome to be crowned, and after that, returned peaceably into Germany. But this pacific temper did not continue long; for he ſpeedily returned into Italy to reduce ſome towns in Lombardy that refuſed to obey him: at which juncture it happened, that the Cardinal of St. Clement, a Roman born, was ſet up againſt Alexander, and choſen Pope by ſome of the Cardinals. Upon which, Alexander complained of him to Frederick the Emperor, who then lay encamped before Crema, and received for anſwer, "that both of them muſt come

jeſty, in confirmation of a ſolid peace, and our mutual union, I give you the Body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who was born of the Virgin Mary, and died upon the Croſs for us, as the Catholick Church believes." But the Cardinals condemning this conceſſion in the Pope, he revoked it in a council. Hoffman ſays, that having taken one part of the Hoſt, and given the other to the Emperor, he expreſſed himſelf thus: *Sicut pars hæc vivifici corporis diviſa eſt, ita diviſus ſit a regno Chriſti domini noſtri qui pactum hoc violare tentaverit*; that is, *May he be excluded the Kingdom of Heaven, who goes about to violate this agreement. Sigon. lib.* x. But the Emperor was hardly got into Germany, when the Pope raiſed the Saracens againſt him, by whom he was defeated, and forced to give up the matter of Inveſtitures. This Pope excommunicated the Biſhop of Florence, for ſaying Antichriſt was then born. *Platina. Baronius. Hen. Caniſius.*

[z] She was Daughter of Boniface, Marquis of Tuſcany, and Beatrice, the Daughter of Conrade II. She waged war againſt the Emperor Henry IV. in behalf of Pope Gregory VII. who had gained ſuch an aſcendant over her, that by his perſuaſion, ſhe made an abſolute donation of her territories to the Holy See, reſerving to herſelf only the uſufruct during life, though Henry was her next heir, both as a relation and Lord paramount. She often led her armies in perſon againſt that Prince, and got great reputation by her courage and conduct. Her enemies accuſed her of being too familiar with Pope Gregory, who was her ſpiritual director. He was ſhut up with her in the fortreſs of Canoſa, near Reggio, in the Apennine Mountains, all the while that Henry IV. with his Empreſs and Son, were doing penance at his gate, in the abject manner beforementioned. It is true, he was then ſixty years old; but Matilda was a young, weak woman. The devout language which we find in his letters to the princeſs, compared with the extravagance of his ambition, might induce ſome to ſuſpect, that he made uſe of Religion as a cloak to all his paſſions. However that might be, after ſhe had loſt Pope Gregory, ſhe married the young Prince of Guelph, ſon of Guelph, the Duke of Bavaria. Then was ſeen the imprudence ſhe had been guilty of in making the abovementioned donation: for ſhe was at that time but forty-two years of age, and might ſtill have had children, who muſt have engaged in a civil war to recover their inheritance. *See Lambert, the Abbot of Uſberg, as quoted by Baronius, in his Annals: and Voltaire's general hiſtory, Vol.* I. p. 201, 205.

perſonally

perſonally before him, and when he had heard their reſpective pretenſions, he ſhould be better able to judge which of them was the true Pope". But Alexander being diſſatisfied with this anſwer, and perceiving that the Emperor was inclined to favour the Antipope, immediately excommunicated him and fled for refuge to Philip King of France. Frederick, however, ſtill proſecuting the war in Lombardy, took Milan and diſmantled it; which occaſioned the Cities of Verona, Padua, and Venice, to enter into a confederacy for their common defence againſt him.

In the mean time the Antipope died, and Frederick ſet up Guido of Cremona in his room. The Romans, therefore, taking advantage of the Pope's abſence, and ſeeing the Emperor ſufficiently employed in Lombardy, had not only reſumed ſomething of their ancient authority in Rome, during this interval, but likewiſe demanded obedience from other ſtates which had been formerly ſubject to them. And becauſe the [*a*] Tuſculans refuſed to acknowledge their juriſdiction, they marched out in a confuſed and tumultuous ſort of a manner againſt them: but as the latter were ſuccoured by the Emperor, they defeated the Romans, and ſlew ſo many of them, that after that time, Rome was never ſo rich and populous again as it had been before.

This encouraged Pope Alexander to return to that City, where he thought he might now be ſafe enough on account of the enmity betwixt Frederick and the Romans, and becauſe he knew his hands were full in Lombardy. But Frederick poſtponing every other conſideration, marched with his army to beſiege Rome, where Alexander did not think fit to wait for him; but retired into Puglia, of which William was become King by right of inheritance after the death of Roger. Frederick being driven away by the Plague, raiſed the ſiege and returned into Germany: and the Lombards who had confederated againſt him, in order to diſtreſs Pavia and Tortona, towns that adhered to the Emperor's party, built another city, which they deſigned to make their magazine, or place of arms during that war, and called it Alexandria, in honour of the Pope and defiance of the Emperor. In the mean time, Guido the Antipope died, and John of Fermo was ſet up in his room, who, by the favour of the Imperial party, was ſuffered to reſide at Monteſiaſcone: whilſt Alexander was gone to Tuſculum at the invitation of that People, who thought his authority would protect them againſt the Romans. During

[*a*] Tuſculum was a little territory not far from Rome, ſituated in that part which at preſent is called *la campagna di Roma*. It was famous for Cicero's Villa, which is now in the poſſeſſion of the Borgheſe family. It is the ſeat of a Biſhop, who ſtill retains the name of *Tuſculanus Epiſcopus*. The town of Tuſculum was deſtroyed in the time of Celeſtine III. becauſe the inhabitants ſided with the Imperialiſts, and Freſcati built upon its ruins about 560 years ago. There are a great number of palaces of pleaſure in and about it.

his ſtay there, Ambaſſadors came to him from Henry, King of England, to clear their Maſter of the death of Thomas Becket, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; of which he had been publickly, but injuriouſly accuſed. To inquire into the truth of this Matter, the Pope ſent two Cardinals to England; who, though there was no ſufficient proof of the King's guilt, yet on account of the infamy of the fact, and becauſe his Majeſty had not ſhewn the Archbiſhop due reſpect, as they pretended, enjoyned him for a Penance, that he ſhould call all the Barons of his Kingdom together, and make oath of his innocence in their preſence: that he ſhould immediately ſend two hundred ſoldiers to Jeruſalem, to be paid by him, for twelve months, and follow them in perſon thither with as great a force as he could raiſe, before the expiration of three years: and further, that he ſhould not only be obliged to abrogate all acts that had been paſſed in his Kingdom to the prejudice of the Church and Eccleſiaſtical immunities, but give any of his ſubjects leave to appeal to Rome upon occaſion, whenſoever, and as often as they had a mind: all which conditions were accepted by Henry, and that great Prince ſubmitted to a ſentence which would be ſcorned and rejected by any private man at this time of day [*b*]. Nevertheleſs, whilſt the authority of the Pope was ſo formidable to foreign Princes, he had not power enough to make himſelf obeyed at home; nor could he prevail upon the Romans to let him reſide in their City, though he promiſed them not to concern himſelf about any thing but what immediately concerned the intereſts of the Church. From whence it ſeems, as if authority that ſupports itſelf merely by appearances, is more dreaded at a diſtance, than by thoſe that are upon the ſpot, and have an opportunity of looking more narrowly into the nature of it.

By this time Frederick had returned into Italy: but whilſt he was making preparations to renew the war againſt the Pope, all his Clergy and Barons threatened to abandon him if he did not reconcile himſelf to the Church: ſo that he was forced to go and make his ſubmiſſion to the Pope at Venice, where they were reconciled [*c*]. But, by an article of this ac-

[*b*] Still more harmleſs and ridiculous was the penance or curſe pronounced upon Sir William Tracey, who was ſaid to be the moſt active of thoſe that were concerned in this murder. He and all his poſterity were ſentenced *to have the wind always in their faces, whether they travelled by land or water.* A woeful curſe indeed, if it had been effectual! From this ſcrap of a Legend aroſe the old fooliſh proverb,

——— "*The Traceys*
"*Have always the wind in their faces.*"

[*c*] The haughty Pope ſet his foot upon his neck, with this expreſſion: *Super aſpidem & baſiliſcum ambulabo, &c. I will tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon will I trample under my feet. Pſalm* xci. 13. The Emperor replying, *That power was given to Peter only*; he rejoined, *et mihi & Petro; it was given to me and Peter too.* Afterwards in his troubles, Emanuel, Emperor of Conſtantinople, ſent to offer him aſſiſtance, provided he would conſent to the reunion of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Em-

commodation,

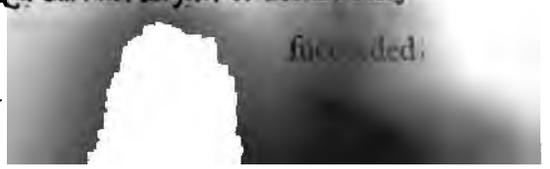
commodation, his Holineſs obliged the Emperor to give up all the authority that he had at Rome, and inſiſted upon having his ally and confederate, William, King of Sicily and Puglia, included in the agreement. After which, Frederick, who was a warlike Prince and hated an inactive life, embarked in the expedition to Aſia, to vent his ſpirit upon the Turks, when he ſaw he could not revenge himſelf upon the Pope. But when he had got as far as the banks of the Cidnus, a River in Cilicia, being tempted by the clearneſs of its ſtreams, he could not reſiſt the pleaſure of bathing in them [*d*], by which he contracted ſuch a diſorder, that he died of it. An accident that was of more ſervice to the Mahometans, than all the Pope's excommunications had been to the Chriſtians: for the latter only curbed his ambition, but this entirely extinguiſhed it.

After the death of Frederick, the Pope had nothing to ſtruggle with but the inveterate obſtinacy of the Romans: and after long diſputes about the creation of Conſuls, it was at laſt agreed, that, according to ancient cuſtom, they ſhould have the privilege of chuſing them, but that they ſhould not enter upon their office till they had ſworn obedience to the Church. Upon this agreement, John the Antipope fled to Mont Albano, where he died ſoon after. In the mean time William, King of Naples, died alſo: and as he left no ſons but Tancred, who was illegitimate, the Pope deſigned to have ſeized upon his Kingdom. The Barons, however, would not conſent to that, but made Tancred their King. Celeſtine the third ſucceeding to the Papacy, and being deſirous to wreſt that Kingdom out of the hands of Tancred, endeavoured to get Henry, who was ſon to Frederick, choſen Emperor, and alſo promiſed him the Kingdom of Naples, upon condition that he ſhould reſtore ſuch lands as belonged to the Church. And to facilitate the matter, he took Conſtantia, an old maid (daughter to William the late King) out of a Nunnery, and gave him her to wife: and in this manner the Kingdom of Naples paſſed from the Normans, who had been the founders of it, to the Germans.

Henry the Emperor, having ſettled his affairs in Germany came into Italy with his wife Conſtantia, and a Son about four years old, whoſe name was Frederick, and without much difficulty took poſſeſſion of that Kingdom; as Tancred was now dead and had left but one Son, named Roger, who was an infant. Not long after, Henry died in Sicily, and was

pires; to which the Pope anſwered, "That he could not conſent to unite, what his predeceſſors had taken ſo much pains to divide." Baronius endeavours to prove theſe ſtories fabulous.

[*d*] It is worthy of notice, that when Alexander the Great came to this river, he alſo was ſo delighted with the clearneſs of the waters, that he threw himſelf into it, all covered with ſweat and duſt as he was; by which he was ſo benumbed, that it required the utmoſt ſkill of his phyſician to recover him. *Qu. Cur. lib.* iii. *ſect.* 6. See the Story at large there, as it is a very remarkable one.



ſucceeded in that Kingdom by Frederick: and Otho, Duke of Saxony, was choſen Emperor by the influence of Innocent the Second. However, he had no ſooner got the Imperial Crown upon his head, but he fell out with the Pope, contrary to the expectation of all men, ſeized upon Romagna, and was preparing to invade Sicily: upon which, being excommunicated by the Pope, he was deſerted by every one, and Frederick King of Naples choſen Emperor in his ſtead. This Frederick came to Rome to be crowned there; but the Pope being jealous of his power, refuſed it, and endeavoured to thruſt him out of Italy, as he had done Otho: at which, Frederick being much offended, went into Germany, raiſed an army, made war upon Otho, and at laſt overcame him.

In the mean time Innocent died, who, beſides his other magnificent works, built the Hoſpital di Santo Spirito at Rome. He was ſucceeded by Honorius the third: in whoſe Pontificate, the Orders of St. Dominick and St. Francis were inſtituted, about the year 1218. This Pope crowned Frederick, to whom John (deſcended from Baldwin, King of Jeruſalem, who commanded the remainder of the Chriſtians in Aſia, and ſtill retained that title) gave one of his daughters in marriage, and the title of that Kingdom in dower with her, which the Kings of Naples have borne ever ſince. Italy was then circumſtanced in this manner. The Romans no longer appointed Conſuls, but inveſted ſometimes one, ſometimes more of the Senators with the ſame authority. The confederacy ſtill ſubſiſted, into which the following cities of Lombardy had entered againſt Frederick Barbaroſſa, namely, Milan, Breſcia, and Mantua, with moſt of thoſe in Romagna, beſides Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Trevigi. The cities that took part with the Emperor, were Cremona, Bergamo, Parma, Reggio, Modena, and Trenta. The other cities and fortreſſes of Lombardy, Romania, and the Marca Trevigiana, ſided ſometimes with one party, and ſometimes with the other, as it beſt ſuited their intereſt.

In the reign of Otho the third, one Ezelino came to ſettle in Italy. This man's grandſon, whoſe name was likewiſe Ezelino, becoming very rich and powerful, joined the party of Frederick, in oppoſition to the Pope: and it was by his inſtigation and aſſiſtance, that Frederick invaded Italy, took Verona and Mantua, diſmantled Vicenza, ſeized upon Padua, defeated the army of the Confederates, and advanced towards Tuſcany; during which time Ezelino made himſelf maſter of la Marca Trevigiana. But they could not take Ferrara, as it was defended by Azzone de Eſte and ſome forces which the Pope had in Lombardy: in recompence for which ſervice, as ſoon as the Siege was raiſed, his Holineſs gave that City in fee to the ſaid Azzone, from whom thoſe are deſcended that are Lords

of it at this day [e]. After this, Frederick took up his head quarters at Piſa, being deſirous to make himſelf maſter of Tuſcany: and by the diſtinction which he made betwixt his friends and thoſe that oppoſed him, he raiſed ſuch diſcords and animoſities amongſt them as afterwards proved the ruin of all Italy: for the two factions of Guelphs and Ghibelines increaſed every day, the former ſiding with the Church, the other with the Emperor, and were firſt called by thoſe names at the City of Piſtoia. When Frederick left Piſa, he made ſuch terrible havock and devaſtation in the territories of the Church, that the Pope, having no other remedy, proclaimed a Cruſade againſt him, as his predeceſſors had done againſt the Saracens: and Frederick, for fear of being left deſtitute, and ſuddenly deſerted by his own forces, as Barbaroſſa and other former Emperors had been upon the like emergencies, took a large body of Saracens into his pay, and to attach them more firmly to him and ſtrengthen his oppoſition to the Pope in Italy, by troops that deſpiſed his maledictions, he gave them Nocera there, that ſo when they ſaw they had a place of their own whither they could retreat upon occaſion, they might ſerve him with more confidence and ſecurity.

Innocent the fourth was now made Pope; who being afraid of Frederick, retired to Genoa, and from thence into France, where he aſſembled a Council at Lyons, at which Frederick deſigned to have been preſent himſelf, if he had not been prevented by a rebellion that broke out in Parma: and, not ſucceeding in his attempts to ſuppreſs it, he marched away into Tuſcany, and from thence tranſported himſelf into Sicily, where he died not long after, leaving his own Son Conrade in Suabia, and Manfred his natural Son in Puglia, whom he had before made Duke of Benevento. But Conrade coming to take poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, was ſeized with an illneſs at Naples and died there, leaving only one Son behind him in Germany, whoſe name was Conradine. Manfred therefore in the firſt place, took the government of the Kingdom upon him, as guardian to Conradine, during his minority; and afterwards giving out that the young Prince was dead, made himſelf King, and forced the Pope and the Neapolitans, who oppoſed it, to acknowledge him.

During theſe diſturbances in that Kingdom, there likewiſe aroſe great commotions and diſſenſions in Lombardy, betwixt the Guelphs and the Ghibelines there. The Guelphs were headed by a Legate from the Pope; and the Ghibelines by Ezelino, who had got poſſeſſion of almoſt all that

[e] This fief returned to the Church in the time of Henry IV. King of France, who reſtored it to Clement VIII. upon the death of Alphonſo II. Duke of Ferrara, in 1598, without heirs male; though it was claimed by the Duke of Modena, a territory that was erected into a Dukedom by the Emperor Frederick III. 1452, in favour of Borſo d'Eſte, whoſe family have been in poſſeſſion of it ever ſince.

part of Lombardy, which lies on the other ſide of the Po. And as the City of Padua had revolted whilſt he was engaged in this war, he cauſed twelve thouſand of the Paduans to be put to death, but died himſelf before the war was ended, in the thirtieth year of his age: after which, all the territories that had been in his hands recovered their liberty [*f*]. Manfred King of Naples, however, continued at enmity with the Church, as his predeceſſors had done, and kept Urban the fourth, who then filled the Pontifical chair, in ſuch continual alarm, that he was obliged to ſet up another Cruſade, and to retire to Perugia, till he could aſſemble his forces. But finding that few came in and very ſlowly, and that more powerful ſupplies were neceſſary to reduce him to reaſon, he applied to Lewis [*g*] King of France for aſſiſtance, (whoſe brother, Charles of Anjou, he made King of Naples and Sicily) and exhorted him to come into Italy to take poſſeſſion of that Kingdom. But the Pope died before the arrival of that Prince at Rome, and was ſucceeded by Clement the fourth; in whoſe time Charles came to Oſtia with thirty gallies, having appointed the reſt of his forces to march thither by land. During the ſtay that he made at Rome, the Romans, out of compliment, conferred the ſenatorial Dignity upon him, and the Pope confirmed him in his Kingdom, on condition that he ſhould yearly pay the ſum of fifty thouſand Florins to the Church: but at the ſame time publiſhed a Decree that neither Charles nor any other that ſhould ſucceed him in that Kingdom, ſhould be capable of being Emperor. After which, Charles advanced againſt Manfred, whom he routed and killed near Benevento, and took poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily. But Conradine, to whom that Kingdom of right belonged, by his father's will, having raiſed a good body of forces in Germany, marched into Italy againſt Charles, by whom he was engaged at Tagliacozzo, and not only defeated, but taken, and afterwards killed as he was endeavouring to make his eſcape in diſguiſe.

After this, Italy continued in peace till the Pontificate of Adrian the Fifth, who not being able to bear that Charles ſhould continue at Rome, and rule every thing there, as he did, by virtue of his Senatorſhip, removed to Viterbo, and ſollicited Rodolphus the Emperor, to march into

[*f*] Paolo Jovio ſays in his Elogies, he was one of the moſt barbarous Tyrants that ever lived, killing man, woman, or child, upon the leaſt offence, and ſometimes without any at all. The puniſhments and tortures he invented, were ſuch as had never been heard of before. After he had exerciſed every kind of cruelty upon mankind, for the ſpace of forty years, he was wounded and taken priſoner by the confederated Princes of Lombardy, in attempting to make himſelf maſter of Milan: and being carried to Soncino, he died mad there in 1259; ſo that he muſt have lived much longer than Machiavel ſays he did.

[*g*] Lewis IX. commonly called St. Lewis.

Italy

Italy againſt him. In this manner, the Popes, ſometimes in defence of Religion, ſometimes to gratify their own private intereſt and ambition, were continually calling foreign Princes into Italy, to foment new wars: and no ſooner had they exalted one of them, but they immediately repented of what they had done, and endeavoured to pull him down again: nor would they ſuffer that province, which yet they were not able to ſubdue themſelves, to be quietly enjoyed by any body elſe. So that the Princes of it were in continual dread of them, eſpecially as the Popes always got the better of them, either by force or fraud, if they were not out-ſchemed, as Boniface the Eighth, and ſome others of them, were by the Emperors, under the maſk of friendſhip.

Rodolphus being detained by a war, that he was engaged in with the King of Bohemia, was not at leiſure to come into Italy, till after the death of Adrian, whoſe ſucceſſor in the Papacy was Nicholas III. of the family of Urſini, a bold and ambitious man, and determined at all events, to humble the power of Charles: for which purpoſe, he contrived, that Rodolphus the Emperor ſhould complain of Charles for keeping a governor in Tuſcany, who ſided with, and ſupported the faction of, the Guelphs in that province, where they had been re-eſtabliſhed by him after the death of Manfred. To oblige the Emperor therefore, Charles recalled that governor, and the Pope ſent one of his Nephews, who was a Cardinal, to take poſſeſſion of it for the Emperor: in return for which favour, the Emperor reſtored Romagna to the Church, which had been taken from it by his Predeceſſors; and the Pope made Bertoldo Urſini, Duke of Romagna. And now thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to cope with Charles, he degraded him from his Senatorial dignity, and made a Decree, that for the future, no perſon of royal extraction ſhould ever be a Senator of Rome. He likewiſe formed a ſecret deſign, in concert with Peter, King of Arragon, to deprive Charles of Sicily; which afterwards took effect in the time of his ſucceſſor. He further intended to have made two Kings, of his own family; one of Lombardy, the other of Tuſcany; by whoſe power and aſſiſtance the Church might prevent any more Germans from coming into Italy, and defend itſelf againſt the French that were already ſettled in the Kingdom of Naples. But he died before theſe ends could be accompliſhed, and was the firſt Pope that openly avowed his ambition, and ſhewed that under a pretence of advancing the intereſts of the Church, he only deſigned to aggrandize his own family. And though no mention is made of the Pope's Nephews, or other relations before this time, yet ſucceeding hiſtory is full of them, and we muſt conſider them henceforth as their ſons: for as the Pontifs formerly endeavoured to leave them Princes, they would now leave them Popes, if they could, and make the Papacy hereditary. But the prin-

cipalities indeed which they have hitherto erected, have been of ſhort duration: for as the Popes are commonly old men before their exaltation, and ſeldom live long after it, the ſtates which they found, have not ſufficient time to eſtabliſh themſelves, and therefore, are blown down by the firſt guſt of wind, for want of ſtrength and authority to ſupport them.

This Pope was ſucceeded by Martin the Fourth, who being a Frenchman born, favoured the party of Charles, in ſuch a manner, that Charles ſent an army to his aſſiſtance in Romagna, which had rebelled: but as he lay encamped before Forli, Guido Bonatti, an Aſtrologer, who was then in the town, adviſed the Garriſon to make a ſally at a particular hour appointed by him, which ſucceeded ſo well, that all the French forces were either taken or killed. About this time, the deſigns that had been formed by Pope Nicholas, and Peter King of Arragon, were put in execution: in conſequence of which, the Sicilians [*b*] maſſacred all the French in that Iſland, and Peter made himſelf maſter of it, under

[*b*] Moſt writers agree, that Nicholas III. died of an apoplexy at Sutri, two years before this event happened. *Platina, Du Cheſne, Bzovius, who continued the Annals of Baronius down to his own time. Raynald. in Annal. Ludovic. Jacob. Bibliothec. Pontific.* Voltaire ſays in his general hiſtory of Europe, Vol. I. p. 313. "It is the general opinion, that a Sicilian Gentleman, whoſe name was John of Procida, diſguiſed in the habit of a Franciſcan Friar, laid that famous conſpiracy, by which every Frenchman in the iſland was to be maſſacred at the ſame hour in the Evening of Eaſter Sunday 1282, upon ringing the bell for Veſpers. It is certain, that this John of Procida had prepared the minds of the people in Sicily for a revolution; that he had been negotiating at Conſtantinople, and in the kingdom of Arragon; and that Peter, King of Arragon, Manfred's ſon in law, had entered into an alliance with the Grecian Emperor againſt Charles of Anjou: but it is not at all probable that the Sicilian Veſpers (as that Maſſacre was afterwards called) was a premeditated conſpiracy. If there had been any plot formed, it muſt have been put in execution chiefly in the kingdom of Naples; and yet not one Frenchman was killed there. Malaſpina relates, that a Frenchman, whoſe Name was Droguet, was attempting to raviſh a woman at Palermo, at the very time when the people were going to Veſpers: the woman cried out; the people flocked to her aſſiſtance, and killed the Frenchman. The firſt emotion of private revenge awakened the general hatred, and the Sicilians, excited by John of Procida, cried out *to extirpate the enemy*: upon which, they put every Frenchman they found in Palermo to the ſword. The fury, which poſſeſſed the breaſt of every native, produced the ſame effect throughout the whole Iſland. It is ſaid, they ripped open the bellies of pregnant women, and plucked out the fœtus as yet unformed; and that the very Religious themſelves murdered their female penitents of the French nation. It is likewiſe affirmed, that only one Gentleman, a Provenſal, whoſe name was Des Porcellets, eſcaped the general ſlaughter. And yet it is very certain, that the governor of Meſſina, with all his garriſon, withdrew from the Iſland into the kingdom of Naples."

It would be no unpleaſant amuſement to compare thoſe parts of Voltaire's general hiſtory that relate to the affairs of Italy, with this firſt book of the hiſtory of Florence, which is only to be conſidered as a ſummary account. He illuminates thoſe dark times, which are the ſubject of it, with many ſtriking remarks and obſervations, in his uſual manner.

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a pretence that it belonged to him, in right of his wife Conſtantia, as daughter of Manfred. Soon after, Charles died whilſt he was carrying on a new war for the recovery of it, leaving his Son Charles the Second, in Sicily, where he had been taken priſoner during the courſe of that war, but was ſet at liberty upon his Parole, that he would return to his confinement there at the expiration of three years, if he did not, before that time, prevail upon the Pope to confirm the Kingdom of Sicily to the Houſe of Arragon. Rodolphus the Emperor, inſtead of coming into Italy himſelf, to retrieve the reputation of the Imperial arms, ſent a commiſſary thither, with full power to emancipate ſuch cities as would buy their freedom: upon which, many cities ranſomed themſelves, and changed their Laws and form of government, when they had regained their Liberty.

After this, Adolphus, Duke of Saxony, ſucceeded to the Empire, and Pietro del Murone (who aſſumed the name of Celeſtine) to the Papacy: but as he had been a Hermit, and was wholly given up to devotion, he abdicated the Pontificate at the end of ſix months, and Boniface VIII. was elected in his room. But Heaven, ordaining that Italy ſhould one day be delivered from the yoke, both of the French and the Germans, and left entirely in the hands of her own ſons, graciouſly raiſed up the Colonni and Urſini, two great and very powerful families in Rome, to bridle the Popes, and keep them within due bounds by their authority and near neighbourhood, and to prevent them, when freed from the terror of foreign enemies, from eſtabliſhing themſelves in the power they uſurped. Boniface, therefore, who was ſoon ſenſible of this thorn in his ſide, applied himſelf with great zeal and diligence to ſuppreſs the Colonni, firſt excommunicating, and then proclaiming a Cruſade againſt them, which indeed did them ſome injury, but was much more prejudicial to the Church: for thoſe ſwords which had been drawn to maintain and defend the chriſtian faith, and had done great and honourable ſervice, ſoon loſt their edge and became uſeleſs, when they were turned againſt Chriſtians, only to ſatiate private intereſt and ambition: ſo that by degrees, the Popes were left weak and defenceleſs. Two of the Colonni, who were Cardinals, he degraded: and Sciarra, the head of that family, flying from his fury in diſguiſe, was taken by Catalan Corſairs, and forced to row in their Gallies like a common ſlave; but being known at Marſeilles, he was ranſomed and ſent away to Philip, King of France, whom Boniface had excommunicated and deprived of his Kingdom. Upon this, Philip conſidering that in all open wars with the Popes, he had conſtantly been a loſer, and often in great danger of being utterly ruined, now reſolved to proceed in another manner; and to have recourſe to ſtratagem. In conſequence of which, he

he pretended to ſubmit, and entered into a treaty of reconciliation with the Pope: but whilſt it was carrying on, he privately ſent Sciarra into Italy, who arriving at Anagni (where the Pope then reſided) gathered his friends together in the night, ſeized upon his Holineſſes perſon, and made him priſoner. And though he was ſet at liberty again by the people of that town, yet ſuch was his rage and indignation at this diſgrace, that it drove him ſtark mad, and he died ſoon after it. This Boniface inſtituted the firſt Jubilee in the year 1300, and made a Decree that it ſhould be celebrated every hundred years [*i*].

In theſe times, the diſcords betwixt the Guelph and Ghibeline factions produced great troubles in Italy; which being abandoned by the Em-

[*i*] It is ſaid of Boniface VIII. that he entered the Pontificate like a Fox, reigned like a Lion, and died like a Dog, as Celeſtine V. his predeceſſor, had propheſied. He perſuaded Celeſtine, that he would certainly be damned if he did not reſign the Papacy to ſome perſon more capable of governing the church than himſelf. Upon which Celeſtine abdicated, and Benedict Caietano (as this Pontif was before called) having got himſelf elected Pope, immediately ſent Celeſtine to priſon, where he died. Platina ſays, that beſides his own perſuaſions, he bribed a perſon to ſpeak thus to him through a hole in the wall of his Oratory, by means of a hollow cane, *Celeſtine, Celeſtine, dimitte Papatum, ſi vis ſalvus fieri: negotium ſupra vires eſt.* i. e. *Celeſtine, Celeſtine, reſign the Papacy, if thou haſt any regard for thy ſalvation; the burden is too heavy for thee:* which the ſimple good man, taking it for a voice from Heaven, immediately obeyed and abdicated.

He provoked Philip *the Fair*, of France, to ſuch a degree, by his haughty and inſolent behaviour, that he reſolved to compel him by force to appear before a council, which he deſigned to aſſemble at Lyons; and for that purpoſe, ſent Sciarra Colonni into Italy, with William Nogaret his confident, and one of his generals; who having treated with the Ghibelines, entered Anagni, where he then was, and took him. Hoffman ſays, that in a ſynod and parliament, called by Philip, he was accuſed of Simony, Murder, Uſury, Atheiſm, Adultery, and underhand treaties with the Saracens. When he was taken by Nogaret, the French general, who threatened to carry him to Lyons, where he ſhould be degraded by the council; he ſaid, "*he was not to be frighted at the threats of a Paterin.*" Upon which, the ſaid general ſtruck him on the face with his gauntlet, and taking him by the neck, forced him to Rome, where he died ſoon after, frantick, and gnawing his fleſh off his hands with his teeth. Spanheim adds, that when his Bull arrived in France, in which he aſſerted, that he was ſupreme Lord in all temporal, as well as ſpiritual concerns, and that Philip held his kingdom of him; the ſame was publickly burnt by order of the Parliament of Paris, and by the aſſembly of the States of the Kingdom that ſame year, who vehemently proteſted againſt the Papal uſurpations and encroachments in the reſervation and collation of Benefices, taxing the Clergy, &c. and that the king wrote thus to him, in anſwer to his Letter: "*Philippus Dei gratiâ Francorum Rex, Bonifacio ſe gerenti pro ſummo Pontifice, ſalutem modicam ſeu nullam. Sciat maxima tua Fatuitas, in Temporalibus nos alicui non ſubeſſe, Eccleſiarum & Præbendarum Collationem ad nos jure regio pertinere, &c. ſecus autem credentes fatuos & dementes reputamus.* i. e. *Philip, by the Grace of God, King of France, to Boniface, the pretended Pope, little or no greeting. Be it known unto your Fooliſhneſs, that we are ſubject to none in Temporals, and that the Collation to Churches and Prebends belongs to us alone by our royal prerogative; and thoſe who think otherwiſe, we account fools and madmen,* &c. This Pope was a man of learning, and publiſhed many works, which are ſtill extant.

perors,

perors, many States recovered their liberties, whilſt others, on the contrary, were ſeized upon, and uſurped by different maſters. Pope Benedict XI. reſtored the Houſe of Colonni to their former dignity, and not only abſolved King Philip, but gave him his bleſſing. He was ſucceeded in the Papal Chair by Clement V. who being a Frenchman, removed his Court into France, in the year 1306 [*k*]. In the mean time, Charles the Second, King of Naples, was dead, and had left the Kingdom to his ſon Robert. The Empire alſo was devolved to Henry of Luxembourg, who came to Rome to be crowned, though the Pope was not there. Upon his arrival, many commotions enſued in Lombardy: for all the baniſhed perſons, whether Guelphs or Ghibelines, were returned to their former habitations, and daily conſpiring to ſuppreſs each other; which filled all that province with tumult and diſtraction, notwithſtanding the emperor uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevent it.

Removing therefore out of Lombardy, by way of Genoa, he came to Piſa, with a deſign to have driven King Robert out of Tuſcany; but not ſucceeding in that, he went to Rome, where he ſtaid but a few days: for the Urſini, with the aſſiſtance of King Robert, forced him to return to Piſa; where, in order to make war with greater ſecurity and convenience upon Tuſcany, and to wreſt the government of it out of Robert's hands, he cauſed it to be invaded on the other ſide by Frederick, King of Sicily. But in the midſt of theſe deſigns, and at a time when he had the greateſt hopes of ſucceſs, he ſuddenly died, and was ſucceeded in the empire by Lewis of Bavaria. About this time, John the Twenty-ſecond [*l*] was created Pope, in whoſe Pontificate the Emperor carried

[*k*] At the coronation of this Pontif, in the Church of St. Juſtus at Lyons, November 14, 1305, where Philip *the Fair*, Charles of Valois his brother, and ſeveral other Princes aſſiſted; a Gallery that was overloaded with ſpectators, broke down, and killed John II. Duke of Bretagne, Gaillard (the Pope's brother) and many others: the King and his brother likewiſe were much hurt; the Tiara fell from Clement's head; and a jewel of great price was loſt out of it; from whence the omen-dealers of thoſe times, formed a *ſad preſage*, as it is ſaid, of the misfortunes that befel Italy in his reign: by the civil wars, occaſioned by his removing the See to Avignon, where it remained ſeventy years; a period called by the Italians, *the Captivity of Babylon*. *Poſſevin. Genebrard.*

Juſt ſuch another preſage was formed by ſome Engliſh Seers, when our King Charles the Firſt's ſtandard was blown down at Nottingham, and the *head of his cane* fell off at his trial,—*Sad preſages* indeed, and ſad preſagers! yet theſe circumſtances trivial as they are, have not been thought unworthy of relation by ſome of our hiſtorians of the firſt rank.

[*l*] After the death of Clement V. the See continued vacant above two years: for the Cardinals aſſembled at Carpentras, could not agree in the choice of a new Pope. Philip *the long* therefore, Earl of Poictiers, and afterwards King of France, by order of his brother Lewis X. went to Lyons, to get the Chair filled if poſſible: for which purpoſe, after he had uſed all the art and addreſs he was maſter of, with the Cardinals there, he at laſt ſhut them up in a convent of the Jacobines, and proteſted he would never let them

Out

on a continual perſecution againſt the Guelphs and the Church: but King Robert and the Florentines interpoſing in their defence, great wars enſued in Lombardy, under the conduct of the Viſconti, againſt the Guelphs; and under that of Caſtruccio Caſtracani, of Lucca, againſt the Florentines in Tuſcany. And as the family of the Viſconti were the founders of the Dukedom of Milan, which was afterwards one of the five principal States in Italy, it may not be amiſs perhaps to trace their original a little higher.

After the aforementioned confederacy amongſt the cities of Lombardy, for their common defence againſt Frederick Barbaroſſa, Milan riſing again out of its ruins, likewiſe entered into that league, to take revenge for the injuries it had ſuſtained: which put a ſtop to the Emperor's carreer, and for a while ſupported the Pope's party in Lombardy. In the courſe of thoſe wars, the family of the Torri grew very powerful, increaſing their reputation more and more every day, whilſt the authority of the Emperors was of no great weight in thoſe parts. But Frederick the Second coming into Italy, and the Ghibeline faction being reinforced by the aſſiſtance of Ezelino, began to gain ground in all the cities, and particularly at Milan, where the Houſe of Viſconti ſiding with that party, drove the Torri out of that city. But they did not long continue in that condition; for by an agreement made betwixt the Emperor and the Pope, they were ſuffered to return thither: And afterwards, when the Pope was removed with his court into France, and Henry of Luxembourg came to Rome to be crowned, he was received into Milan by Maffeo Viſconti and Guido della Torre, who at that time were the heads of thoſe two families.

Notwithſtanding this, Maffeo ſecretly deſigned to avail himſelf of the Emperor's preſence to drive Guido out of the City once more, which he thought would be no difficult matter, as he was an enemy to the Imperial faction: for which purpoſe he took advantage of the murmurs and complaints of the People againſt the inſolent behaviour of the Germans, privately encouraging and perſuading them to take up arms and free themſelves from the yoke of thoſe Barbarians. After he had diſpoſed

out till they had choſen a Pope. At the end of forty days, they began to be ſo tired of their confinement, that they agreed to leave the choice to Cardinal James d'Oſſa, Biſhop of Port, who immediately ſaid, *Ego ſum Papa; then I'll be your Pope*; to the general ſatisfaction of all the reſt. He was a native of Cahors in Querci, and ſon of Arnaud d'Oſſa, a poor Shoemaker; but a man well learned for thoſe times, eſpecially in the Civil and Canon Law. It is ſaid, he left twenty-eight millions of Ducats, and ſeventeen hundred thouſand Florins of gold in the treaſury of the Church, when he died. He publiſhed an Edict in 1322, wherein he declared all thoſe, obſtinate Hereticks, who affirmed, *that Chriſt and his Diſciples had nothing which they could call their own*; and forbad all diſputes upon that point in the ſchools. *Nauclerus. Du Cheſne.*

things in a proper manner for the execution of his deſign, he cauſed a tumult to be raiſed by one of his confidants: upon which, the whole town was immediately in an uproar againſt the Germans. And no ſooner was the tumult begun, but Maffeo, with his Sons, ſervants, and Partiſans were in arms, and ran to the Emperor, aſſuring him it was raiſed by the Torri, who, not content to live in a private condition, fomented theſe inſurrections in order to wreſt the city of Milan out of his hands, by which they thought to ingratiate themſelves with the Guelphs, and ſo become Princes of it: exhorting him at the ſame time, however, to be of good courage, for they and their friends were both able and ready to defend him at all events, provided he was not wanting to himſelf. The Emperor believing every thing to be true that Maffeo had inſinuated, immediately joined his forces with thoſe of the Viſconti, and fell upon the Torri, who were diſperſed up and down the city to compoſe the tumult: and having killed ſuch of them as fell into their hands, they baniſhed the reſt and ſeized upon their eſtates. So that Maffeo Viſconti having by theſe means made himſelf, as it were, Prince of Milan, was ſucceeded in the government of it by Galeazzo and Azzo; and they by Luchino and Giovanni, the latter of whom was afterwards Archbiſhop of that city. Luchino died firſt and left two ſons, Bernabo and Galeazzo. Galeazzo dying not long after, left one ſon named Giovanni Galeazzo, commonly called *the Count di Virtù*, who after the death of the Archbiſhop, treacherouſly murdered his Uncle Bernabo, made himſelf ſole Prince, and was the firſt that took upon him the title of Duke of Milan [*m*]. He left two ſons, Philip and Giovanni-Maria-Angelo, the latter of whom was killed by the people of Milan: ſo that the Government fell into the hands of Philip alone, and he dying without male iſſue, the Dukedom was transferred from the Houſe of the Viſconti to that of the Sforza's; the manner and occaſion of which ſhall be more particularly related in its proper place. In the mean time we muſt reſume the thread of our narration.

Lewis the Emperor came into Italy to encourage his party and to receive the Crown: and wanting a handle to extort money from the Milaneſe, whilſt he was there, he pretended he would leave them to

[*m*] The archbiſhop was much ſuch another monſter as Ezelino, and the Count was very little better; yet he was called a Saint. Philip de Comines ſays, *Mem.* l. vii. p. 451. That when he was at Pavia, the Carthuſians ſhewed him his body, at leaſt his bones, depoſited in a place near the chancel, and higher than the chief altar in their Convent, to which they went up by a ladder; and one of them calling him *Saint*, he asked him ſoftly, why he gave him that title, ſince he could ſee the arms of ſeveral Cities painted round his tomb, that he had either uſurped, or had no right to? In anſwer to which, the Friar whiſpered in his ear, "in this country we give the title of Saint to all from whom we receive any benefit."

enjoy their former liberties, and actually threw the Viſconti into priſon. But afterwards, at the mediation of Caſtruccio Caſtracani of Lucca, he releaſed them, marched forwards to Rome, and made Pietro della Corvara Antipope, (on purpoſe to create freſh troubles and diſturbances in Italy) by whoſe authority and the power of the Viſconti, he thought he ſhould be ſtrong enough to humble his enemies both in Tuſcany and Lombardy. But the death of Caſtruccio, which happened juſt at that time, put an end to his hopes, and gave a fatal turn to his affairs: for Piſa and Lucca immediately rebelled upon it, and the Piſans ſeizing upon the Antipope, ſent him priſoner, to the Pope in France: ſo that the Emperor, deſpairing of his affairs in Italy, ſoon quitted it and returned into Germany. He was hardly gone before John, King of Bohemia, came into Italy with an army, at the invitation of the Ghibelines of Breſcia, and took poſſeſſion both of that city and Bergamo. The Pope (how well ſoever he diſſembled it) was not diſpleaſed at his coming, and therefore his Legate at Bologna, privately favoured him, looking upon him as a proper inſtrument to prevent the Emperor's return. Theſe proceedings entirely changed the condition and circumſtances of Italy: for the Florentines and King Robert, ſeeing that the Legate privately abetted the attempts of the Ghibeline faction, declared themſelves enemies to all ſuch as were favoured by the Legate and the King of Bohemia: and many Princes without regard to either faction, aſſociated themſelves with them, amongſt whom were the families of Viſconti and Scala [*n*], Philip Gonzaga of Mantua, and thoſe of Carrara and Eſte; for which the Pope excommunicated them all, and the King being terrified at this confederacy, went home again to raiſe more forces. But at his return into Italy with a larger army, he ſtill found the enterprize ſo difficult that he abandoned it, and marched back into Bohemia, though much to the diſſatisfaction of the Legate, leaving garriſons only in Reggio and Modena, and recommending Parma to the care of Marſilio and Pietro dé Roſſi, two of the moſt powerful men in that city. As ſoon as he was gone, Bologna likewiſe entered into the league, and the confederates divided the four cities that ſtill adhered to the Church amongſt themſelves: the Scali had Parma, the Gonzagi Reggio, the Eſti Modena, and Lucca fell to the Florentines. But many differences enſued upon this partition, which, for the moſt part, were afterwards compoſed by the Venetians.

[*n*] Theſe Scali were Princes of Verona, and the anceſtors of Joſeph and Julius Cæſar Scaliger, ſo well known to the world for their great erudition and many admirable works. Joſeph had a patent from the French King, in which he is acknowledged the right heir to Julius, and Julius owned as Prince of Verona.

It may ſeem ſtrange perhaps to ſome, that amongſt all the other occurrences and revolutions which happened in Italy, I have not made any mention of the Venetians before, although their power and rank place them above any other republic or principality in that country. But to put an end to their wonder, and to ſhew my reaſons for this omiſſion, it is neceſſary to look a good way back; that ſo the origin, and foundation of that ſtate may be the more clearly known to every one, and what were the motives that ſo long reſtrained them from interfering in the affairs of Italy.

Attila, King of the Huns, having laid ſiege to Aquileia, the inhabitants after an obſtinate defence, being reduced to great diſtreſs, and deſpairing of relief, abandoned the town, and removed with as many of their effects as they could, to ſome uninhabited Quays or Iſles at the extremity of the Adriatic. The Paduans alſo, ſeeing the fire ſo near them, and concluding, that after Aquileia was taken, the next viſit would be to them, carried away their moſt valuable goods, together with their wives, children, and old men, to a place called [o] Rivo Alto, upon the ſame coaſt, leaving the young men and ſuch as were fit to bear arms, for the defence of the city. The inhabitants of Montſelice and the hills about it, being under the ſame apprehenſions, likewiſe retired to other little Iſlands in that Sea. After Aquileia was taken, and Padua, Montſelice, Vicenza, and Verona, ſacked and deſtroyed by Attila, the remainder of the Paduans and the moſt conſiderable of the reſt ſettled in certain Lagoons or marſhes about Rivo Alto: and all the people round that Province which was anciently called Venetia [p], being driven out of their country by the ſame calamities, joined themſelves with them, forced by neceſſity to change their pleaſant and fertile habitations for rough and barren rocks, void of all comfort and convenience. However, as their number was large, and their territories but ſtrait, they ſoon made them not only habitable but delightful, and framing wholeſome laws and ordinances amongſt themſelves, lived ſo happily and ſecurely, whilſt the reſt of Italy was torn to pieces, that in a ſhort time they became very powerful and reſpectable. For, beſides the above mentioned inhabitants, many other people reſorted to them from the cities of Lombardy, who were driven away from thence by the inhumanity of Cleſi, King of the Lombards: by which they grew ſo ſtrong, that when Pepin, King of France, at the ſollicitation of the Pope, undertook to drive the Lombards out of Italy, it was ſtipulated in the treaty betwixt him and the eaſtern Emperor, that the Duke

[o] That quarter of the city is ſtill called *Rialto*, where there is one of the fineſt arches in Europe thrown over the grand Canal.

[p] This country was formerly conquered, and ſo named, by a people who came from Vennes, in Bretagne.

of Benevento and the Venetians ſhould not be ſubject either to one or the other, but ſuffered by both to enjoy their liberties. Beſides, as neceſſity had fixed their habitation amongſt the waters, and they had not lands ſufficient to ſupply them with the conveniencies of life, it forced them to have recourſe to navigation for ſubſiſtance: by which they filled their city with ſuch variety of merchandize from all parts of the world, that other people who had occaſion for it, repaired thither in great numbers to furniſh themſelves. For many years therefore, they had no thoughts of any further dominion than what might ſerve to facilitate and extend their commerce: for which purpoſe, they bought ſeveral Ports in Greece and Syria; and the French often making uſe of their ſhipping to tranſport their forces into Aſia, gave them the Iſland of Candia in return. In this manner, by degrees, their name became formidable at ſea, and ſo much reſpected at land, that in almoſt all diſputes betwixt the neighbouring States, they were called in as Arbitrators: as it happened in the differences that aroſe betwixt the Confederates about the towns that were to be divided amongſt them; which being referred to the Venetians, Bergamo and Breſcia were awarded to the Viſconti. But growing more ambitious after a while, they firſt ſeized upon Padua, Vicenza, Trevigi, and then upon Verona, Bergamo and Breſcia, beſides many other cities in Romagna and the Kingdom of Naples: by which they became ſo conſiderable, that not only the Italian Princes, but thoſe on the other ſide the mountains grew jealous of their power, and entered into a league againſt them, which in one day took from them all that they had been many years in acquiring with infinite induſtry and expence. And though they have lately in our times recovered part of their former dominions; yet as they have not likewiſe regained their ancient power and reputation, they now lie at the mercy of others: which indeed is the caſe at preſent of all the Italian Princes.

The Pontifical chair was filled at this time by Benedict the Twelfth, who looked upon Italy as loſt; and being apprehenſive that Lewis the Emperor would become abſolute maſter of it, he reſolved to make all ſuch his friends there as uſurped any territories that formerly were ſubject to the Empire; imagining that the fear of being diſpoſſeſſed of them by the Emperor, would make them ready to join him heartily in defending Italy. For this purpoſe, he publiſhed a Decree to confirm all the uſurped Titles and Eſtates in Lombardy to thoſe that were then in poſſeſſion of them: but before this grant had time to operate, he died and was ſucceeded by Clement VI. The Emperor therefore obſerving how liberally the Pope had diſpoſed of the States that belonged to the Empire; that he might not be behind hand with him in ſuch ſort of generoſity, likewiſe gave away all the States, which had been uſurped from the Church, to be held.

held of the Empire by the preſent poſſeſſors. By which donation, Galeotto Malateſta and his Brothers became Lords of Rimini, Peſaro, and Fano; Gentile da Varano, of Camerino; Guido da Polenta of Ravenna; Sinibaldo Ordelaffi, of Forli and Ceſena; Giovanni Manfredi, of Faenza; Ludovico Alidoſi of Imola; and many more, of other places: ſo that of all the lands belonging to the Church, there were hardly any left without a new maſter; which reduced the Church to the low condition it was in till the days of Alexander VI. who, in our times, drove the poſterity of thoſe intruders out of their poſſeſſions, to their utter ruin, and reſtored it to its former ſplendor and authority.

At the time of this donation, the Emperor was at Trent, and gave out, that he would come into Italy; which was the occaſion of great commotions in Lombardy; where the Viſconti made themſelves maſters of Parma. Not long after, Robert King of Naples died, and left only two grand-daughters, (the children of his ſon Charles, who was dead but a little while before) the eldeſt of which, Giovanna, or Joan, or Jane, according to his will, was to inherit the crown, on condition that ſhe married Andrew his Nephew, and ſon to the King of Hungary, which ſhe did: but they did not live long together, for ſhe poiſoned him, and married Lewis, Prince of Taranto, who was alſo her couſin. Upon which, Andrew's brother Lewis, King of Hungary, came into Italy, with an army, to revenge his death, and drove Giovanna and her huſband out of their Kingdom.

About this time, a very memorable event happened at Rome. One [q] Niccolò di Lorenzo, Chancellor of the capitol, turned the Senators out of the city, and aſſuming the title of *Tribune*, made himſelf head of that Commonwealth, and reduced it to its ancient form of government, with ſo much reputation and appearance of juſtice, that not only the

[q] His proper name was Niccolò Gabrini di Lorenzo, or Rienzi. There is a circumſtantial and very remarkable narrative of this conſpiracy, written in French, by the Fathers Brumoy and Cerceau, in 8vo. and publiſhed in Engliſh about ſeven or eight years ago: from the preface of which take the following extract: "To be told, that the ſon of a ſmall Innkeeper and of a Waſherwoman, raiſed himſelf to Sovereign Power, muſt appear ſtrange: that he did this without any regular gradation, and almoſt in an inſtant, muſt ſeem ſtill ſtranger; that he achieved this without any Patron, and almoſt without any aſſiſtance, has yet more of the marvellous: that he did it purely by dint of parts, and ſupported what was called, and in the end became really, tyranny, rather by eloquence than force, riſes higher ſtill: but when it is added, that being degraded, delivered up to the power againſt which he had rebelled, he ſhould, by the bare exertion of the ſame talents, not only eſcape puniſhment, but induce that power to deliver him out of priſon, and to replace him in the high ſtation from which he had fallen, ſeems altogether incredible. The following ſheets however, undeniably prove that all this actually happened, and much more: ſo that in effect, though a true hiſtory, it diſtances in point of wonder, even the boldeſt fictions in Romance."

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neighbouring States, but all Italy, ſent Ambaſſadors to him: and ſeveral of the remoter Provinces ſeeing their old Metropolis exert itſelf in this manner, began to lift up their heads again, and ſome out of fear, others out of hope, endeavoured to ſhew it all manner of reſpect. But Niccolò, notwithſtanding the extraordinary reputation he had acquired, was ſoon obliged to quit his new office; for as he found himſelf not equal to ſo great a weight, he privately retired without any compulſion, to ſhelter himſelf under the wings of Charles, King of Bohemia, who, by the Pope's mandate, had been elected Emperor, in oppoſition to Lewis of Bavaria. That Prince, however, inſtead of affording him an aſylum as he expected, ſent him priſoner to Rome, out of complaiſance to the Pope, from whom he had received ſo great favours. Not long after, one Franciſco Baroncegli, in imitation of Niccolò, poſſeſſed himſelf of the Tribuneſhip, and once more drove the Senators out of the city: ſo that the Pope, as the readieſt way to ſuppreſs him, ſet Niccolò at liberty, and not only ſent him to Rome, but reinſtated him in his former office: upon which, he reſumed the government of the city, and cauſed Franciſco to be put to death. But as the Colonni took offence at his manner of proceeding, he himſelf, not long after, underwent the ſame fate, and the Senators were reſtored to their ancient authority.

In the mean time, the King of Hungary having depoſed Queen Giovanna, returned to his own Kingdom. But the Pope, who rather choſe to have the Queen for a neighbour, than that King, ſo contrived matters, that the Kingdom was reſtored to her, upon condition, that her huſband Lewis, ſhould renounce the title of King, and be content with that of *the Prince of Taranto*. The year 1350 being come, his Holineſs reſolved that the Jubilee, inſtead of being held every hundredth year, as had been ordained by Pope Boniface VIII. ſhould be celebrated every fiftieth; and having paſſed a decree for that purpoſe, the Romans, out of gratitude for ſo great a Benefaction, conſented that he ſhould ſend four Cardinals to reform their City, and make what Senators he thought fit [r].

[r] The Jubilee is a feſtival year, celebrated with great ſolemnity by the Romiſh Church, when the Pope grants a plenary indulgence to all Sinners that viſit the Churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome. It was firſt inſtituted, as has been already ſaid, by Boniface VIII. about the year 1300, in favour of ſuch as ſhould come *ad limina Apoſtolorum*; and was to return only once in an hundred years, like the *Ludi Sæculares* of the antient Romans; at which time, the people were invited by a Cryer, *to come and ſee a ſight that no man living had ever ſeen, or ſhould ſee again*. The firſt celebration of it ſo enriched the city of Rome, that it was called *the Golden Year*; which induced Clement VI. to reduce the period to fifty years. Urban VI. appointed it to be held every thirty-five years, that being the age of our Saviour when he was crucified: and Sixtus IV. brought it down to every twenty-fifth. Boniface IX. granted the privilege of holding Jubilees to ſeveral Princes and Monaſteries. The Monks of Canterbury had one every fifty years; when people flocked from all parts, to viſit the tomb of

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After which, he declared Lewis of Taranto, King of Naples again; and Queen Giovanna, in return for that favour, gave Avignon to the Church, which was a part of her patrimony.

By this time, Luchino Viſconti being dead, Giovanni, Archbiſhop of Milan, remained ſole Lord of that city; and making ſeveral wars upon Tuſcany, and the neighbouring States, became very conſiderable. After his deceaſe, the government devolved to his two nephews, Bernabo and Galeazzo: but Galeazzo dying ſoon after, left his ſon Giovanni Galeazzo to ſhare the State with his uncle. Charles, King of Bohemia, was now made Emperor, and Innocent the Sixth, Pope; who, having ſent Cardinal Egidius, a Spaniard, into Italy, retrieved the reputation of the Church, by his virtue and good conduct, not only in Rome and Romagna, but all over Italy. He recovered Bologna, which had been uſurped by the Archbiſhop of Milan; and forced the Romans to admit a foreign Senator every year, of the Pope's appointment. He made an honourable accommodation with the Viſconti. He routed and took priſoner one John Aguto or Augut, an Engliſhman, who was come into Tuſcany with four thouſand forces of that nation, to the aſſiſtance

Thomas Becket. They are now become more frequent; and the Pope grants them as often as the Church, or *himſelf*, have occaſion for them. There is uſually one at the inauguration of every new Pontif.

To be entitled to the privileges of the Jubilee, the Bull enjoins faſting, alms, and prayers. It gives a prieſt full power to abſolve in all caſes, even in thoſe that are otherwiſe reſerved to the Pope, to commute for vows, &c. in which it differs from a plenary Indulgence. During the time of the Jubilee, all other Indulgences are ſuſpended.

One of our Kings, Edward III. cauſed his birth-day to be obſerved in the manner of a Jubilee, when he became fifty years of age, but not before or after. He releaſed all priſoners, pardoned all offences except treaſon, made good laws, and granted many privileges to *the people*.

There are particular Jubilees in certain cities, when ſeveral of their feſtivals happen on the ſame day: at Puy en Velay, for inſtance, when the Feaſt of *the Annunciation* happens on *Good Friday*; and at Lyons, when *St. John Baptiſt's* day falls on the Feſtival of *Corpus Chriſti*. In 1644, the Jeſuits celebrated a ſolemn Jubilee at Rome; that being the centenary, or hundredth year, from the inſtitution of their Order; and the ſame Ceremony was obſerved in all their Convents throughout the world.

Jubileus or *Jubilæus*, is uſed amongſt the Romaniſts, to ſignify a *Religious* that has been fifty years in a monaſtery, or an Eccleſiaſtic, who has been in Orders fifty years. Such Veterans are diſpenſed with in ſome places, from attending Matins, or a ſtrict obſervation of any other of their rules. The word is alſo extended to any man that is an hundred years old, and to a poſſeſſion of fifty. *Si ager non inveniatur in ſcriptione, inquiratur de ſenioribus, quantum temporis fuerit cum altero; & ſi ſub certo Jubilæo manſerit ſine vituperatione, maneat in æternum*—Say the Lawyers.

Petrarch, who was cotemporary with this Pope (Clement VI.) ſays, he was a very learned man, and makes particular mention of his extraordinary memory, which retained every thing with that exactneſs, that he had not ſo much as the power of forgetfulneſs; and what is ſtill more remarkable, he ſays, this prodigious memory was acquired by a dangerous fall, the ſcars of which remained upon his head as long as he lived.

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of the Ghibelines. After which, Urban V. ſucceeded to the Pontificate, reſolved to viſit Italy and Rome itſelf, where Charles the Emperor came to meet him: and, after a ſtay of ſome months, Charles returned into Bohemia, and the Pope to Avignon.

Gregory XI. [s] ſucceeded Urban, and Cardinal Egidius being now dead, Italy relapſed into its former diſtractions, which were chiefly occaſioned by a confederacy againſt the Viſconti. The Pope therefore ſent a Legate into Italy with ſix thouſand Bretons, whom he followed in perſon, and brought back his court with him to Rome, in the year 1376, after it had reſided in France for the ſpace of 71 years. When this Pontif died, Urban VI. was created Pope: and not long after, ten of the Cardinals, complaining of an unfair Election, choſe Clement VII. at Fondi. In the mean time the Genoeſe rebelled, after they had lived quietly many years under the government of the Viſconti, and there were great wars betwixt them and the Venetians about the Iſland of Tenedos, in which all Italy by degrees became concerned: and in theſe wars the uſe of Cannon was [t] firſt introduced, which had been lately invented by the Germans. The Genoeſe prevailed at firſt, and kept Venice blocked up for ſeveral months; but the Venetians got the better in the end, and made an honourable peace with them, by the mediation of the Pope.

In the year 1381 there was a ſchiſm in the Church (as we have ſaid before) and Queen Giovanna took part with the Antipope. Upon which, Pope Urban ſet an invaſion on foot againſt her, and ſent Carlo Durazzo, a deſcendant of the royal houſe of Naples, with an army, into her Kingdom, who ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of it, and drove her into France; which ſo provoked the King of that nation, that he ſent Lewis of Anjou into Italy to reinſtate the Queen, to force Urban out of Rome, and to ſet up the Antipope. But Lewis dying before all this could be accompliſhed, his army diſperſed and returned into France; at which the Pontif took courage and went in perſon to Naples, where he threw nine Cardinals into priſon for having ſided with France and the Antipope. After this, he

[s] Machiavel ſays Gregory XII. but it is a miſtake; as indeed there are many in all the chronological tables of the Popes: ſome inſerting the Antipopes, and others omitting them. There are great diſputes alſo amongſt the learned about the time of the choice and deceaſe of ſeveral Pontifs. Thoſe that have wrote the beſt upon this ſubject, are our two learned Countrymen, Dr. John Pearſon, and Mr. Henry Dodwell, in their diſſertations upon the Succeſſion of the firſt Biſhops of Rome, and in the *Annales Cyprianici*, written by the former.

[t] Larrey makes braſs cannon the invention of J. Owen; and ſays, the firſt that were known in England, were in 1535. Cannon, however, he owns were known long before; and obſerves, that there were five pieces in the Engliſh army at the battle of Creſſi, in 1346, which were the firſt that had been ſeen in France. Mezeray alſo ſays, that King Edward the Third ſtruck a terror into the French army, by five or ſix pieces of cannon, as it was the firſt time they had ever ſeen ſuch dreadful Engines.

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was affronted at the King for refuſing to make one of his nephews Prince of Capua: but concealing his reſentment, he deſired he would give him leave to reſide at Nocera for a while; which being granted, he preſently fortified himſelf there, and began to concert meaſures for depriving him of the whole Kingdom. But the King taking the alarm, advanced againſt Nocera and laid ſiege to it; from whence the Pope, however, made his eſcape and got to Genoa, where he put the Cardinals to [*u*] death that were his priſoners, and then returning to Rome, created twenty eight new ones to ſtrengthen his party. Carlo went into Hungary, was proclaimed King there, and died ſoon after, having left his wife at Naples, and two children whom he had by her, one named Ladiſlaus, the other Giovanna.

In the mean time, Giovanni Galeazzo Viſconti had killed his uncle Bernabo, and ſeized upon the State of Milan; and not being content with having made himſelf ſole maſter of all Lombardy, he formed a deſign upon Tuſcany alſo: but juſt at a time when he flattered himſelf with the greateſt hopes of ſucceeding in that enterprize, and of being afterwards crowned King of Italy, he died. Urban VI. was ſucceeded by Boniface IX. Clement VII. the Antipope likewiſe died at Avignon; and Benedict XIII. was elected in his room.

All this while Italy was full of ſoldiers of different nations, as Engliſh, Germans, and Bretons; ſome of them, introduced by thoſe Princes, who, upon ſeveral occaſions, and at various times, had been invited thither, and others ſent by the Popes when they reſided at Avignon. With theſe foreign troops the Italian Princes had, for the moſt part, carried on their wars; till at laſt Ludovico da Conto, a native of Romagna, trained up a body of Italians, and called them *St. George's Bands*, whoſe valour and diſcipline much diminiſhed the reputation of the foreigners, and retrieved that of their own countrymen in ſuch a manner, that they were afterwards almoſt conſtantly employed by the Italian Princes in their wars. The Pope, upon ſome differences that aroſe betwixt him and the Romans, removed to Sceſi and continued there till the Jubilee that happened in the year 1400: at which time, the Romans, to invite him back again for the benefit of their city, once more conſented that he ſhould have the annual nomination of a foreign Senator, and be allowed to fortify the Caſtle of St. Angelo. Upon this condition he returned; and to enrich the Church, he ordained that every Benefice upon a vacancy, ſhould pay the *firſt fruits*, or, one years income, into the Eccleſiaſtical Chamber.

After the death of Giovanni Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, who left two ſons, Giovanni-Maria-Angelo, and Philip, that State was divided

[*u*] He cauſed them to be ſewed up in bags, and thrown into the Sea.

into many factions: and in the troubles which enſued, the elder of them was killed, and Philip for ſome time kept priſoner in the caſtle of Pavia; from whence he at laſt made his eſcape by the favour and aſſiſtance of the Governor. Amongſt others who ſeized upon cities that formerly belonged to his Father, was Guglielmo della Scala, who being baniſhed had retired to Franciſco da Carrara, Lord of Padua, by whoſe aid he recovered the State of Verona, though he did not long enjoy it; for the ſame Franciſco cauſed him to be poiſoned and aſſumed the government thereof himſelf. The people of Vicenza, therefore, who till then had lived quietly and ſecurely under the protection of the Viſconti, ſeeing the Lord of Padua now grown ſo powerful, put themſelves under the wings of the Venetians, who, at their inſtigation, made war upon him and drove him firſt out of Verona, and afterwards out of Padua.

About this time died Pope Boniface, and was ſucceeded by Innocent VII. to whom the people of Rome preſented an addreſs for the reſtitution of their forts and liberties; which being refuſed, they called in Ladiſlaus, King of Naples, to their aſſiſtance. But as their differences were afterwards accommodated, the Pope returned to Rome, from whence he had retired to Viterbo, for fear of the people; at the latter of which places he created his nephew Ludovico, Count della Marca, and ſoon after died. Gregory XII. ſucceeded him, on condition that he ſhould reſign the Papacy whenever the Antipope could be prevailed upon to do the ſame. In conſequence of this, at the exhortation of the Cardinals, to try whether it was poſſible to reunite the Church, Benedict the Antipope came to Porto Veneri, and Gregory to Lucca, where many expedients were propoſed, but nothing concluded: upon which, the Cardinals on each ſide deſerting them both, Benedict retired into Spain, and Gregory to Rimini. Baldaſſare Coſſa, therefore, Cardinal and Legate of Bologna, encouraged the Cardinals to call a Council at Piſa, where they choſe Alexander V. who immediately excommunicated King Ladiſlaus, diſpoſed of his Kingdom to Lewis of Anjou, and, in confederacy with the Florentines, Genoeſe, Venetians, and Baldaſſare Coſſa the Legate, fell upon him and drove him out of Rome. But whilſt this war was carrying on with great fury, Alexander died, and Coſſa the Legate being made Pope in his ſtead, aſſumed the name of John XXIII. and ſoon removed to Rome from Bologna (where he had been elected) in order to meet Lewis of Anjou, who was come thither with an army of Provençals. After he had joined him, they marched againſt Ladiſlaus, engaged, and routed his army: but through the default of their commanders, they could not purſue their Victory: ſo that Ladiſlaus ſoon rallied his forces and recovered Rome, driving the Pope back to Bologna, and Lewis into Provence. The Pope therefore contriving new means to reduce

reduce the power of Ladiſlaus, cauſed Sigiſmund, King of Hungary, to be elected Emperor, invited him into Italy, and had an interview with him at Mantua, where it was agreed betwixt them that a general Council ſhould be aſſembled for reuniting the Church; that ſo it might be the better able to oppoſe the attempts of its enemies.

There were now three different Popes at the ſame time, Gregory, Benedict, and John, which kept the Church very low, both in power and reputation. The place appointed for the meeting of the Council was Conſtance, a city in Germany, much againſt the inclination of Pope John: and, though the principal reaſon, which had induced the Pope to have recourſe to a Council, was removed by the death of Ladiſlaus, yet, as he had obliged himſelf to go to it, he could not well tell how to excuſe his abſence. However, in a few months after his arrival at Conſtance, he was ſenſible of his error when it was too late, and endeavoured to have got privately away from thence; but being taken, he was impriſoned and forced to reſign the Papacy. Gregory, one of the Antipopes, alſo renounced his pretenſions, by an inſtrument drawn up for that purpoſe; but Benedict, the other, refuſed, and was condemned as an Heretick. At laſt, finding himſelf utterly forſaken by all his Cardinals, he likewiſe reſigned, and the Council choſe Otho, of the family of Colonni, Pope, who took the name of Martin V. by which the Church was reunited after a ſchiſm that had laſted forty years and ſeveral different Pontifs had reigned at the ſame time [*].

[*] Benedict, ſays Voltaire, who had ſhewn much courage before, and had fought both by ſea and land, was very humble and reſigned when his ſentence was read to him, in priſon, at Manheim, where the Emperor kept him cloſe confined three years, and cauſed him to be treated with ſuch ſeverity as rendered him more an object of compaſſion, than his crimes had expoſed him to the public hatred.

The fathers of the Council did not meet at firſt in order to depoſe him; their principal view ſeemed to be the reformation of the Church. This was chiefly the deſign of Gerſon and the other deputies of the univerſity of Paris. Complaints had been publickly made for the ſpace of two years againſt the Annats, the Exemptions, the reſervations, and the impoſitions of the Popes upon the clergy, to inrich the court of Rome; in ſhort, againſt all the vices with which the Church was at that time diſfigured. But how did this reformation end? His ſucceſſor declared, in the firſt place, that no exemptions ſhould be granted without cognizance of the cauſe. 2. That the nature of the Benefices which had been united, ſhould be enquired into. 3. That the revenues of vacant Benefices ſhould be diſpoſed of according to Law. 4. He made an ineffectual proviſon againſt Simony. 5. He ordained that all ſuch as had Benefices ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by the Tonſure. 6. He forbad the celebrating of Maſs in a lay habit. Theſe were the laws made by the moſt ſolemn aſſembly in the univerſe.—Gerſon, with great difficulty, obtained the condemnation even of the following propoſitions. That there are caſes in which the aſſaſſinating a perſon is a virtuous action; far more meritorious in a knight than a 'Squire; and ſtill much more ſo in a Prince than a Knight. This doctrine of aſſaſſination had been publickly maintained by a Cordelier, whoſe name was Jean Petit, upon the murder of his Prince's own brother. The council for a long time, evaded

Philip Viſconti was then (as we have ſaid) confined in the caſtle of Pavia. But Fantino Cane (who, during the troubles in Lombardy, had made himſelf maſter of Vercelli, Alexandria, Novara, and Tortona, and amaſſed great riches) dying without children, left his wife Beatrice heir to his poſſeſſions; enjoyning his friends to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to get her married to this Philip; by which match he became ſo powerful that he recovered Milan and all the reſt of Lombardy. But forgetting all obligations, as Princes uſually do, he accuſed his wife Beatrice of adultery, and put her to death: and finding himſelf now very ſtrong and potent, he began to think of making war upon Tuſcany, in order to execute the deſigns that had been formed by his father Giovanni Galeazzo. Ladiſlaus, King of Naples, at his death, beſides his Kingdom, had alſo left his ſiſter Giovanna a formidable army commanded by the beſt and moſt experienced Generals in Italy: the chief of whom was Sforza of Contignuola, a perſon of very great fame for his valour and conduct in thoſe wars. She was no ſooner in the throne, but, to clear herſelf of

Gerſon's petition; but at laſt, they were obliged to condemn this doctrine of murder, though without mentioning the Cordeliers in particular.

John Huſs, and Jerome of Prague, were both condemned to the flames, by this Council, for maintaining the doctrines of Wicliff, who had taught, that we muſt not believe any thing that was impoſſible and contradictory to reaſon: that no accident can ſubſiſt without a ſubject; in a word, that the ſubſtance of bread and wine remains in the Euchariſt. He wanted likewiſe to aboliſh auricular confeſſion, indulgences, and the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy. It is remarkable, that the former of theſe two unhappy victims came thither with the Emperor's ſafe conduct. And the latter, who was his diſciple and friend, and a man of much ſuperior eloquence and underſtanding, (though at firſt he had ſigned a renunciation of his maſter's doctrine) having heard with what magnanimity he had encountered death, was aſhamed to ſurvive him: he therefore made a public retractation, and was burnt. Poggio, the Florentine, Secretary to Pope John XIII. and one of the firſt reſtorers of Letters, who was preſent at his interrogatories and execution, ſays, he never heard any thing that ſo nearly approached to the eloquence of the Greeks and Romans, as the Speech which Jerome made to his judges. "He ſpoke, ſays he, like a Socrates, and walked to the kindled pile, with as much chearfulneſs as the other drank the cup of hemlock.

Out of their aſhes aroſe a civil war; for the Bohemians, beſides other reproaches, upbraided the Emperor with having violated the law of nations. And not long after, when Sigiſmund aſpired to ſucceed his brother Wenceſlaus, in the kingdom of Bohemia, he found that, though he was Emperor of Germany, and King of Hungary, the death of two private men had precluded his acceſſion to the Bohemian throne. Their avengers were 40,000 men, whom the ſeverity of the Council had exaſperated to ſuch a degree, that they killed every prieſt they met. Their General, John, ſurnamed Ziſka, (which ſignifies blind of one eye) defeated Sigiſmund in ſeveral battles: and having loſt his other eye at laſt in an engagement, he ſtill continued to head his troops, giving directions to his Officers, and aſſiſting in their Councils. He ordered them to make a drum of his ſkin after he was dead, which they did; and theſe very remains of Ziſka, inſpired the Bohemians with ſuch courage, and ſtruck ſuch a terror into the enemy, that it was ſixteen years before Sigiſmund made himſelf maſter of Bohemia, and then with great difficulty. *Vide Voltaire's Gen. Hiſt. Vol. I. part. ii. from page 259 to page 373.*

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the ſuſpicion of being too intimate with one Pandolphello, whom ſhe had brought up and preferred, ſhe married Giacopo della Marcia, a Frenchman, of royal extraction, upon condition that he ſhould content himſelf with being ſtyled Prince of Taranto, and leave the title and government of the Kingdom entirely to her [y]. But as ſoon as he arrived at Naples, the ſoldiery acknowledged him as their King; which occaſioned great quarrels and conteſts betwixt him and the Queen, wherein ſometimes one, and ſometimes the other had the better. At laſt, however, the Queen eſtabliſhed herſelf in the government, and became a bitter enemy to the Pope. Upon which, Sforza, to diſtreſs her and force her into a compliance with his own terms, immediately laid down his commiſſion and refuſed to ſerve her any longer. So that being diſarmed, as it were, all on a ſudden, and having no other remedy, ſhe applied for aſſiſtance in this extremity to Alphonſo, King of Arragon and Sicily, whom ſhe adopted for her ſon: and to command her forces, ſhe took into her pay Braccio da Montone, a ſoldier of no leſs eminence and reputation than Sforza, and hated by the Pope for having ſeized upon and uſurped Perugia and ſeveral other towns that belonged to the Church. After this, a peace was concluded betwixt her and the Pope: but Alphonſo ſuſpecting ſhe would ſerve him as ſhe had done her huſband, ſecretly took meaſures to make himſelf maſter of all her Fortreſſes, in which however he was prevented; for as ſhe was a woman of great ſubtlety and ſuſpected his intentions, ſhe was before hand with him, and took care to fortify herſelf ſtrongly in the citadel of Naples. Jealouſies increaſing in this manner, they at laſt came to an open rupture; in the courſe of which, the Queen by the aſſiſtance of Sforza, who had returned into her ſervice, got the better of Alphonſo, drove him out of Naples, entirely diſcarded him, and adopted Lewis of Anjou in his room; which gave riſe to new wars betwixt Braccio, who was now of Alphonſo's party, and Sforza, who was engaged for the Queen. In the proceſs of thoſe wars, Sforza was unfortunately drowned in paſſing the River Peſcara: by which accident the Queen was once more diſarmed in a manner, and would in all likelyhood have been driven out of her Kingdom, if ſhe had not been aſſiſted by Philip Viſconti, Duke of Milan,

[y] This Giovanna, or Joan, or Jane II. (Queen of Naples) as ſhe is called by different authors, married James of Bourbon, ſon of John Count de la Marche, to her ſecond huſband; who not being able to bear that ſhe ſhould continue her familiarities with Pandolpho Alopo, a handſome young Neapolitan whom ſhe had made her chamberlain, ordered his head to be cut off, and not only deprived her of all ſhare in the adminiſtration, but kept her in a manner locked up, and very ſeldom admitted her either into his company or his bed: all which uſage ſhe diſſembled with great artifice, till ſhe found means at laſt to get the upperhand of him and drive him back again into France, where he ended his days in a Monaſtery. *Brantome. Vies des dames illuſtres* p. 384. 388.

who

who forced Alphonſo to return into Arragon. But Braccio not in the leaſt diſcouraged at his being abandoned by Alphonſo, ſtill carried on the war againſt the Queen, and laid ſiege to Aquila: upon which, the Pope looking upon Braccio's greatneſs as likely to be of prejudice to the Church, took Franciſco, ſon of the late Sforza, into his pay; who marching with an army to the relief of [x] Aquila, engaged Braccio, and not only routed his forces, but killed him. Of Braccio's party there only remained Otho his ſon, from whom the Pope took Perugia, but left him the government of Montone. But he alſo was killed not long after in Romagna, in the ſervice of the Florentines: ſo that of all thoſe who had fought under the banners of Braccio, Nicoold Piccinino was now in the greateſt reputation.

We have thus brought down our narrative in a ſummary manner, almoſt to the times we at firſt propoſed; and as the remainder of that period contains nothing conſiderable, except the war that the Florentines and Venetians were engaged in with Philip, Duke of Milan, which ſhall be related when we come to ſpeak more particularly of Florence; we ſhall proceed no further in it than juſt to give a ſhort ſketch of Italy, as it then ſtood, with regard to its Princes and military Commanders. Amongſt the principal States, Queen Giovanna the Second, held the Kingdom of Naples. Some towns of Ancona, the Patrimony of St. Peter, and Romania, were ſubject to the Church, and ſome to its Vicars, or others, that had ſeized upon them; as Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, to the family of Eſte; Faenza to the Manfredi; Imola to the Alidoſi; Forli to the Ordelaffi: Rimini and Peſaro to the Malateſti; and Camerino to the Houſe of Varano. Lombardy was divided betwixt Duke Philip and the Venetians; all the reſt who had had any principality in that angle, being extinct, except the Houſe of Gonzaga, which governed Mantua at that time. The greater part of Tuſcany was under the Florentines: Lucca and Siena alone, lived under their own laws; the former governed by the Guinigi, the latter entirely free. The Genoeſe being ſometimes free, ſometimes under the dominion of the French, and ſometimes of the Viſconti, were of little account, and reckoned amongſt the loweſt and moſt inconſiderable States in Italy. And even thoſe of higher rank, did not attend to the management of their wars themſelves, or carry them on with their own proper forces and commanders. Duke Philip confined himſelf chiefly to his apartment, and living a retired life, left all military affairs to be conducted by Commiſſaries. The Venetians, after they had began to get footing on the Continent, diſregarded their fleet, which had made them ſo formidable at

[x] The capital of Abruzzo, a Province in the Kingdom of Naples, which borders on the Gulph of Venice.

Sea; and, like the reſt of the Italian States, gave the command of their land forces to Aliens. The Pope being a Spiritual Prince, and the Sovereign of Naples a Woman, were not ſo proper to command in perſon, and therefore were forced to do that by neceſſity, which others did out of weakneſs and indiſcretion. The Florentines lay under the ſame neceſſity; for their nobility being extinguiſhed by continual diſcords, and their Republic governed by ſuch as were bred up to a mercantile way of life, they were forced to ſubmit to the guidance and conduct of others: ſo that the armies of all the Italian States, were in the hands either of petty Princes, or of Adventurers, and Soldiers of Fortune, who had no eſtate or dominions of their own; the former of whom accepted thoſe commands, not out of any laudable ambition or deſire of fame, but merely to ſecure themſelves, and to live in greater affluence: and the latter having been bred up to the profeſſion of arms from their youth, and conſequently not able to turn their hands to any other employment, followed that way of life in hopes of gaining riches and reputation. The moſt eminent of theſe were, Carmignuola, Franciſco Sforza, Niccolò Piccinino, (who had been educated under Braccio) Agnolo della Pergola, Lorenzo, and Micheletto Attenduli, Tartaglia, Giaccopaccio, Ceccolino da Perugia, Niccolò da Tolentino, Guido Torello, Antonio del Ponte ad Era, and ſeveral others; amongſt whom may be reckoned thoſe Lords that have been already mentioned: to whom we may add, the Barons of Rome, the Urſini, the Colonni, and many more Lords and Gentlemen of Naples and Lombardy, who depending altogether upon war for their ſubſiſtance, had formed a ſort of combination, or private correſpondence amongſt themſelves, and reduced it into a trade, or ſyſtem, as it were; which was ſo dexterouſly managed by them, that when two States were at war, they were both almoſt ſure to be loſers at the end of it; by which means the art of war at laſt became ſo mean and contemptible, that any common Captain, who had had but the leaſt ſpark of ancient valour, diſcipline, or experience, would have held thoſe very Gentlemen in the higheſt deriſion, who were then ſo ſtupidly admired and idolized by all Italy. The exploits of theſe lazy inactive Princes, and their pitiful Commanders, will be the chief ſubject of the following Hiſtory. But before I proceed any further, I muſt, according to my promiſe, in the firſt place, deduce the Republic of Florence from its original, in order to give the Reader a clear view of its ſtate and condition in thoſe times, and ſhew by what means that city arrived at it, after the troubles and diſtractions in which Italy had been involved for the ſpace of a thouſand years.

The End of the FIRST BOOK.

THE

THE HISTORY OF FLORENCE.

BOOK II.

ARGUMENT.

The utility of Colonies. The original of Florence. Whence it took its name. The firſt diviſion that happened in the City. The riſe of the Guelph and Ghibeline factions. Their reunion, and the form of government eſtabliſhed in Florence. The inſtitution of the Anziani, the Captain of the People, and the Podeſtà. Their forces and generoſity in time of war. Manfred, King of Naples, chief Patron of the Ghibelines. The Patriotiſm of Farinata Uberti. Charles of Anjou called into Italy by the Pope. A reform of the State in Florence. Freſh commotions. The government new modelled by the Guelphs. The twelve Buonhuomini *and the* Credenza *appointed. Gregory* X. *Pope. Florence under Excommunication. Innocent* V. *ſucceeds Gregory. The jealouſy of the Popes. Nicholas* III. *Pope. The Ghibelines return from baniſhment. Martin, a Frenchman, elected Pope. The Government reformed by the Citizens. The inſtitution of three* Priori *to govern for two months, and to be choſen indifferently out of the Citizens. The* Signiory. *Diſcords betwixt the Nobility and the People. A* Gonfaloniere di Giuſtizia, *or Standard-bearer, appointed. The Nobility exhorted to peace. The ſame admonitions given to the People. Another reform in Florence in the year* 1298. *A great quarrel in the family of the* Cancellieri; *the occaſion and conſequences of it. They divide into two factions, diſtinguiſhed by the names of* Bianchi *and* Neri, *i. e.* Whites *and* Blacks. *Their Chiefs and Partiſans. Charles of Valois made*

made Governor of Florence. New troubles occaſioned by Corſo Donati; fomented by the Medici and Giugni. A great fire in Florence, 1304. *Corſo Donati condemned as a rebel; his death. Freſh diviſions. The tyranny and cruelty of Lando d'Agobbio. The ſucceſs of Caſtruccio Caſtracani. A* Council of the Signiory *to laſt forty months. Election of the magiſtrates by* Imborſation. *Ramondo da Cardona, general of the Florentine army; his bad conduct, defeat, and death. The Duke of Athens, Deputy-governor of Florence. The Emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, called into Italy. The death of Caſtruccio and the Duke of Calabria. A new model of Government. The Florentines quiet at home. Their new buildings. Their tranquillity diſturbed. A Captain of the guards appointed. Maffeo da Maradi prevents an engagement betwixt the factions in Florence, by his mediation. Lucca ſold to the Florentines; and taken from them by the Piſans. The Duke of Athens made Governor of Florence. The ſpeech of one of the Signiory to him. His anſwer. He is made Sovereign by the people. His violent manner of proceeding. Matteo di Morozzo diſcovers a plot to him. Three conſpiracies on foot againſt him at the ſame time. An inſurrection in Florence. The Duke is expelled. His character. Another reform. The Nobility turned out of their offices. The bold attempt of Andrea Strozzi. The Nobles endeavour to recover their authority. The people take arms and utterly ſuppreſs them.*

AMONGST other wiſe and praiſe-worthy inſtitutions of former Kingdoms and Republics, which are diſcontinued in our times, it was the cuſtom to build new towns and cities upon every proper opportunity. And indeed nothing is more worthy of a great and good Prince, or a well regulated Common-wealth, nor more for the intereſt and advantage of a Province, than to eſtabliſh ſuch communities, where men may live together for greater convenience, either of cultivating the earth, or of mutually aſſiſting and defending each other: and this they uſually effected, by ſending ſome of their own ſubjects to inhabit ſuch countries which they had either conquered or found unpeopled. Such ſettlements were called *Colonies*, and ſerved not only to beautify and meliorate the face of the country, by building new towns, but to render it more ſecure to the Conqueror, by filling the void places, and making a proper diſtribution of the people through every part of it. Thus, living with greater comfort and convenience, the inhabitants multiplied faſter, and were more able to invade others, or defend themſelves. But this cuſtom being now laid aſide, either by the ſupineneſs or bad policy of Princes and Republics, ſome Provinces are become exceeding weak, and others totally ruined. For this Order alone ſecures a Country and fills it with people. It makes it ſecure, becauſe a Colony planted by a

Prince in a Country newly conquered, is a ſort of a garriſon to check and keep the natives in obedience. Beſides, without it, no Province could long continue properly inhabited, nor preſerve a juſt diſtribution of the people: for as all parts of it cannot be equally fertile or healthful, men will naturally abandon the barren places, and are carried off by diſtempers in thoſe that are unwholſome; ſo that except ſome way can be found to invite freſh ſettlers from the other quarters, to inhabit both the one and the other, that Province muſt ſoon be ruined; as the abandoning ſome places leaves them deſolate, and crowding too large numbers into others, exhauſts and impoveriſhes them. And ſince theſe inconveniences are not to be remedied by nature alone, art and induſtry muſt be applied: for we ſee many countries that were at firſt unhealthful, much altered when they come to be inhabited by a multitude of people, the earth being purified by tillage, and the air by their fires; which, without that aſſiſtance, nature only could never have effected. Of this, Venice is a remarkable inſtance: for though it was built in a fenny and unwholſome ſituation, the concourſe of ſo many people at one time, ſoon made it healthful. Piſa likewiſe, on account of the badneſs of its air, was very thinly inhabited, till the Genoeſe were driven out of their territories by the Saracens, and flocked thither in ſuch numbers, that it ſoon became a populous and powerful city. But ſince the cuſtom of ſending out Colonies is now out of faſhion, new conqueſts are not ſo eaſily maintained, void places not ſo ſoon filled, nor thoſe that are too much crowded ſo readily diſburthened. From whence it comes to paſs, that many places in the world, and particularly in Italy, are now become deſolate and unpeopled, in compariſon of what they were in former ages; the true cauſe of which failure is, that Princes have now no appetite for true glory, and Commonwealths no longer obſerve the laudable cuſtoms and inſtitutions they anciently uſed to do.

In former times, I ſay then, many new Cities were founded, and ſeveral that had been built before, much enlarged by Colonies. The City of Florence, to give a particular example, was begun by the inhabitants of Fieſole, and augmented by the people they were continually ſending thither. It is certain, if Dante and Giovanni Villani are to be credited, that the Citizens of Fieſole, which is ſituated upon the top of a hill, marked out a plot of ground upon the plain that lies betwixt the ſkirts of that hill and the river Arno, for the conveniency of Merchants; that ſo their goods might be conveyed thither with leſs difficulty, and their markets better frequented. Theſe Merchants, I ſuppoſe, firſt built warehouſes in that place to ſtow their goods in, which, in courſe of time, became a ſettled habitation. But when the Romans had ſecured Italy againſt foreign invaſions, by the deſtruction of Carthage, they began

gan to multiply exceedingly: for men will not live any longer in want and diſtreſs than they are compelled to it, by abſolute neceſſity: and though the terrors of war may force them for a while to take ſhelter in deſart mountains, and inacceſſible Places; yet, when the danger is blown over, comfort and convenience allure them back again, and they naturally return to places that are more habitable and commodious. The ſecurity, therefore, which was eſtabliſhed in Italy, by the reputation of the Roman arms, might poſſibly be the occaſion that this place increaſed ſo faſt from ſo ſmall a beginning, that it ſoon came to be a town, which at firſt was called Villa Arnina.

After this, there aroſe civil wars in Rome betwixt Marius and Sylla, then betwixt Cæſar and Pompey, and laſtly betwixt the Aſſaſſins of Cæſar and thoſe that undertook to revenge his death. Sylla was the firſt, and after him, the three Roman Citizens who revenged the death of Cæſar and divided the Empire, that ſent Colonies to Fieſole; all, or the greater part of which, ſettled in a plain not far from the town which was already begun: ſo that by this addition, the place became ſo full of buildings and inhabitants, and ſuch proviſions were made for a civil government, that it might well be reckoned amongſt the cities of Italy. But whence it took the name of Florence is not ſo clearly known. Some will have it, that it was ſo called from Florino, one of the chiefs of the Colony. Others ſay, it was not called *Florentia*, but, *Fluentia* at firſt, from its being ſituated ſo near the ſtream of the Arno; and to ſupport their aſſertion they produce the teſtimony of Pliny, who ſays, [*a*]. "*The Fluentines are ſeated upon the banks of the Arno.*" But that ſeems to be an error, becauſe Pliny is there ſpeaking of the ſituation, not the name, of the Florentines; and the word *Fluentini* is moſt probably a corruption of the text, ſince Frontinus and Tacitus, two writers that were nearly contemporary with Pliny, call the town *Florentia* and the people *Florentines*: and it is certain, that in the time of Tiberius, they were governed by the ſame laws and authority that the reſt of the cities in Italy were then ſubject to. Of which we ſee a proof in the ſame Tacitus, [*b*] who relates, that the Florentines ſent Deputies to petition the Emperor that he would not ſuffer their Country to be ruined by turning the ſtream of the river Clanis upon it, as was deſigned: and it is abſurd to ſuppoſe that city ſhould have two names at the ſame time. It is my opinion therefore, whatever might be the occaſion of its Original or Denomination, that it was always called *Florentia*. It was founded under the Roman Empire, and began to be mentioned in Hiſtory in the time of the firſt Emperors: and when

[*a*] Nat. Hiſt. l. iii. c. 25. [*b*] Annal. lib. 1. ad finem.

the Empire was over-run by Barbarians, Totila, King of the Oſtrogoths, took and demoliſhed Florence. Two hundred years after which, it was rebuilt by Charlemagne, from whoſe time, till the year 1215, it followed the fortune of thoſe that ſucceſſively had the rule in Italy: for, during that period, it was governed firſt by the poſterity of Charlemagne, afterwards by the Berengarii, and laſt of all by the German Emperors, as we have already ſhewn in our ſummary of the affairs of Italy.

In thoſe days, the Florentines being under the dominion of foreigners, were not able either to extend their boundaries, or to perform any thing worthy of relation, except, that on St. Romulus's day, in the year 1010, which the Fieſolans obſerved as a ſolemn feſtival, they took and deſtroyed Fieſole, availing themſelves either of the connivance of the Emperors, or the opportunity that was afforded them by the inter-regnum betwixt the death of one Emperor and the Election of another. But afterwards, when the Popes aſſumed greater authority in Italy, and the power of the German Emperors was upon the wane, all the towns of that province began to govern themſelves, and ſhewed but little regard to their Princes: ſo that in the year 1080, Italy was in a manner divided betwixt Henry the Third and the Church. Notwithſtanding which, the Florentines always ſubmitting to the Conqueror, and aiming at nothing further than their own preſervation, kept themſelves quiet and undivided till the year 1215. But as it is obſerved, that the later diſeaſes make their approach, the more dangerous and mortal they commonly are to the human body: ſo the longer it was before Florence was ſeized by the paroxyſms of Faction, the more fatal they proved when it did happen. The cauſe of its firſt Diviſion is very well known, as it has been already related by Dante and ſeveral other Writers: however, I ſhall give a ſhort account of it.

The greateſt and moſt powerful families in Florence at that time, were the Buondelmonti and the Uberti; and next to them, the Amadei and Donati. In the family of the Donati there was a very rich widow Lady, who had a daughter of remarkable beauty. This Lady had reſolved with herſelf to marry her daughter to Meſſer Buondelmonte, a young Cavalier, who was then head of that family; but either out of negligence, or becauſe ſhe thought it was yet in good time, ſhe had not communicated her deſign to any body: ſo that before ſhe was aware, young Buondelmonte had engaged himſelf to a daughter of the Houſe of Amadei, at which the old Lady was exceedingly diſappointed and chagrined, when ſhe came to know it. But as ſhe entertained ſome hopes that her daughter's beauty might ſtill have power enough to break the match, ſeeing him come alone one day towards her houſe, ſhe went to the door with her daughter, to ſalute him as he paſſed by, and amongſt other

other compliments told him, " She could not help ſincerely rejoycing when ſhe heard he was going to be married, though, indeed, ſhe had till then kept her own daughter ſingle (whom ſhe preſented to him) in hopes that ſhe ſhould have been his Bride." The young Gentleman, ſtruck with her extraordinary beauty, and conſidering that her family and fortune were not inferior to that of the Lady to whom he was contracted, grew ſo enamoured of her, that, without reflecting upon the engagement he was under, the baſeneſs he ſhould be guilty of in breaking it, or the conſequences that might enſue, he immediately replied, " Madam, ſince you have reſerved her for me, and it is not yet too late, I ſhould be very ungrateful to reject ſuch an offer;" and preſently after was married to her. But, as ſoon as the wedding was made public, it ſo exaſperated the Amadei and Uberti, who were nearly allied to the Donati, that after a conſultation amongſt themſelves, and ſeveral other relations, it was reſolved, that the affront was too grievous to be put up, and could not be ſufficiently attoned for, but by the death of young Buondelmonte; and though ſome deſired them to conſider the conſequences, Moſcha Lamberti replied, " thoſe who conſidered every thing, would never conclude upon any thing," adding the old proverb, *Coſa fatta capo hà, when a thing is once done, there is an end of it.* The fact being thus determined upon, the execution of it was left to the ſaid Moſcha, Stiatta Uberti, Lambertuccio Amadei, and Oderigo Fifanti. Accordingly, on the morning of Eaſter-day, being poſted in the houſes of the Amadei, betwixt the old Bridge and St. Stephen's, as Meſſer Buondelmonte was paſſing the river on horſeback, without fear or ſuſpicion, (as if he thought the affront would have been as eaſily forgotten as the match had been broken) they ſet upon him at the foot of the Bridge, and killed him, cloſe by a Statue of Mars, which then ſtood there. This murder divided the whole city, one part of it ſiding with the Buondelmonti, the other with the Uberti; and as both the families were very powerful in alliances, Caſtles and adherents, the Quarrel continued many years before either of them could entirely get the better of the other: for though their animoſities could not be utterly extinguiſhed by a firm and laſting reconciliation, yet they were often palliated and compoſed for a while by truces and ceſſation of hoſtilities; by which manner of proceeding, as new accidents and events happened, they were ſometimes quiet, and ſometimes together by the ears. In this ſtate Florence continued till the reign of the Emperor Frederick the Second, who being likewiſe King of Naples, and deſirous to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the Church, and eſtabliſh his intereſt more ſecurely in Tuſcany, thought it no bad expedient to join the Uberti and their party, who, by his Aſſiſtance, were enabled to drive the Buondelmonti out of Florence; and

thus

month together, without ceaſing, before they took the field, that the enemy might have time to provide for their defence: for ſuch a ſpirit of generoſity then prevailed amongſt them, and with ſo much magnanimity did they behave, that though, now indeed, it is reputed laudable and good policy to attack an Enemy unprepared, it was looked upon in thoſe days, as baſe and treacherous. This Bell was always carried along with their armies when they marched; and by it, their ſignals for planting and relieving guards and centinels, and other warlike operations were regulated.

By ſuch diſcipline in their civil and military affairs, the Florentines laid the foundation of their liberty; and it is hardly to be conceived, how much ſtrength and authority they acquired in a very ſhort time: for their city not only became the capital of Tuſcany, but was reckoned amongſt the principal in Italy; and indeed there is no degree of grandeur to which it might not have attained, if it had not been obſtructed by frequent and almoſt continual diſcords and diviſions. For the ſpace of ten years they lived under this form of government; during which time, they forced the States of Piſtoia, Arezzo, and Siena, to enter into a confederacy with them, and in their return with their army from the laſt city, they took Volterra, demoliſhed ſeveral caſtles, and brought the Inhabitants to Florence. In all theſe expeditions, the Guelphs had the chief direction and command, as they were much more popular and powerful than the Ghibelines, who had behaved themſelves ſo imperiouſly in the reign of Frederick, when they had the upper hand, that they were become very odious to the people; and becauſe the party of the Church was generally thought to favour their attempts to preſerve their liberty, whilſt that of the Emperor endeavoured to deprive them of it.

The Ghibelines, in the mean time, finding their authority ſo dwindled, were not a little diſcontented, and only waited for a proper opportunity to ſeize upon the government again. Seeing therefore, that Manfred, the Son of Frederick, King of Naples, had eſtabliſhed himſelf in the poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, and ſufficiently reduced the power of the Church, they thought the juncture not unfavourable, for the execution of their deſigns, and entered into a private correſpondence with him in hopes of his aſſiſtance: but for want of due ſecrecy in theſe practices, they were diſcovered by the Anziani, who thereupon ſummoned the Uberti to appear before them. But inſtead of obeying, they took up arms and fortified themſelves in their houſes: at which the people were ſo incenſed that they likewiſe ran to arms, and by the help of the Guelphs obliged the whole party of the Ghibelines to quit Florence and tranſport themſelves to Siena. There they ſued for aid to Manfred, who granted it,

it, and the Guelphs were defeated upon the banks of the River Arbia, with ſuch ſlaughter (by the King's forces under the conduct of Farinata degli Uberti) that thoſe who eſcaped from it, giving up their city for loſt, fled directly to Lucca, and left Florence to provide for itſelf. Manfred had given the command of the auxiliaries which he ſent to the Ghibelines, to Count Giordano, a ſoldier of no ſmall reputation in thoſe times. This Giordano, after his victory, immediately advanced with the Ghibelines to Florence, and not only forced the city to acknowledge Manfred for its ſovereign, but depoſed the Magiſtrates, and either entirely abrogated or altered all laws and cuſtoms that might look like remains of their former liberty; which being executed with great rigour and inſolence, enflamed the people to ſuch a degree, that if they did not love the Ghibelines before, they now became their inveterate and implacable enemies; which averſion continually increaſing, at laſt proved their utter deſtruction.

Giordano being obliged to return to Naples upon affairs of great conſequence to that Kingdom, left Count Guido Novello, Lord of Caſentino, at Florence, as deputy for the King there; who called a Council of the Ghibelines at Empoli, in which it was unanimouſly reſolved, that in order to maintain their power in Tuſcany, it was neceſſary to demoliſh Florence entirely, as the people were ſuch rigid Guelphs there, that it was the only city capable of ſupporting the declining party of the Church. There was not ſo much as one citizen or friend that had courage enough to oppoſe this cruel ſentence upon ſo noble and magnificent a city, except Farinata Uberti, who openly and boldly proteſted againſt it, declaring that he had not undergone ſo much fatigue, nor expoſed himſelf to ſo many dangers, but to live quietly afterwards at home; nor was he then in a humour to reject what he had ſo long and earneſtly ſought for, or to ſlight the favours which good Fortune at laſt had granted him: that on the contrary he was determined to exert himſelf againſt any one who ſhould go about to prevent it, with as much zeal and vigour as he had done againſt the Guelphs; and that if either mean jealouſy or cowardice ſhould prompt them to endeavour the ruin of their city, they might attempt it if they pleaſed, but he hoped he ſhould be able to defend it with the ſame valour that had driven out his former enemies. — Farinata was a man of great courage, an excellent ſoldier, head of the Ghibeline faction, and in ſo much eſteem with Manfred himſelf, that his authority alone quaſhed the effects of that reſolution, and put them upon conſidering of new ways and means to keep themſelves in poſſeſſion of the government.

The Guelphs, in this interval, who had taken refuge in Lucca, being deſired to withdraw out of that city by the Lucchele, at the threats of the Count, retired to Bologna; from whence they were invited by their

friends at Parma to join them againſt the Ghibelines in thoſe parts, and behaved ſo well there, that after they had conquered them, they had their poſſeſſions given them as a reward for their valour. So that having in ſome meaſure recovered their ſtrength and reputation, and hearing that Pope Clement had called Charles of Anjou into Italy, to depoſe Manfred if poſſible, they ſent Deputies to his Holineſs with a tender of their ſervice, which the Pope not only accepted, but ſent them a ſtandard which the Guelphs carried ever after in their wars, and is uſed by the Florentines at this time.

After this, Manfred was not only defeated by Charles, but deprived of his Kingdom and ſlain: [*d*] and as the Guelphs of Florence had no ſmall ſhare in that action, their party grew daily bolder and more vigorous, and that of the Ghibelines ſtill weaker and weaker. Upon which, Count Guido Novello, and thoſe that were left in commiſſion with him to govern Florence, reſolved to try if it was poſſible by lenity and gentler treatment, to recover the affections of the people, whom they found they had exaſperated to the laſt degree by their oppreſſive and violent manner of proceeding. But thoſe favours, which, if they had been properly applied, and before they were extorted by neceſſity, might poſſibly have had a good effect, were now conferred with ſo bad a grace, that inſtead of doing them any ſervice, they only contributed to haſten their ruin. To cajole and ingratiate themſelves with the people, they thought it would be ſufficient if they gave them back ſome part of thoſe privileges and

[*d*] This Manfred was a baſtard ſon of the Emperor Frederick II. It is ſaid, he ſmothered his father in his bed; and afterwards cauſed Conrade, ſon of the ſaid Emperor, to be poiſoned. Conrade left a ſon, whoſe name was Conradine, to whom Manfred made himſelf guardian. At laſt he poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of Sicily, which he governed eleven years in conſtant troubles and diviſions. He quarrelled with Pope Innocent IV. carried the war into his dominions, and routed his forces in December 1254, by the help of the Saracens of Lauria. Afterwards he took the country of Fondi from the Church, and was excommunicated by the Popes Urban IV. and Clement IV. the former of which Pontifs called Charles of Anjou into Italy, and inveſted him with the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, in order to make war upon Manfred, as an enemy to the Church. It is reported, that he made an overture of peace to Charles; to which that Prince returned the following anſwer: "*Ite & renunciate Sultano Lucerino* (ſo he called Manfred, with whom the Saracens of Lauria or Luceria had joined themſelves) *me vel brevi ipſum in infernum detruſurum, vel ipſum me in paradiſum collocaturum. Go and tell the Sultan of Luceria, that I will very ſoon either ſend him to hell, or he ſhall ſend me to heaven.*" Accordingly they came to an engagement on the plain of Benevento, February 26, 1266; in which Manfred loſt his life, and was found covered all over with blood and dirt. He was thrown into a ditch near the Bridge of Benevento, becauſe he was excommunicated, and afterwards, as a modern author ſays, Pope Clement cauſed his body to be carried out of the Church-lands. Manfred had given his daughter Conſtantia in marriage to Peter III. of Arragon, in the year 1262; and upon this match, the Princes of that family founded their pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples. *Collenucio. Hiſt. Neap.*

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that authority which they had robbed them of. For which purpoſe, they choſe ſix and thirty citizens out of the people of Florence, and two gentlemen of higher rank from amongſt their friends at Bologna, to whom they gave a commiſſion to reform the State as they pleaſed. Theſe Delegates, at their firſt meeting, divided the city into diſtinct *Arts* or *Trades*, over each of which they conſtituted a Magiſtrate, who was to adminiſter juſtice to all that were in his department; and to every art a ſeparate banner was aſſigned, under which they might aſſemble in arms whenever the ſafety of the public required it. At firſt theſe *Arts* or *Companies* were twelve, ſeven greater, and five leſs: but the leſs being afterwards augmented to fourteen, the whole number amounted to twenty one, and continue ſo to be at preſent.

The reformers proceeding to make other alterations likewiſe for the common good, Count Guido, who thought himſelf obliged to make ſome proviſion for his ſoldiers, cauſed a tax to be laid upon the citizens for that purpoſe, but met with ſo much oppoſition in the matter, that he never durſt uſe any compulſory means to collect it. So that perceiving all would be loſt, if he did not take ſome meaſures to prevent it, he held a private conſultation with the chiefs of the Ghibeline faction, in which it was reſolved to take that back again from the people which he had ſo inconſiderately given them; and if it ſhould be neceſſary, even by force of arms. Accordingly, when he thought he had made ſufficient preparations for the execution of his deſign, he took an opportunity of raiſing a tumult whilſt the thirty ſix reformers were ſitting; at which they were ſo frighted that they retired to their houſes. But the enſigns of the ſeveral arts being immediately diſplayed, the people repaired to them in arms, and underſtanding that Count Guido and his party were at St. John's, they made a ſtand near Trinity Church, and choſe Giovanni Soldanieri for their leader. The Count, on the other hand, having notice where they had poſted themſelves, inſtantly advanced to attack them; and the people not declining an engagement, they met near a place that is now called la Loggia dè Tornaquinci, where the Count was worſted and moſt of his party ſlain. Daunted at this repulſe, and apprehenſive that the enemy would fall upon him again in the night and knock him on the head, now he had ſo few forces to truſt to, and thoſe beaten and diſmayed, he reſolved to ſave himſelf by flight; and, contrary to the perſuaſion of the heads of the Ghibeline party, he retired in all haſte to Prato, with what men he had left. However, as ſoon as he found himſelf in a place of ſecurity and had recovered his ſpirits, he was ſenſible of his error; and being deſirous to retrieve his reputation, he marched back early the next morning to Florence, in hopes of regaining that with honour which he had loſt with ſo much ignominy.

But he was diſappointed in that deſign alſo; for though perhaps it might have been very difficult to drive him out of the city, the people found it no hard matter to keep him out when he was ſo: ſo that he was forced to draw off once more with infinite diſgrace and chagrin to Caſentino, and the Ghibelines retired to other towns that were of their party.

The people having thus got the upper hand, reſolved to unite the city again if poſſible, and by the advice of thoſe that wiſhed well to the common wealth, to recall all ſuch citizens as had been forced to leave their homes, whether they were Guelphs or Ghibelines. In conſequence of which, the Guelphs returned, ſix years after they had been baniſhed, the late attempt of the Ghibelines was pardoned, and they were ſuffered to come back again. But they ſtill continued very odious both to the Guelphs and the people; the former not being able to forgive the diſgrace and hardſhips of their long exile, nor the latter to forget their inſolence and tyranny when they had the government in their hands: ſo that their ancient animoſities were not yet entirely extinguiſhed either on one ſide or the other.

Whilſt the affairs of Florence were in this ſituation, a rumour was ſpread, that Conradine, nephew to Manfred, was marching with an army out of Germany to invade the Kingdom of Naples: at which news, the Ghibelines began to conceive freſh hopes of recovering their former authority; and the Guelphs being no leſs ſollicitous to ſecure themſelves againſt the attempts of their enemies, applied to King Charles for aſſiſtance, in caſe Conradine ſhould actually come. This requeſt being granted, his forces immediately began their march: upon which, the Guelphs grew ſo inſolent, and the courage of the Ghibelines was damped to ſuch a degree, that they fled out of the city two days before the arrival of thoſe ſuccours. After the departure of the Ghibelines, the Florentines new modelled their city, and choſe twelve principal Magiſtrates, who were to continue in authority no longer than two months, not under the title of *Anziani*, but that of *Buonhuomini*. Next in power under them, they appointed a council of eighty Citizens, which they called the *Credenza*. After this, an hundred and eighty more were elected out of the people, thirty to ſerve every two months; who, together with the Credenza, and the twelve Buonhuomini, were called the *General Council*. Beſides which, they inſtituted another council, conſiſting of an hundred and twenty members, equally choſen out of the Nobility, Citizens, and Commonalty, which was to confirm whatſoever had been reſolved upon by the others, and to act jointly with them in diſpoſing of the public honours and offices of the commonwealth. Having in this manner fortified themſelves againſt the machinations of the Ghibelines, by new laws, and creating magiſtrates only

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of the Guelph party, they divided the goods and eſtates of the Ghibelines into three parts; one of which was confiſcated for public uſes, another appropriated to the ſupport of their Magiſtrates and other Officers, and the third diſtributed amongſt the Guelphs, in conſideration of the loſſes they had ſuſtained. The Pope likewiſe, to ſecure Tuſcany to the Guelph faction, made King Charles Imperial Vicar of that Province.

Whilſt the Florentines thus maintained their honour and reputation abroad, by the valour of their arms, and at home by this new form of government, the Pope died, and the vacancy was not filled up till after a conteſt that laſted two years, at the end of which Gregory X. was choſen, who being in Syria, at the time of his election, (where he had reſided many years, without concerning himſelf in the intrigues of faction) and an enemy to diſcord of all kinds, did not ſhew the ſame partiality to the Guelphs that his predeceſſors had done. And therefore, when he arrived at Florence, in his way to France, thinking it the duty of a good paſtor to uſe his endeavours to reunite the City, and compoſe all differences, he prevailed upon the Florentines to receive commiſſioners from the Ghibelines, to negotiate the terms upon which they ſhould return: but, notwithſtanding an accommodation was concluded betwixt the two parties, the Ghibelines were ſo ſuſpicious, that they would not come back again. The cauſe of this refuſal was laid to the charge of the city, and enraged the Pope to ſuch a degree, that he excommunicated it; under which cenſure it continued, as long as he lived; but after his death, when Innocent V. was elected, it was taken off. Innocent was ſucceeded by Nicholas III. of the Houſe of Urſini: and as the Popes were always jealous of any conſiderable power in Italy (though raiſed by the favour of the Church) and conſtantly endeavoured to depreſs it, great commotions and frequent changes enſued. For the dread of any one that was grown potent, occaſioned the exaltation of another that was weaker than him, who growing powerful alſo by his advancement, became equally formidable, and was ſure to be humbled in his turn, if poſſible. This was the occaſion of the Kingdom of Naples being taken from Manfred, and given to Charles. And when Charles was afterwards thought too ſtrong, by this acquiſition, his ruin was alſo conſpired: for Nicholas III. moved by this conſideration, ſo contrived matters, that Charles was removed from the government of Tuſcany by the Emperor, and Latino, the Pope's Legate, ſent thither in his room, by a commiſſion from that Prince.

The government of Florence was fallen into great diſorder and miſrule at this time; for the Guelph Nobility were grown ſo inſolent, and ſtood in ſo little awe of the Magiſtracy, that though many murders and other acts of violence were daily committed, yet the criminals generally eſcaped.

eſcaped with impunity, through the favour of one or other of the Nobles. To reſtrain theſe enormities, the heads of the City thought it no bad expedient to recall thoſe that were baniſhed; which gave the Legate an opportunity of interpoſing his authority and good offices for the re-union of the city, and the return of the Ghibelines. This being happily effected, inſtead of twelve governors, they reſolved to have fourteen, ſeven of each party, who ſhould be nominated by the Pope, and remain in office no longer than one year. Under this form of government, the city continued for the ſpace of two years; when Martin, a Frenchman, was created Pope, and reſtored all the power and authority to King Charles that had been taken from him by Pope Nicholas. Upon which, the rage of faction ſuddenly blazed out again in Tuſcany: for the Florentines roſe in arms againſt the Emperor's deputy, and put the City under a new regulation, to curb the ambition of the Ghibelines, and the inſolence of the Nobility.

In the year 1282, the companies of the Arts and Trades having for ſome time had magiſtrates and colours of their own, were become ſo reſpectable and powerful, that they got a Law paſſed by their authority, in which it was ordained, that inſtead of fourteen citizens, three only ſhould govern the Commonwealth, and that for no longer than two months; who were to be choſen indifferently out of the Nobility or Commons, provided they were Merchants, or profeſſed any Art or Occupation: and theſe were called *Priori*. Afterwards, the chief Magiſtracy was veſted in ſix perſons, one for each ward, under which regulation the city continued till the year 1342; when it was divided into *Quarters*, and the number of the Priori reduced to nine, which, by ſome accident or other, during this period, had been ſometimes augmented to twelve. This inſtitution, in time, occaſioned the ruin of the Nobility, who, upon divers provocations, were excluded, and at laſt entirely ſuppreſſed by the people. The Nobility, indeed, conſented to it, becauſe they were at that time divided amongſt themſelves: but by endeavouring to ſupplant each other, and aſpiring to the ſole government of the Commonwealth, they quite loſt all ſhare in it. There was likewiſe a Palace ſet apart for the conſtant reſidence of theſe Magiſtrates, and the meeting of the Council; whereas, before, they both uſed to aſſemble in ſome one or other of the Churches. Beſides which, they had Serjeants, and other neceſſary Officers appointed to attend them there, to create greater reverence and reſpect in the people. And though at firſt they had only the title of Priori, they were afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Signori* or *Signiory*.

The Florentines, after this, continued quiet at home for ſome time; during which, they made war upon the people of Arezzo, (for having expelled

expelled the Guelphs their City) and gained a conſiderable victory over them at Campaldino. And as the City now began to grow very rich, and full of inhabitants, it was thought proper to build new walls, and extend the bounds of it, as they did, to its preſent circumference; for the former Diameter reached only from the old Bridge to the Church of St. Laurence.

War abroad, and peace at home, had now almoſt extinguiſhed the two factions of Guelphs and Ghibelines in Florence; and there remained only ſome ſparks of animoſity betwixt the Nobility and Commonalty, which are incident to all Republicks; for one ſide being naturally jealous of any incroachment upon their liberty and legal rights, and the other ambitious to rule and controul the Laws, it is not poſſible they ſhould ever long agree together.

This humour did not ſhew itſelf in the Nobility however, whilſt they were over-awed by the Ghibelines; but when the latter were depreſſed, it began to appear, and the people were daily injured and abuſed in ſuch a manner, that neither the Laws nor the Magiſtracy had authority enough to relieve them; as every Nobleman ſupported himſelf in his inſolence by the number of his friends and relations, both againſt the power of the Signiory, and the Captain of the people. The heads of the Arts therefore, ro remedy ſo great an evil, provided that every Signiory, in the beginning of its office, ſhould appoint a *Gonfaloniere di Giuſtizia*, or *Standard-bearer of Juſtice*, out of the people, with a thouſand men, divided into twenty companies, under him; who were to be always ready with their ſtandard and in arms, whenever they were ordered by the Magiſtracy: and the firſt that filled this office, was Ubaldo Ruffoli, who drew out his companies, and demoliſhed the houſes of the Galletti, becauſe one of that family had killed a Fellow Citizen in France. The Arts did not meet with much oppoſition in this eſtabliſhment, on account of the jealouſy and emulation that reigned amongſt the Nobility, who were not in the leaſt aware that it was levelled at them, till they felt the ſmart of it; and then indeed, they were not a little awed by it for ſome time: but in a while they returned to the commiſſion of their former outrages: for as ſome of them always found means to inſinuate themſelves into the Signiory, they had it in their power to prevent the Gonfalonier from executing his office. Beſides, as witneſſes were always required upon any accuſation, the plaintiff could hardly ever find any one that durſt give evidence againſt the Nobility: ſo that in a ſhort time, Florence was involved in its former diſtractions, and the people again expoſed to violence and oppreſſion; as juſtice was grown dilatory, and ſentence, though paſſed, ſeldom or never executed. The people therefore, not knowing what courſe to take in theſe circumſtances,

ſtances, Giano della Bella, a ſtrenuous Patriot, (though of a very noble family) encouraged the heads of the Arts once more to reform the City: and by his advice, it was enacted, that the Gonfalonier ſhould always reſide with the Signiory, and have four thouſand armed men under his command. They likewiſe entirely excluded the Nobility out of that council, and made a Law, that all acceſſaries or abettors ſhould be liable to the ſame puniſhment with thoſe that were principals in any crime; and further, that common Fame ſhould be ſufficient evidence to convict them. By theſe Laws, which were called, *li Ordinamenti della Giuſtizia*, the people gained great weight and authority: but Giano della Bella being looked upon by the Nobility, as the author and contriver of them, to bridle their power, became very odious, not only to them, but to the richeſt of the Commonalty [*e*], who began to think his authority too great, as they plainly ſhewed on the firſt occaſion that offered. For not long after, it happened that one of the Commons was killed in a fray, wherein ſeveral of the Nobility were engaged, and Corſo Donati amongſt the reſt, to whoſe charge the murder was laid, as the moſt active and deſperate of them. Upon which, he was taken into cuſtody by the Captain of the people: but whether he was innocent of the fact, or the Captain was afraid of condemning him, or whatever elſe might be the reaſon, he was acquitted; which ſo enraged the people, that they preſently took up arms, and ran to the houſe of Giano della Bella, entreating him to uſe his endeavours, that the Laws which he had been the author of, might be duly put in execution. Giano was deſirous that Donati ſhould be puniſhed, and therefore, inſtead of exhorting the people to lay down their arms, as many thought he ought to have done, he adviſed them to complain to the Signiory, and demand juſtice of them. But the people, who were incenſed to the laſt degree, thinking themſelves abuſed by their Captain, and abandoned by Giano, did not addreſs themſelves to the Signiory, as they were directed; but ran furiouſly to the Captain's palace and plundered it. A manner of proceeding that was exceedingly reſented by the whole city, and the blame of it being laid upon Giano, by ſuch as meditated his ruin, ſome of his enemies, who afterwards happened to be in the Signiory, accuſed him to the Captain, as an encourager of violence and inſurrection. Whilſt his cauſe was depending, the people

[*e*] It has been a common piece of policy in all Republics, to diſcountenance and even to depreſs ſuch as are remarkably eminent for virtues of any kind whatſoever. A brave man is ſure to be brow-beaten; and if a perſon is a little more hoſpitable or charitable than his neighbours, he is in danger of the State-inquiſition, leſt his virtues, or even the apearance of them, ſhould make him popular, and enable him to change the form of government. Such is the envy and jealouſy that are uſually incident to Commonwealths.

took

took arms, and aſſembled in great numbers before his houſe, offering to protect him againſt the Signiory and all his other enemies: but Giano not caring to truſt to the favour of the populace, nor to commit his life to the arbitrement of the Magiſtrates, as he feared the malevolence of the one, no leſs than the fickleneſs of the other, reſolved to ſecure himſelf againſt the jealouſy of his enemies, and his country from the rage of his friends, by giving way to envy, and voluntarily baniſhing himſelf from a City, which he alone had ſo generouſly delivered from the tyranny of the Nobility, at the imminent hazard of his own life and fortune.

After his departure, the Nobility, in hopes of recovering their authority which they conceived they had loſt by diſſenſions amongſt themſelves, agreed to unite, and ſent two of their Body to entreat the Signiory, (which they thought was in their intereſt) that they would be pleaſed, in ſome meaſure, to mitigate the aſperity of the Laws that had been made againſt them. But as ſoon as this Petition came to be publickly known, the Commons apprehending the Signiory would comply with it, immediately roſe in a tumultuous manner: ſo that ambition on one ſide, and jealouſy on the other, at laſt occaſioned an open rupture betwixt them. The Nobility were drawn up in three bodies, at St. John's, in the New Market, and the Piazza de Mozzi, which were commanded by Foreſe Adimari, Vanni de Mozzi and Geri Spini: the people likewiſe aſſembled under their colours in great numbers before the Palace of the Signiory, (which at that time was not far from the Church of St. Procolo) and being ſuſpicious of the Signiory, they appointed ſix other citizens to act in concert with them. In the mean time, whilſt each party was preparing for an engagement, ſome, both of the Nobility and Commons, with certain eccleſiaſticks that were in great eſteem, interpoſed their good offices to accommodate matters betwixt them; repreſenting to the Nobility, "that the loſs of their authority, and the laws that were made to curb them, were entirely owing to their own arrogance and tyrannical government: that to take up arms in ſuch a juncture, and have recourſe to violence for the recovery of what they had forfeited by their diſſenſions and intolerable behaviour, would be to ruin their country and aggravate their preſent misfortunes: that they ought to conſider the other party was much ſuperior to them in numbers, riches, and popularity: that their Nobility, which they vainly imagined ſet them ſo far above others, was but an empty name, and would ſtand them in little ſtead when they came to blows with an enemy that had ſo many advantages over them." On the other hand, they ſhewed the people, "how imprudent it would be in them to carry things to extremities, and drive their enemies to deſpair, ſince *thoſe that hope no good, fear no evil*: that it ought to be remembered

remembered that it was the Nobility chiefly which had gained their city ſuch reputation by their bravery in the late wars, and ought not therefore, either in reaſon or juſtice, to be perſecuted with ſuch a degree of inveteracy: that though they had patiently ſubmitted to be excluded from all ſhare in the magiſtracy, yet it was an inſupportable hardſhip that they ſhould be at every body's mercy, and liable to be driven out of their country upon any little diſguſt by virtue of the new laws: that they would do well to moderate the rigour of them, (an aſſurance of which might poſſibly induce them on the other ſide to lay down their arms) and not be raſhly hurried by too great a confidence in their numbers, to hazard the event of a battle; ſince experience had ſufficiently ſhewn that a handful of deſperate men had often prevailed over a force ſeemingly much ſuperior to them." Various were the opinions of the people upon theſe remonſtrances. Some were for coming immediately to a battle, as a thing that muſt one time or other of neceſſity happen, and that it would be better to do it now they were prepared, than to ſtay till their enemies had ſtrengthened themſelves more effectually: yet if there were any hopes that a mitigation of the laws would content them, they ſhould be mitigated accordingly: but ſuch was their pride and inſolence, that it was much to be feared they would never alter their manner of behaviour, except they were compelled to it by downright force. Others that were more prudent and moderate, thought an alteration of the laws could not be attended with any very bad conſequences to them; but that the iſſue of a battle, if unſucceſsful, might prove fatal. This opinion prevailing, it was ordained, that no accuſation ſhould be admitted againſt a Nobleman without ſufficient evidence to ſupport it: and though both parties laid down their arms upon theſe conditions, yet they retained their former jealouſy of each other, and began to raiſe forces and fortify themſelves as faſt as they could. The people however thought fit to new model the government and reduce the number of the Signiory, (as they ſuſpected ſome of that body were too favourably inclined to the Nobility) leaving the ſupreme authority chiefly in the hands of the Mancini, Magalotti, Altoviti, Peruzzi, and Ceretani.

Having thus ſettled the State in the year 1298, they began to build a ſecurer and more magnificent Palace for the Signiory, with a Piazza or large Area before it, in the place where the houſes of the Uberti formerly ſtood. About the ſame time, the foundation of the public priſons was alſo laid; all which Edifices were finiſhed in a few years: ſo that the city was never in a greater ſplendor nor more happy than at that time; as it abounded in people, riches, and reputation: for there were thirty thouſand Citizens at home fit to bear arms, ſeventy thouſand more in their territories,

territories, and all the inhabitants of Tuſcany, partly as friends, partly as ſubjects, were at its devotion. And though there were ſome little ſparks of jealouſy and envy ſtill remaining betwixt the Nobility and the people, yet they did not openly break out, or produce any bad effect, but every one lived quietly and peaceably with his neighbour: and had not this tranquillity at laſt been diſturbed by freſh diſcords at home, it would have been in no danger from any other enemy; as it was then in ſo flouriſhing a condition, that it neither feared the attempts of the Exiles, nor the power of the Emperor, and could have brought a body of forces into the field able to face thoſe of all the other States in Italy put together. The miſchief, however, which foreign enemies were not able to do them, whilſt they continued thus united, was unhappily effected by new diviſions amongſt themſelves.

There were two families in Florence, the Cerchi and Donati, both very conſiderable for their riches, nobility, and dependants; and as they were near neighbours both in the city and country, there happened ſeveral little diſguſts betwixt them; yet not of ſuch conſequence as to produce an open rupture: and perhaps they might have entirely ſubſided without diſturbing the peace of the public, if they had not been revived by a ſtrange and unexpected accident.—The Cancellieri being one of the chief families in Piſtoia, it happened that Lori the Son of Guglielmo, and Geri the Son of Bertaccio, both of that family, being at play together, at laſt fell into a diſpute, and from words proceeded to a rencounter, in which Geri was ſlightly wounded by the other. But when Guglielmo heard of the quarrel, it gave him ſo much uneaſineſs that he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to reconcile them; and inſiſted that his ſon ſhould go to Geri's father and aſk pardon, or at leaſt make an apology for what had happened. This generous ſubmiſſion however, only ſerved to widen the breach: for when Lori went to wait upon his kinſman, according to his father's deſire, Bertaccio ſaid "he did not think that was ſufficient ſatisfaction," but ordered his ſervants (as an aggravation to the indignity) to lay hold on him and carry him into a ſtable, where they cut off his right hand upon the Manger, with this taunt, "you may now go back to your father, and tell him, *that excuſes won't do; ſteel is the only remedy in ſuch caſes*". The barbarity of the fact enraged Guglielmo and his friends to ſuch a degree, that they immediately took arms to revenge it: and Bertaccio and his dependants doing the ſame; not only all that family, but the whole city of Piſtoia was engaged in the quarrel, and divided into two parties. Theſe Cancellieri deſcended from one of the ſame name who had two wives, one of whom was called Bianca, or Blanche; from whence that party that adhered to her poſterity took the

name of [f] *Bianca*; and the other, in oppoſition, diſtinguiſhed itſelf by that of *Nera*. Many ſkirmiſhes happened betwixt them, in which numbers of people loſt their lives, and ſome families were entirely ruined: and as no expedient could be found to reconcile them (though both ſides were heartily ſick of the quarrel) they determined to come to Florence, in hopes either of putting an end to it there, by the mediation of their common friends, or if that could not be effected, to ſtrengthen their reſpective parties by drawing other families into them. The Neri having an intimate friendſhip with the Donati, were eſpouſed by Corſo, the head of that family: and the Bianchi, to balance that acquiſition of ſtrength in their adverſaries, had recourſe to Veri, the head of the Cerchi, for their aſſiſtance; a man of no leſs power than Corſo, nor inferior to him in any other reſpect whatſoever.

Theſe ſparks of diſcord, thus blown from Piſtoia to Florence, ſoon revived the former animoſities betwixt the Cerchi and Donati, which began to blaze out again with ſuch fury, that the Signiory and others of the principal Citizens were under no ſmall apprehenſion that the whole city would at laſt become engaged in the quarrel, and hourly expected the two parties would openly attack each other. They applied therefore to the Pope, and entreated him to make uſe of his authority to compoſe thoſe differences, which it was not in their power to do: upon which ſollicitation, his Holineſs ſent for Veri to Rome, and earneſtly exhorted him to be reconciled to the Donati. But Veri pretending to be ſurprized, ſaid "there was no quarrel of any kind betwixt them that he knew of, and conſequently there could not be any occaſion to exhort him to a reconciliation." But not long after his return from Rome, their feuds increaſed to ſuch a height, that there only wanted an opportunity (which ſoon after happened) to make them burſt out into action. In the month of May ſeveral Holidays are publickly celebrated in Florence; on one of which, ſome young gentlemen of the Donati family with their friends, all on horſe-back, ſtopped near Trinity Church to look at ſome women that were dancing: preſently after, as ill fortune would have it, ſeveral of the Cerchi alſo arrived at the ſame place, with many of their acquaintance; and being deſirous to gratify their curioſity in like manner, they ſpurred on their horſes, not knowing the Donati, who were foremoſt in the crowd, and joſtled in amongſt them. The Donati therefore looking upon this as an affront, immediately drew their ſwords; and the Cerchi doing the ſame, a ſkirmiſh enſued in which many were wounded on both ſides.

[f] Bianca ſignifies *White*, and Nera *Black*.

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This accident was the occaſion of great miſchief: for the whole City, as well Commons as Nobility, divided upon it; ſome taking part with the Bianchi, and others with the Neri. The heads of the Bianca party were the Cerchi, who were joined by the Adimari, the Abbati, part of the Toſinghi, Bardi, Roſſi, Freſcobaldi, Nerli, Mannelli, all the Mozzi, Scali, Gherardini, Cavalcanti, Maleſpini, Boſtichi, Giandonati, Vecchietti, and Ariguzzi, who were followed by many conſiderable families of the Commoners and all the Ghibeline faction in Florence: ſo that in regard to their numbers, they ſeemed to have a great ſuperiority. The other ſide was headed by the Donati, and ſupported by all thoſe of the above mentioned families who did not follow the Bianchi, together with all the Pazzi, Viſdomini, Manieri, Bagneſi, Tornaquinci, Spini, Buondelmonti, Gianfigliazzi, and Brunelleſchi. Nor did this contagion confine itſelf to the city alone, but infected all the country round in ſuch a manner, that the Captains of the Arts, and all thoſe that favoured the Guelphs and were friends to the Commonwealth, began to be very much afraid this new combuſtion would throw the city once more into the hands of the Ghibelines, to its utter ruin. Upon which they ſent again to the Pope, beſeeching him to provide ſome remedy for theſe diſtractions, except he had a mind that their city, which at all times had been the Bulwark of the Church, ſhould either be totally deſtroyed, or at leaſt become ſubject to the Ghibelines. In compliance with their requeſt, the Pope diſpatched Matteo d' Acqua Sparta, a Portugueze Cardinal, as his Legate to Florence; who, finding the party of the Bianchi ſo refractory and confident in their numbers that they refuſed to liſten to any propoſals of peace, left Florence in a rage, and put it under an interdict: ſo that it was in greater confuſion after his departure than before he came thither.

Whilſt the two parties were in this ferment, and ripe for an inſurrection, it happened that ſeveral of the Cerchi and Donati met together at a Funeral, where ſome angry words paſſed betwixt them, and from words they came to blows, though no great harm was done at that time on either ſide. But after they returned to their houſes, the Cerchi reſolved to attack the Donati, and aſſembled all their friends for that purpoſe: in which aſſault, however, they were valiantly repulſed by Corſo, and many of them wounded. Upon this, the whole city took up arms, neither the power of the Magiſtracy nor the authority of the laws being able to reſtrain the fury of the multitude. The wiſeſt and beſt of the Citizens were in great terror: and the Donati being the weaker party, not a little doubtful of their ſafety. It was agreed therefore, at a meeting betwixt Corſo, the Heads of the Neri, and the Captains of the Arts, that in order to ſecure themſelves, it was neceſſary the Pope ſhould be ſollicited to ſend ſome perſon of royal extraction to reform the city; imagining

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this would be the moſt effectual way to get the better of their Enemies. This meeting and the reſult of it was notified to the Signiory by the other party, who repreſented it as a conſpiracy againſt their liberty. So that both ſides being now in arms again, the Signiory by the advice of Dante (who at that time was one of them) boldly drew out their companies, and being joined by great numbers out of the country, ſoon forced the chiefs of each party to lay down their arms: after which, they baniſhed Corſo Donati and many of the Neri. And to ſhew that they acted with impartiality, they likewiſe baniſhed ſeveral of the Bianchi, who not long after were ſuffered to return upon one plauſible pretence or other. Corſo and his aſſociates were alſo indulged in the ſame manner: and taking it for granted that the Pope was their friend, they went directly to Rome, in hopes of being able to perſuade him to that in a perſonal conference, for which they had lately petitioned his Holineſs in their letters.

Charles of Valois, brother to the King of France, happened to be then at the Court of Rome, being invited into Italy by the King of Naples to make a deſcent upon Sicily. The Pope therefore thought fit (as he was ſo much importuned by the Florentines) to ſend this Prince to ſtay at Florence till the ſeaſon of the year was more proper for Navigation. In conſequence of which deputation, he went to that city: and though the Bianchi, who then had the upper hand there, looked upon him with an evil eye, yet as he was Patron of the Guelphs and ſent by the Pope, they durſt not oppoſe his coming: on the contrary, to make him their friend, they gave him full power to regulate the city as he thought beſt. He was no ſooner veſted with his authority but he cauſed all his friends and partizans to arm themſelves; which made the people ſo jealous that he intended to deprive them of their liberty, that they alſo took arms, and every man was ready to oppoſe him if he ſhould make any ſuch attempt. The Cerchi and the heads of the Bianchi having had the chief government of the city ſome time in their hands, and behaved with great arrogance, were become generally odious; which encouraged Corſo and others of the Neri who had fled, to return to Florence, upon an aſſurance that Charles and the Captains of the Arts were their friends and would ſupport them. Accordingly whilſt the city was thus alarmed with the apprehenſions of Charles's deſigns, Corſo, with all his aſſociates, and many other of their followers made their entry into it without any ſort of reſiſtance: and though Veri de Cerchi was called upon to oppoſe them, he declined it, and ſaid, "the people of Florence might even chaſtiſe them themſelves if they pleaſed, as they were likely to be the greateſt ſufferers by them." But that inſinuation had no effect; for inſtead of chaſtiſing them, they received them with open arms, whilſt Veri was forced to fly for his ſafety. For Corſo having forced his entrance at the Porta Pinti, drew

drew up and made a ſtand over-againſt St. Pietro Maggiore, not far from his own houſe; and being joined by a great number of his friends, and others that aſſembled there in hopes of a change of government, he in the firſt place releaſed all priſoners, upon what account and by whomſoever they had been committed: after which he diveſted the Signiory of their authority, and choſe new Magiſtrates (all of the party of the Neri) out of the people to ſupply their places. He then plundered the houſes of the chiefs of the Bianchi, for five days together; during which time, the Cerchi and the heads of that Faction ſeeing the people for the moſt part their enemy, and Charles by no means their friend, fled out of the city into ſuch ſtrong places as they were poſſeſſed of: and though they would not liſten to the exhortations of the Pope before, they were now forced to implore his aſſiſtance; repreſenting to his Holineſs that the arrival of Charles there had been ſo far from uniting the city, that it had thrown it into ſtill greater diſtraction. The Pope therefore again ſent his Legate Acquaſparta to Florence, who not only made an accommodation betwixt the Cerchi and Donati, but fortified it by ſeveral intermarriages in thoſe families. Nevertheleſs, when he inſiſted that the Bianchi ſhould ſhare in the chief offices of the common wealth, and that was refuſed by the Neri, who were then in full poſſeſſion of them, he left the city with as much diſſatisfaction as he had done before, and excommunicated it a ſecond time for its Contumacy. The Neri on the other hand, ſeeing their old enemies in their boſom again, were not a little afraid they would uſe all means to ruin them, in order to recover their former authority. Thus both parties were ſtill diſcontented: and as if theſe animoſities were not ſufficient to enflame the city, freſh occaſions of diſcord continually happened.

As Niccolò de Cerchi was going one day with ſeveral of his friends to his ſeat in the country, he was aſſaulted by Simone, the Son of Corſo Donati, at the Ponte ad Africo. The ſkirmiſh was ſharp and bloody; for Niccolò was killed upon the ſpot, and Simone ſo deſperately wounded that he died the ſame night. This accident threw the whole city into an uproar again; and though indeed it was altogether owing to the Neri, yet they were ſkreened by the Magiſtracy: and before judgment could be obtained, a conſpiracy was ſaid to be diſcovered betwixt the Bianchi and Pietro Ferrante (a Nobleman that attended Charles of Valois) with whom they had been tampering to perſuade his maſter to reinſtate them in the government. The plot was detected by ſome letters from the Cerchi to Pietro; though it was the common opinion they were forged by the Donati, to wipe off the odium they had incurred by the murder of Niccolò Cerchi. However, all the family of the Cerchi, with many of their followers of the Bianca party (and amongſt the reſt Dante the Poet) were

were immediately ſent into baniſhment, their eſtates confiſcated, and their houſes demoliſhed: after which their party, with many of the Ghibelines who had joined them, were diſperſed and ſcattered up and down in different places, where they waited in hopes that ſome new commotion might afford them an opportunity of repairing their loſſes. And Charles having executed the deſign of his errand to Florence, left that city and went back to Rome, that he might proſecute his expedition into Sicily; in which he proceeded with no leſs imprudence and ill ſucceſs than he had done in the affairs of Florence: ſo that after he had loſt many of his men, he returned with infinite diſgrace and contempt into France.

After the departure of Charles, Florence continued tolerably quiet for ſome time; though Corſo Donati was ſtill diſſatisfied that he did not enjoy ſuch a degree of authority in it as he thought due to his merits, ſince the government was now in the hands of the people, and conducted by thoſe that were much inferior to him in all reſpects. Exaſperated at this neglect, he meditated revenge: but to varniſh over his deſigns with a fair pretext, he accuſed ſeveral Citizens who had been intruſted with the publick money, of embezzling it and applying it to their own private uſes: for which, he ſaid, they ought to be called to account and puniſhed. This ſcandal was likewiſe induſtriouſly propagated by ſeveral others who had the ſame views; and many were ignorant and credulous enough to believe that what Corſo did, was out of pure concern and affection for his country. [g] But the perſons thus calumniated being in

[g] The ſureſt way of gaining the commonalty in democratical governments, is to rail ſoundly at the adminiſtration; and when other topics of defamation are wanting to ambitious and diſcontented men, the charge of peculation and embezzlement of the public money is always at hand, which, though a very ſtale cry, is conſtantly liſtened to with great eagerneſs by the people, (whether true or falſe) whoſe clamours and reſentment it is calculated to excite; as it eaſily falls in with the complaints of *hard times*, *heavy taxes*, &c. which are uſual in every age, and under every government. The authors indeed ſometimes find their account in it, under a weak adminiſtration; but the people are ſeldom or never the better for it under any, nor is it intended they ſhould be. But it ſeems ſtrange, that they ſhould be ſo often gulled into diſaffection and ſedition by ſo trite an artifice, and the vain hopes of reſtitution. Few are the inſtances of refunding Miniſters; and perhaps there have not been ſo many Peculators as the public has imagined. Such charges are, and always muſt be, very difficult either to be proved or diſproved, from the nature of all Governments; as it is almoſt impoſſible ever to have ſufficient evidence on one ſide; or for the other to exculpate themſelves, without revealing ſecrets of State that ought to be carefully concealed. But ſtill they at any time furniſh ſufficient matter for deſigning men to work upon, and afford food for credulity and diſcontent. In our own country, if we have not ſeen any miniſters of late buried at the public expence, like ſome of the old Romans; few, however, have died poſſeſſed of very great riches. A Caviller, perhaps, would ſay (for cavilling ſake) *that* was owing to their luxury, and the corrupt methods they took to ſupport themſelves in it: but ſuch perſons are not to be regarded.

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favour with the people, ſtood upon their juſtification: and theſe diſputes, after much litigation and many proceſſes, at laſt grew to ſuch a height that it became abſolutely neceſſary to take up arms. On one ſide, were Corſo and Lottieri, Biſhop of Florence, with many of the Nobility, and ſome of the Commons; on the other, were the Signiory and the greater part of the people: ſo that there was nothing to be ſeen but frays and ſkirmiſhes in every part of the city. The Signiory therefore perceiving themſelves in great danger, ſent to Lucca for aid, and immediately all the people of that city came to their aſſiſtance: by which means, things were accommodated for a time, the tumults compoſed, and the people ſatisfied with continuing in poſſeſſion of their liberty and government, without inflicting any puniſhment upon the author of this diſturbance.

The Pope had been informed of theſe broils at Florence, and ſent his Legate Niccolò da Prato thither, to quiet them, if poſſible; who, being a prelate of great experience, addreſs, and reputation, ſoon gained ſuch an influence over the people, that they gave him a commiſſion to new-model the city as he pleaſed. And as he rather inclined to favour the Ghibeline faction, he propoſed to recall all thoſe of that party who had been baniſhed: but thought it neceſſary, in the firſt place, to ingratiate himſelf ſtill further with the people, by reſtoring their antient Companies, which added much to their ſtrength, and diminiſhed that of the Nobility. When he thought he had thus ſufficiently engaged their affections, he determined to bring back the Exiles, and tried ſeveral means to effect it: but was ſo far from ſucceeding, that he became obnoxious to the Governors, and was forced out of the City, which he left in the utmoſt confuſion, and was provoked to ſuch a degree at the treatment he had met with, that he put it under an interdict at his departure.

Two factions not being ſufficient, the City was now divided and ſubdivided into ſeveral, as thoſe of the People and Nobility, the Guelphs and the Ghibelines, the Bianchi and the Neri; and ſome who wiſhed for the return of the Exiles, being diſappointed in their hopes now the Legate was gone, grew clamorous and outrageous: ſo that the whole City was in an uproar, and many ſkirmiſhes enſued. Thoſe that were moſt active in raiſing this clamour, were the Medici and Giugni, who had openly ſided with the Legate in favour of the Exiles.

In the midſt of theſe rencounters, which daily happened in all parts of the town, a fire broke out, to add to their confuſion, which ſpread from the Orto di San Michele (where it firſt began) to the houſes of the Abbati, and from thence to thoſe of the Caponſacchi, which were all burnt down to the ground, together with the houſes of the Macci,

Amieri, Toſchi, Cipriani, Lamberti, Cavalcanti, and all the new Market: from whence the flames ſpread to Porta di Santa Maria, which was entirely conſumed; and being driven by the wind towards the old Bridge, they likewiſe demoliſhed the houſes of the Gherardini, Pulci, Amadei, Lucardeſi, and ſo many others, that the number amounted to above thirteen hundred.

Many were of opinion that this misfortune was the effect of accident, and that ſome houſes took fire by chance, whilſt the owners of them were engaged in a ſkirmiſh which happened at that time. Others affirm, that it was owing to the villany of Neri Abbati, Prior of St. Pietro Scheraggio, a diſſolute and abandoned fellow, who, ſeeing every body ſo buſily employed, took that opportunity of doing a miſchief for which there could be no remedy; and that it might ſucceed the better, and make him leſs ſuſpected, he alſo ſet fire to the houſes of his own friends, where he had a convenience of doing it.

It was in July 1304, when Florence was viſited in this lamentable manner with fire and ſword. At which time, Corſo Donati was the only perſon of any diſtinction that did not take up arms in thoſe tumults: for he thought that when all ſides grew tired of fighting, and inclined to a reconciliation, he was the more likely, upon that account, to be called in as an arbitrator to decide their differences. Accordingly, they ſoon after laid down their arms, though more out of wearineſs of their miſeries, and that they might have time to take breath, than from any real deſire of being re-united, and living in peace: for upon the whole, it was only ſtipulated, that the Exiles ſhould not be ſuffered to return; which was agreed to by thoſe that favoured them, merely becauſe they proved to be the weaker ſide.

The Legate, at his return to Rome, being informed of theſe new diſturbances at Florence, told the Pope, that if he had any deſire of compoſing them, it would be the beſt way, in his opinion, to ſend for twelve of the principal malecontents of that City, and to detain them at Rome for ſome time: for when the fomenters of thoſe evils were removed, it would be an eaſy matter to extinguiſh them. This advice was ſo well approved of by the Pope, that he cited the above-mentioned number of thoſe citizens to appear before him, (amongſt whom was Corſo Donati) who readily obeyed the ſummons. But as ſoon as they were ſet out upon their journey, the Legate found means to acquaint the Exiles, that if ever they hoped to return to Florence, *that* was their time, as the City was then clear of the only men that had authority enough to oppoſe their entrance. Upon this encouragement, the Citizens that had been baniſhed, drawing together what forces they could, immediately marched towards Florence, and not only entered the city in

in that part where the new walls were not yet thoroughly finiſhed, but advanced as far as the Piazza di St. Giovanni. It is certainly worthy of notice, that thoſe very citizens, who but a little before had exerted themſelves in the moſt ſtrenuous manner for their return, when they petitioned in an humble and ſubmiſſive manner to be re-admitted, were the firſt that took up arms againſt them, now they ſaw them approach in a hoſtile manner, and joined with the people to drive them back again, as they effectually did; for ſuch was the ſpirit of patriotiſm amongſt them in thoſe days, that they chearfully gave up all private intereſts and friendſhips for the ſake of the publick good. Their miſcarriage in this attempt, may chiefly be imputed to leaving part of their forces at Laſtra, and not waiting for Toloſetto Uberti, who was advancing with three hundred horſe from Piſtoia to their aſſiſtance; as they imagined expedition was of much greater importance than numbers at that time: and indeed, it is certain, that in ſuch caſes, a fair opportunity is often loſt by delay; but at the ſame time we muſt conſider, that precipitate enterprizes are ſeldom ſupported by a proper force.

After the Exiles were thus repulſed, the Citizens relapſed into their former diſtractions: and in order to deprive the Cavalcanti of the authority which they had aſſumed, they ſeized upon the Caſtle of Le Stinche, in the Val de Greve, which had been in poſſeſſion of that family for a great number of years: and as thoſe who were then in this Caſtle, were the firſt that were committed to the public Priſon which had been lately built, that edifice from thence took the name of *Le Stinche*, which it ſtill retains. The next ſtep that the Governors of the Commonwealth took, was to re-eſtabliſh the Companies of the People, and to reſtore the Colours under which the Arts had formerly been uſed to aſſemble: the Captains, the Gonfaloniers, or Standard-bearers of the Companies, and the Officers of Juſtice, were called together, and ordered not only to aſſiſt the Signiory in times of peace with their counſel, but to ſupport and defend them by dint of arms in all exigencies and commotions. To aſſiſt the two Judges who had been conſtituted in the beginning of their ſtate, they appointed an officer, called *il Eſſecutore*, or *Sheriff*, who was to act in conjunction with the Gonfaloniers, and to ſee their orders carried into execution, whenever the Nobility ſhould be guilty of any enormity or act of oppreſſion.

But the Pope dying in the mean time, Corſo and the other eleven Citizens, returned to Florence, where they might all have lived in peace, if the reſtleſs ambition of Corſo had not occaſioned freſh troubles. In order to make himſelf popular, he conſtantly oppoſed the Nobility in all their ſchemes, and which way ſoever he obſerved the people to incline, he turned all his authority to ſupport them in it, and to gain their affec-

tions: ſo that in all conteſts and diviſions, or when they had any extraordinary point to carry, they always reſorted to him, and put themſelves under his directions. This created him much hatred and envy amongſt the moſt conſiderable Citizens, which at laſt increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the faction of the Neri divided and quarrelled amongſt themſelves, when they ſaw Corſo avail himſelf in ſuch a manner of the affections of the people, and join with the enemies of the public to promote his own private views: yet ſuch was the awe they ſtood in of his perſon and authority, that every one was afraid of him. However, as the moſt likely way to alienate the affections of the people from him, they gave out, that he ſecretly deſigned to ſeize upon the government, and make himſelf King; which it was no difficult matter to make them believe, from his magnificent, and indeed profuſe, manner of living, which far exceeded thoſe bounds of moderation that ought not to be tranſgreſſed by any private Citizen or Subject, and was calculated, they ſaid, to ſerve ſome dangerous purpoſe. And this ſuſpicion was not a little corroborated, when they ſaw him, ſoon after, married to a daughter of Ugucciono della Faggiuola, head of the Bianchi and Ghibelines, and a man of very great intereſt and power in Tuſcany.

As ſoon as this alliance came to the knowledge of his enemies, they grew ſo bold upon it, that they took up arms againſt him; and the greater part of the people, inſtead of appearing in his defence, forſook him and joined his adverſaries; the chief of whom were Roſſo della Toſa, Pazziano de Pazzi, Geri Spini, and Berto Brunelleſchi. Theſe and their friends, with a great multitude of armed men, aſſembled at the ſteps of the Palace of the Signiory, by whoſe command an accuſation was preferred againſt Corſo to Pietro Branca, captain of the people, as a perſon, who, by the aſſiſtance of Uguccione, aſpired to make himſelf abſolute. Upon which impeachment, being cited to appear before him, he refuſed to obey the ſummons; and was therefore declared a contumacious Rebel, in leſs than two hours after he had been accuſed. This ſentence being pronounced, the Signiory, with the Companies of the people under their ſeveral colours, went directly to apprehend him. Corſo, on the other hand, not in the leaſt diſmayed, either at the rigour of the ſentence, the authority of the Signiory, the number of his enemies, or the inconſtancy of his friends, many of whom had now deſerted him, immediately began to fortify his houſe, in hopes of being able to defend himſelf there, till Uguccione (to whom he had ſent word of the deſperate circumſtances he was in) could come to his relief. The avenues to his houſe were barricaded and guarded by thoſe of his party that ſtill adhered to him, in ſuch a manner, that though the aſſailants were numerous, they could not force their way through them. Many were

were killed and wounded on both ſides in this action, which was very ſharp: at laſt, the people finding they could not enter that way, got into the neighbouring houſes, and unexpectedly broke through the walls of them into his. Corſo ſeeing himſelf thus ſurrounded, on a ſudden, by his enemies, and that there was no hope of ſuccour from Uguccione, nor any other refuge left, reſolved to try if it was poſſible to make his eſcape.

Advancing, therefore, with Gherardo Bondini, and ſome others of his moſt reſolute and faithful friends, he made ſo furious an attack upon the enemy, that he broke through them, and fled out of the Porta alla Cruce. However, as they were cloſely purſued, Gherardo was killed by Boccaccio Caviciulli, upon the Ponte ad Africo, and Corſo taken priſoner at Rovezzano, by ſome Catalan horſe that were in the pay of the Signiory. But as he could not endure the thoughts of being inſulted, and perhaps torn to pieces, by a victorious enemy, he threw himſelf from his horſe to the ground, as they were bringing him back to Florence, where he was knocked on the head by one of the Guards: his body was afterwards picked up by the Monks of St. Salvi, and interred without any ſolemnity, or ſepulchral honours. Such was the unfortunate end of Corſo Donati, to whom his Country, and the Neri, owed much, both of their good and bad fortune: without doubt, if he had not been of ſo reſtleſs a diſpoſition, his memory would have been held in greater honour. However, his name deſerves to be ranked amongſt thoſe of the moſt eminent Men that our city has ever produced; though indeed, it cannot be denied, that the turbulency of his Spirit made both his Country and Party forget their obligations to him, and at laſt, was not only the cauſe of his own death, but brought many evils upon them. Uguccione had advanced as far as Remoli, in his way to Florence, with ſupplies to relieve his Son-in-law; but being informed there, that he was fallen into the hands of the people, and imagining that all ſuccour would then be too late, he thought it the moſt prudent way to turn back again, as he might otherwiſe very likely prejudice himſelf, without being able to do him any ſervice.

After the death of Corſo, which happened in the year 1308, all tumults ceaſed, and every body lived quietly, till news arrived that Henry the Emperor, was come into Italy with all the Florentine Exiles in his army, whom he had promiſed to reinſtate in their Country. The Magiſtrates, therefore, in order to diſtreſs him, and leſſen the number of their enemies, granted a free pardon to all ſuch as had been Rebels, and invited them to return; excepting ſome particular perſons expreſſly mentioned. Thoſe that were excluded, were moſtly of the Ghibeline faction, and certain of the Bianchi; amongſt whom, were Dante Alighieri,

Alighieri, the Sons of Veri de Cerchi, and of Giano della Bella. They likewiſe ſent to ſollicit the aſſiſtance of Robert, King of Naples, but not being able to obtain it as allies, they gave him the government of their City for five years, upon condition that he would defend and protect them as his ſubjects. The Emperor, in his paſſage, arrived at Piſa, and from thence came to Rome, where he was crowned, in the year 1312; and being determined to humble the Florentines, he marched by the way of Perugia and Arezzo to Florence, and ſat down with his army at the Monaſtery of St. Salvi, about a mile from the City, where he continued fifty days without gaining any advantage. At laſt, when he found that enterprize not likely to ſucceed as he expected, he returned to Piſa, and entered into a confederacy with Frederick, King of Sicily, in order to make an attempt upon Naples. For which purpoſe, he marched that way with his army; but at a time when he thought himſelf ſure of ſucceſs, and Robert was ſo frighted that he gave up his Kingdom for loſt, the Emperor died at Buonconvento.

It happened not long after, that Uguccione della Faggiuola firſt made himſelf maſter of Piſa, and then of Lucca, by the aſſiſtance of the Ghibelines; from whence he committed great depredations upon the neighbouring States. The Florentines, therefore, to free themſelves from the terror occaſioned by his incurſions into their territories, invited Peter, King Robert's Brother, to come and take upon him the command of their forces. Uguccione, on the other hand, neglected no opportunity, in the mean time, of adding to the power he had already acquired, and partly by force, partly by artifice, had made himſelf maſter of ſeveral caſtles in the Vales of Arno and Nievole: from whence he proceeded to lay ſiege to Monte Catini, where the Florentines reſolved to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſtop his career, and extinguiſh a flame that otherwiſe might poſſibly devour their whole country. For this purpoſe, having raiſed a very powerful army, they marched into the Vale of Nievole, where they gave battle to Uguccione, and were utterly defeated, after a bloody engagement, in which they loſt above two thouſand men, beſides their General Peter, the King's brother, whoſe body could never be found. The victory, however, was not attended with any great rejoicings on the ſide of Uguccione, as one of his ſons, and many other officers of diſtinction, were killed in it.

After this overthrow, the Florentines immediately began to fortify the towns round about them, and applied to King Robert for another General; upon which, he ſent them the Count di Andria, commonly called Count Novello, whoſe bad conduct, added to the impatient temper of the Florentines (which is ſoon tired of any form of government, and ready to fall into factions upon every accident) occaſioned the city

to

to divide again, notwithſtanding the war they were engaged in with Uguccione; and ſome declared for King Robert, and ſome againſt him. The chief of his enemies were Simone della Toſa, the Magalloti, and ſome other popular families who had the greateſt power in the government. Theſe perſons ſent firſt into France, and then into Germany, to raiſe men and invite officers, in order to rid themſelves of their new Governor; but unfortunately they could not procure either. However, as they were determined not to give up their deſign, though they had been diſappointed both in Germany and France, they, in the firſt place, took arms, and drove the Count out of the city; and then hearing of one Lando, a man of ſome reputation at Agobbio, they ſent for him, and made him their Eſſecutore, or rather *Executioner*, with full power over all the Citizens. Lando, being naturally cruel and rapacious, went about the city with a gang of armed men at his heels, hanging up firſt one man and then another, as thoſe that had ſent for him gave him directions, and at laſt grew ſo inſolent, that he coined bad money with the Florentine ſtamp, which no body had courage enough to oppoſe: to ſuch a height of power had he arrived by the diſſenſion of the Citizens! Miſerable indeed, and much to be lamented was the condition of the city at that time, which neither the bitter remembrance of the evils produced by their former diviſions, nor the dread of a foreign enemy at their gates, nor the authority of a King, was ſufficient to keep united; though their poſſeſſions were at the ſame time daily ravaged and plundered, abroad by Uguccione, and at home by Lando.

The Nobility, moſt of the conſiderable Commoners, and all the Guelphs, took the King's ſide, and hated Lando and thoſe that ſupported him: but as their enemies had the power in their hands, they could not declare themſelves publickly without extreme danger. However, that they might not ſeem wanting in any endeavours to free themſelves from ſo ignominious a yoke, they wrote privately to King Robert, and entreated him to appoint Count Guido da Buttifolle his Lieutenant at Florence, which he readily complied with: and the other party (though they had the Signiory on their ſide) durſt not venture to oppoſe a man of ſo eſtabliſhed a reputation. But the Count ſoon found he had very little authority in the city, as the Magiſtracy and the Gonfaloniers of the ſeveral companies openly favoured Lando and his friends.

During theſe troubles in Florence, the Daughter of Albert, King of Bohemia, paſſed through that city (to meet her huſband Charles, the ſon of King Robert) where ſhe was received by the King's friends with great honour; and, upon their complaints of the miſerable condition of the city, and the tyranny of Lando and his party, ſhe uſed her good offices ſo effectually, and obtained them ſo many grants and favours from

this would be the moſt effectual way to get the better of their Enemies. This meeting and the reſult of it was notified to the Signiory by the other party, who repreſented it as a conſpiracy againſt their liberty. So that both ſides being now in arms again, the Signiory by the advice of Dante (who at that time was one of them) boldly drew out their companies, and being joined by great numbers out of the country, ſoon forced the chiefs of each party to lay down their arms: after which, they baniſhed Corſo Donati and many of the Neri. And to ſhew that they acted with impartiality, they likewiſe baniſhed ſeveral of the Bianchi, who not long after were ſuffered to return upon one plauſible pretence or other. Corſo and his aſſociates were alſo indulged in the ſame manner: and taking it for granted that the Pope was their friend, they went directly to Rome, in hopes of being able to perſuade him to that in a perſonal conference, for which they had lately petitioned his Holineſs in their letters.

Charles of Valois, brother to the King of France, happened to be then at the Court of Rome, being invited into Italy by the King of Naples to make a deſcent upon Sicily. The Pope therefore thought fit (as he was ſo much importuned by the Florentines) to ſend this Prince to ſtay at Florence till the ſeaſon of the year was more proper for Navigation. In conſequence of which deputation, he went to that city: and though the Bianchi, who then had the upper hand there, looked upon him with an evil eye, yet as he was Patron of the Guelphs and ſent by the Pope, they durſt not oppoſe his coming: on the contrary, to make him their friend, they gave him full power to regulate the city as he thought beſt. He was no ſooner veſted with his authority but he cauſed all his friends and partizans to arm themſelves; which made the people ſo jealous that he intended to deprive them of their liberty, that they alſo took arms, and every man was ready to oppoſe him if he ſhould make any ſuch attempt. The Cerchi and the heads of the Bianchi having had the chief government of the city ſome time in their hands, and behaved with great arrogance, were become generally odious; which encouraged Corſo and others of the Neri who had fled, to return to Florence, upon an aſſurance that Charles and the Captains of the Arts were their friends and would ſupport them. Accordingly whilſt the city was thus alarmed with the apprehenſions of Charles's deſigns, Corſo, with all his aſſociates, and many other of their followers made their entry into it without any ſort of reſiſtance: and though Veri de Cerchi was called upon to oppoſe them, he declined it, and ſaid, "the people of Florence might even chaſtiſe them themſelves if they pleaſed, as they were likely to be the greateſt ſufferers by them." But that inſinuation had no effect; for inſtead of chaſtiſing them, they received them with open arms, whilſt Veri was forced to fly for his ſafety. For Corſo having forced his entrance at the Porta Pinti, drew

drew up and made a ſtand over-againſt St. Pietro Maggiore, not far from his own houſe; and being joined by a great number of his friends, and others that aſſembled there in hopes of a change of government, he in the firſt place releaſed all priſoners, upon what account and by whomſoever they had been committed: after which he diveſted the Signiory of their authority, and choſe new Magiſtrates (all of the party of the Neri) out of the people to ſupply their places. He then plundered the houſes of the chiefs of the Bianchi, for five days together; during which time, the Cerchi and the heads of that Faction ſeeing the people for the moſt part their enemy, and Charles by no means their friend, fled out of the city into ſuch ſtrong places as they were poſſeſſed of: and though they would not liſten to the exhortations of the Pope before, they were now forced to implore his aſſiſtance; repreſenting to his Holineſs that the arrival of Charles there had been ſo far from uniting the city, that it had thrown it into ſtill greater diſtraction. The Pope therefore again ſent his Legate Acquaſparta to Florence, who not only made an accommodation betwixt the Cerchi and Donati, but fortified it by ſeveral intermarriages in thoſe families. Nevertheleſs, when he inſiſted that the Bianchi ſhould ſhare in the chief offices of the common wealth, and that was refuſed by the Neri, who were then in full poſſeſſion of them, he left the city with as much diſſatisfaction as he had done before, and excommunicated it a ſecond time for its Contumacy. The Neri on the other hand, ſeeing their old enemies in their boſom again, were not a little afraid they would uſe all means to ruin them, in order to recover their former authority. Thus both parties were ſtill diſcontented: and as if theſe animoſities were not ſufficient to enflame the city, freſh occaſions of diſcord continually happened.

As Niccolò de Cerchi was going one day with ſeveral of his friends to his ſeat in the country, he was aſſaulted by Simone, the Son of Corſo Donati, at the Ponte ad Africo. The ſkirmiſh was ſharp and bloody; for Niccolò was killed upon the ſpot, and Simone ſo deſperately wounded that he died the ſame night. This accident threw the whole city into an uproar again; and though indeed it was altogether owing to the Neri, yet they were ſkreened by the Magiſtracy: and before judgment could be obtained, a conſpiracy was ſaid to be diſcovered betwixt the Bianchi and Pietro Ferrante (a Nobleman that attended Charles of Valois) with whom they had been tampering to perſuade his maſter to reinſtate them in the government. The plot was detected by ſome letters from the Cerchi to Pietro; though it was the common opinion they were forged by the Donati, to wipe off the odium they had incurred by the murder of Niccolò Cerchi. However, all the family of the Cerchi, with many of their followers of the Bianca party (and amongſt the reſt Dante the Poet) were

of the general council ſhould be allowed to write down their names upon a piece of paper and deliver it privately to the Captain of the people: which being done, the perſons accuſed were, Amerigo Donati, Teghiaio Freſcobaldi, and Lotteringo Gherardini, whoſe judges being more favourable than perhaps their crimes deſerved, they were only fined a certain ſum of money and diſcharged.

From the tumults which happened in Florence upon the approach of the exiles, it plainly appeared, that one Captain only in every Company of the people was not ſufficient: it was ordered therefore, that each Company for the future ſhould have three or four, and that every Gonfalonier ſhould have two or three other Enſigns under him called *Pennonnieri*, that ſo upon any emergency, when the whole Company could not be drawn out, ſome part of it might be employed under one of thoſe Officers. And as it generally happens in all common-wealths, that after any revolution or remarkable criſis, ſome or other of the old laws are abrogated and new ones made in their room; ſo though the Signiory at firſt was changed every two months, yet the Magiſtrates that were then in Office, having great power, took upon themſelves to conſtitute a Signiory out of all the moſt conſiderable Citizens, to continue forty months, whoſe names were to be put into a Bag or Purſe, and a certain number of them drawn out by lot at the end of every ſecond month. This method of election at firſt was called *Imborſatione* and afterwards *Squittino*. But, as many of the Citizens began to ſuſpect their names were not in the Purſe, there was a freſh Imborſation before the forty months expired. From hence aroſe the uſe of the Purſe in creating all their Magiſtrates both at home and abroad, which continued for a conſiderable time: whereas before, when the old Magiſtrates went out of Office, new ones were always choſen by the council. And as this was not to be renewed till after a term of above three years, it was thought they had in a great meaſure extinguiſhed the cauſes of all ſuch diſguſts and tumults as uſed to happen from the frequent return of Elections and the number of Competitors for the Magiſtracy: ſuch was the remedy which for want of a better, they were forced to provide againſt thoſe evils, not being aware how little advantage and how many miſchiefs were likely to flow from it.

In the year 1325, Caſtruccio having ſeized upon Piſtoia, was become ſo formidable, that the Florentines beginning to ſtand in great awe of him, reſolved to attack him before he had eſtabliſhed himſelf in his new dominion, and if poſſible, to wreſt it out of his hands again. In conſequence of which, they aſſembled twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe (moſt of whom were Florentines and the reſt allies) and encamped before Alto Paſcio; by the reduction of which they hoped to prevent any relief

from being thrown into Piſtoia. In this enterprize they ſucceeded, and from thence advanced towards Lucca, ſpoiling and ravaging the whole country: but by the ill conduct and treachery of Ramondo da Cardona, their commander in chief, they reaped but little advantage from this progreſs. For as he ſaw the Florentines had been ſo liberal in diſpoſing of themſelves, that they had ſometimes conferred their government upon Kings, ſometimes upon Legates, and ſometimes upon perſons of much inferior quality, he thought if he could reduce them to any extremity, they perhaps would make him their Prince. For this purpoſe, he was very importunate with them to give him the ſame command in the city that he had over their army; as he pretended he could not otherwiſe either require or expect that neceſſary obedience which was due to a General. But finding the Florentines did not care to comply with this demand, he trifled away his time in doing nothing, whilſt Caſtruccio omitted no opportunity of taking the advantage that his indolence afforded him. For the latter having reinforced himſelf with ſupplies from the Viſconti and other Princes of Lombardy, Ramondo, who before might have gained a victory, if he had not betrayed his maſters, now behaved in ſo unſoldier-like a manner that he could not even make his eſcape from the enemy; but whilſt he was retreating from them by very ſhort and ſlow marches, he was overtaken and attacked by Caſtruccio near Alto Paſcio, where, after an obſtinate engagement, in which his forces were utterly routed, and great numbers of the Citizens either killed or taken priſoners, he himſelf alſo loſt his life, receiving that puniſhment from the hands of fortune, which his perfidy and ambition had merited from the Florentines.

The havock which Caſtruccio made in the territories of Florence after this victory, the depredations, impriſonments, burnings, and every other kind of devaſtation are not to be deſcribed: for as he had nobody to make head againſt him for ſeveral months, he over-ran the whole Country, and did what he pleaſed, whilſt the Florentines thought it no ſmall matter to ſave their city after ſuch a defeat. Nevertheleſs, they were not reduced to ſo low an ebb, but they raiſed large ſums of money, aſſembled forces, and ſent to their allies for aſſiſtance: but no proviſions were ſufficient to ſtop the progreſs of ſuch an enemy. They were forced therefore, to make an offer of their government to Charles, Duke of Calabria and ſon to King Robert, upon condition that he would undertake to defend them; for as that family had been uſed to rule over them, they choſe rather to ſhelter themſelves under him as their Prince, than to truſt to him as an Ally. But Charles himſelf being engaged in the wars of Sicily, ſent Gualtier (a Frenchman, and Duke of Athens) as his Lieutenant, to take poſſeſſion of the government, who new modelled

the Magiſtracy as he thought fit. His behaviour, however, was ſo modeſt and temperate, and ſo contrary to his true natural diſpoſition, (as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter) that he gained the affections of every one.

After the wars in Sicily were over, Charles came in perſon to Florence, with a thouſand horſe, and made his entry in July 1326. His arrival gave ſome check to Caſtruccio, and prevented him from roving about the Country and plundering it without controul, as he had done before. But, if the Citizens ſaved any thing abroad, it was loſt again at home; and when their enemies were thus curbed, they became a prey to the inſolence and oppreſſion of their friends: for as the Signiory were entirely under the influence of the Duke, he exacted four hundred thouſand Florins from the city in the ſpace of one year, though it was expreſſly ſtipulated in the agreement made with him, that he ſhould not raiſe above two hundred thouſand in the whole: beſides which, either Charles, or his Father, were continually laying ſome heavy tax or other upon the Citizens.

Theſe miſeries were ſtill increaſed by new jealouſies and freſh enemies. For the Ghibelines of Lombardy were ſo alarmed at the arrival of Charles in Tuſcany, that Galeazzo Viſconti, and other Princes of that province, by dint of money and fair promiſes, prevailed upon Lewis of Bavaria, (who had been elected Emperor, contrary to the Pope's inclination) to march into Italy with an army. In conſequence of which, he came into Lombardy, and from thence advancing into Tuſcany, made himſelf maſter of Piſa, by the aſſiſtance of Caſtruccio; and having received a conſiderable ſupply of money, he marched on towards Rome. Upon which, Charles began to think the Kingdom of Naples in no ſmall danger; and leaving Philippo Saginetto, his Lieutenant, at Florence, he returned thither in all haſte with the forces that he had brought along with him. After his departure, Caſtruccio ſeized upon Piſa, and the Florentines having got poſſeſſion of Piſtoia by treaty, he marched immediately to recover it, and carried on the ſiege with ſo much vigour and reſolution, that though the Florentines made many attempts to relieve it, ſometimes by attacking his army, ſometimes by making incurſions into his other territories, yet, all their endeavours were ineffectual: for ſo firmly determined was he to chaſtiſe Piſtoia, and keep the Florentines under, that the Piſtoians were forced to ſurrender and receive him once more for their Lord; by which he acquired great reputation; but ſoon after fell ſick and died in the midſt of his victories, as he was returning to Lucca. And as it generally happens, that either fortunate or unfortunate accidents are attended by others of the ſame kind, Charles, Duke of Calabria, and Lord of Florence, died at Naples much about the

the ſame time. So that the Florentines were ſuddenly and unexpectedly delivered from the oppreſſion of one, and the dread of the other; and having once more recovered their liberty, began to reform the common wealth again, abrogating the Laws and Ordinances of all former councils, and creating two new ones in their room, one of which conſiſted of three hundred of the Commons, the other of two hundred and fifty, of both Commoners and Nobility; the former was called the *Council of the people*, the latter, *the Common Council.*

The Emperor, upon his arrival at Rome, ſet up an Antipope, did many things to the prejudice of the Church, and attempted ſeveral others, which he was not able to effect: [*b*] upon which, he left Rome with no little diſhonour and went to Piſa, where eight hundred German Horſe, either for want of pay, or becauſe they were diſſatisfied with his conduct, immediately mutinied and fortified themſelves at Montechiaro upon the Ceruglio. Theſe forces, after he was gone from Piſa, towards Lombardy, made themſelves maſters of Lucca, and drove out Franciſco Caſtracani, whom the Emperor had deputed to govern it; and being deſirous to make the beſt of it, they offered it to the Florentines for twenty thouſand Florins, which they refuſed to give, by the advice of Simone della Toſa. Happy had it been for their city, if the Florentines had perſevered in that reſolution: but as they ſoon after changed their mind, it was of very great prejudice to them; for though they refuſed it when they might have had the peaceable poſſeſſion of it at ſo cheap a rate, they were afterwards obliged to pay a much larger ſum for it, and could not keep it when they had done; which gave occaſion to many ſubſequent diſturbances and changes of government in Florence.

The purchaſe of Lucca being thus rejected by the Florentines, it was bought by Gherardino Spinoli, a Genoeſe, for thirty thouſand Florins. But as it is the nature of mankind to be cool and indifferent about ſuch

[*b*] The Pope had excommunicated him in 1328, and declared him to have forfeited the empire. Lewis, on the other hand, employed ſeveral pens to write againſt the Pope, whom he ſtiled *James of Cahors*. And not contenting himſelf with this, he entered Italy the next year, and ſet up a certain Franciſcan, called Pietro Ramuccio de Corberia, as Antipope, by the Name of Nicholas V. who crowned Lewis, and declared John XXII. an Heretic, and that he had forfeited the Papacy. This violent manner of proceeding, offended the Emperor's friends to ſuch a degree, that they deſerted him; ſo that he afterwards deſired to be reconciled to Benedict XII. in 1336, and to Clement VI. in 1344. But being unwilling to ſubmit to the conditions that were offered him, *viz.* That he ſhould ſurrender the Empire and all his Eſtates to the Church, and hold them only at the good will of the Pope, he was declared *obſtinate and contumacious*. And at the ſollicitation of Clement VI. and Philip of Valois, King of France, (whom Lewis had provoked, by ſiding with Edward III. King of England, againſt him) the Electors choſe in his room, Charles of Luxembourg, who was the fourth Emperor of that name. This was in 1346. Lewis died the next year of poiſon, or, as others ſay, by a fall from his horſe, at the age of ſixty-three. *Bzov. Annal.*

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things as are proffered them, and eager in their deſires to obtain what is difficult, or out of their reach, ſo when the Florentines heard that city was ſold for ſuch a trifle, they were exceedingly diſſatisfied that they had it, not themſelves, and angry at thoſe who had diſſuaded them from buying it: however, as it was now too late, they reſolved to take it by force; and for that purpoſe, ſent their army to make an incurſion into the territories of the Luccheſe. In the mean time, the Emperor had quitted Italy; and the Antipope, by order of the Piſans, was ſent priſoner into France.

After the death of Caſtruccio, which happened in the year 1328, the Florentines continued quiet at home, till 1340, and intent only upon their affairs abroad: during which time, they were engaged in ſeveral wars, eſpecially in Lombardy, upon the coming of John, King of Bohemia, [*i*] into that province; and in Tuſcany, on the account of Lucca. They likewiſe raiſed ſeveral new and beautiful edifices in their city, particularly the Tower of St. Reparata, after a plan given them by Giotto, [*k*] the moſt celebrated Painter and Architect of thoſe times: and in the year 1333, after an inundation of the Arno, in which the water roſe twelve yards perpendicular in ſome parts of Florence, carried away ſeveral Bridges, and demoliſhed many houſes, they repaired all with great diligence and expence. But, in the year 1340 new diſturbances aroſe.

[*i*] He was a Prince of great courage, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as ſuch in theſe wars, before which he had taken upon himſelf the title of King of Poland, and waged war againſt the poſſeſſor of the crown there. He loſt one of his eyes in battle, and going to Montpelier to try if he could find any relief from the Phyſicians there, a Jewiſh Doctor, whom he employed, treated him in ſo unſkilful a manner, that he deprived him of the other. Upon this occaſion, the King of Poland, as it is reported, ſent him word, that he deſired they two only might decide their quarrels in a private room, with each a ponyard in his hand. But King John returned for anſwer, "that he muſt firſt pull out both his Eyes to make the duel equal." His blindneſs did not prevent him from going to war in perſon. He went into France with ſuccours to the aid of Philip of Valois, and was not only preſent, but fought bravely at the battle of Creſſy, which the French loſt, Auguſt 26, 1346. He cauſed his horſe to be faſtened by the bridle to one of the beſt horſe-men he had, and then ruſhed furiouſly into the thick of the enemy, ſword in hand, where he was at laſt killed, as might be well expected. Charles IV. his ſon, King of Bohemia and Emperor, gives a fuller account of all theſe things in the Memoirs of his father's Life.

[*k*] This Giotto was Scholar to Cimabue, and born near Florence, in the year 1276. He was a good Sculptor and Architect, as well as a better Painter than his Maſter: for he began to ſhake off the ſtiffneſs of the Greek *manner*, endeavouring to give a freer air to his Heads, with more of nature in his colouring, and eaſier attitudes to his figures. His beſt piece is ſtill in one of the Churches at Florence, repreſenting the Death of the Virgin Mary, with the Apoſtles round about her. The attitudes of which Story, Michael Angelo uſed to ſay, could not be better deſigned. See Freſnoy's Art of Painting, p. 254.

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The governors of the City had two ways of maintaining and increaſing their authority. One was, by managing the Imborſations in ſuch a manner, as always to ſecure the Signiory either to themſelves or their creatures; the other, by getting Rettori, or Judges choſen, who they knew would be favourable to them in their ſentences and determinations. The latter of which expedients, they thought of ſuch importance, that, not content with two Judges, as they had been formerly, they ſometimes conſtituted a third, whom they called *Captain of the Guards*; with which office, they had now veſted Jacomo Gabrieli d'Agobbio, and given him an abſolute power over the Citizens. This Jacomo, under the direction of the governors, behaved with the moſt ſhameleſs inſolence and partiality, daily injuring or affronting ſome body or other, particularly Pietro de Bardi, and Bardo Freſcobaldi; who being nobly born, and men of high ſpirit, were provoked to ſuch a degree, that a ſtranger ſhould be introduced into the city by a few of their fellow Citizens that had the power in their hands, on purpoſe to inſult and abuſe all the reſt, that they entered into a conſpiracy with many other noble families, and ſome of the Commoners, that were diſguſted at ſo tyrannical a government, to revenge themſelves, both upon him and thoſe that had been the occaſion of his coming thither. For this purpoſe, it was agreed amongſt the conſpirators, that every one of them ſhould get together as many armed men as he could in his houſe, and that on the morning after the Feſtival of All Saints, when the people were gone to Church to pray for the ſouls of their departed friends [*l*], they ſhould take up arms, kill the Captain and principal Governors, and make new laws and magiſtrates to reform the State. But as it generally happens, that when deſperate reſolutions come to be maturely conſidered, many dangers and impediments occur, which damp the ardour of the Conſpirators; ſo plots that are not ſpeedily executed, are for the moſt part unſucceſsful, as this was. For Andrea de Bardi, one of the accomplices, weighing the matter coolly, and being more effectually moved by the terror of puniſhment than the deſire of revenge, diſcovered the whole to his kinſman Jacomo Alberti, who immediately communicated it to the Magiſtracy. And as the day appointed for their riſing was very near at hand, many of the Citizens aſſembled in the Palace; and judging it dangerous to wait any longer, they adviſed the Signiory to have the Alarm-Bell rung, and the Companies called together. Taldo Valori was chief Gonfalonier at that time, and Franciſco Salviati one of the Signiory: and as they were allied to the Bardi, they oppoſed that meaſure, and ſaid it would be a dangerous

[*l*] This event therefore happened on the 2d of *November*, 1340, which is commonly called *All Souls Day*, as the Romiſh Church ſets it apart *in commemorationem omnium fidelium defunctorum*, or, *Prayers for all thoſe that have departed this life in the true faith.*

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thing to arm the people upon every trifling accident, becauſe it was never known that power given to the multitude, without ſufficient authority to reſtrain them, had produced any good effect; and that it was a much eaſier matter to raiſe a tumult than to compoſe one: they thought it would be more prudent, therefore, to enquire into the truth of the matter, and if they found ſufficient reaſon, to puniſh the offenders by due courſe of law, than to run tumultuouſly into arms, only upon a bare report, and proceed in ſuch a manner, as perhaps might be the utter ruin of their city. But theſe arguments were all to no purpoſe: for the Signiory were ſo threatened and inſulted by the other Citizens, that they were forced to cauſe the Bell to be rung; at the ſound of which, all the people took arms and ran directly to the Piazza before the Palace. On the other hand, the Bardi and Freſcobaldi, perceiving they were betrayed, and being reſolved either to conquer or die honourably, likewiſe took arms, in hopes they ſhould be able to defend themſelves in that part of the City, which lies on the other ſide of the River, where moſt of their houſes ſtood. For which purpoſe, they fortified the Bridges over it, and there made head againſt the enemy, in expectation that many of the Nobility and others of their friends would come out of the Country to their aſſiſtance. But this was prevented, by the people that lived in the ſame part of the city with them, who took up arms for the Signiory: ſo that when they found they were likely to be attacked by them alſo, they abandoned the Bridges, and retired into the ſtreet where the Bardi lived, as ſtronger than any of the reſt, and there made a brave defence.

In the mean time, Jacomo d'Agobbio, well knowing this Conſpiracy was chiefly bent againſt him, thought his life in great danger, and was frighted to ſuch a degree, that he ran trembling to ſecure himſelf in the midſt of the armed men who were aſſembled before the Palace of the Signiory: but the other Judges who had not been guilty of the ſame injuſtice and oppreſſion, were more courageous, eſpecially Maffeo da Maradi, the Podeſtà, who ran to the place where they were fighting, and paſſing the Bridge Rubaconte, undauntedly threw himſelf into the thickeſt of the ſkirmiſh, and made a ſign for a Parley. Upon which, out of reverence to his Perſon, his courage, and many other good qualities, they laid down their arms, and ſtood patiently to hear him, whilſt in a modeſt and pathetic Harangue, he blamed the Bardi for their manner of proceeding, ſhewed them the danger they were in from the fury of the people if they did not deſiſt, gave them hopes that their cauſe ſhould be favourably heard, and promiſed that he himſelf would not only intercede for their pardon, but ſee that they ſhould have all reaſonable ſatisfaction and redreſs for their grievances: after which he went to the Signiory and exhorted them not to attempt a Victory, in which ſo many

many of their fellow citizens muſt inevitably periſh, nor to paſs any ſentence upon them unheard. In ſhort, his mediation had ſuch an effect, that the Bardi and Freſcobaldi with many of their friends, being allowed by the Signiory to leave the city, retired to their caſtles in the Country without any impediment or moleſtation.

After they were gone and the people diſarmed, the Signiory proceeded againſt ſuch only of the Families of the Bardi and Freſcobaldi as had actually been in arms: and to leſſen their power, they bought the Caſtles of Mangona and Vernia of the Bardi, and made a law that no Citizen for the future ſhould poſſeſs any Caſtle within twenty miles of Florence. Not many months after, Stiatta Freſcobaldi was beheaded, and ſeveral others of that family proclaimed Rebels. However it did not ſufficiently ſatiate the revenge of thoſe in the adminiſtration, to have conquered and ſuppreſſed thoſe families: but, like almoſt all other men (whoſe inſolence commonly increaſes with their power) they grew more imperious and arbitrary as they grew ſtronger: for though they had only one Captain of the Guards to tyrannize over the city before, they now appointed another, to reſide in the Country, and veſted him with very great authority: ſo that any one who was in the leaſt obnoxious to the government, could not live quietly either within the city or without it. The Nobility in particular were daily abuſed and inſulted by them in ſuch a manner, that they only waited for an opportunity to revenge themſelves at any rate: and as one ſoon after happened, they did not fail to take the advantage of it.

During the many troubles that had happened in Tuſcany and Lombardy, the city of Lucca was fallen under the Dominion of Maſtino dell Scala Lord of Verona, who, though he was under an engagement to give it up to the Florentines, did not think fit to perform it: for as he was alſo Lord of Parma, and imagined he was ſtrong enough to maintain himſelf in poſſeſſion, he made little account of that promiſe. The Florentines, to revenge this breach of faith, joined the Venetians and made ſo vigorous a war upon him, that he was in great danger of loſing all his territories: but they got little by it in the end, except the ſatisfaction of having diſtreſſed their enemy. For the Venetians, according to the cuſtom of all States that enter into any league or alliance with others, that are weaker than themſelves, having ſeized upon Trevigi and Vicenza, made a ſeparate peace, without any regard to the intereſt of their Confederates. Soon after, the Viſconti, Lords of Milan, took Parma from Maſtino, who finding himſelf no longer able to keep Lucca after ſuch a diminution of his ſtrength, reſolved to ſell it. The Florentines and Piſans were competitors in the purchaſe, but whilſt they were bartering for it, the Piſans ſeeing they ſhould be out-bid, as they were not ſo rich

as the others, had recourſe to arms, and, joining with the Viſconti, laid ſiege to the town. The Florentines however, were not at all diſcouraged at this, but proceeded in their bargain, and having agreed upon the price, paid down part of the money to Maſtino, and gave him Hoſtages for the reſt: in conſequence of which, Naddo Rucellai, Giovanni Bernardino de Medici, and Roſſo the ſon of Ricciardo de Ricci, were ſent to take poſſeſſion; who forcing their way into the town through the Piſan Camp, were received by Maſtino and had it delivered into their hands. The Piſans nevertheleſs, continued the ſiege, and endeavoured by all poſſible means to make themſelves maſters of the place: and the Florentines, on the other hand, were no leſs ſollicitous to relieve it: but after a long ſtruggle they were at laſt driven out of it, with much diſhonour and the loſs of all their purchaſe money. This diſaſter (as it uſually happens in the like caſes) threw the people of Florence into ſuch a rage againſt their Governors, that they publickly inſulted and upbraided them with their ill conduct and adminiſtration, in all places and upon every opportunity.

In the beginning of the war, the management of it had been committed to twenty Citizens, who appointed Malateſta da Rimini Commander in Chief of their forces in that Expedition: but as he executed that charge with little courage and leſs diſcretion, they ſollicited Robert, King of Naples, for ſupplies; which he accordingly ſent them under the command of Gualtier, Duke of Athens, who, as the evil deſtiny of the city would have it, arrived there juſt at the time when the enterprize againſt Lucca had miſcarried. Upon his coming, the twenty ſuperintendants of the war, ſeeing the people enraged to the higheſt degree, thought either to ſooth them with freſh hopes, and take away all further occaſion of obloquy, or to bridle them effectually by chuſing a new General: and as they were ſtill in great fear of the multitude, they firſt made the Duke of Athens *Conſervator of the Peace*, and then their Commander in Chief, that he might have both authority and power ſufficient to defend them. But as many of the Nobility had been formerly acquainted with Gualtier (when he was Governor of Florence for Charles, Duke of Calabria) and were ſtill highly diſcontented for the reaſons above-mentioned, they reſolved, now they had ſo fair an opportunity, to take their revenge, even though it ſhould occaſion the deſtruction of the city; imagining there was no other way left to get the better of the people, who had ſo long domineered over them, but to reduce them into ſubjection to a Prince, who being well acquainted with the worth and generoſity of the Nobility and the inſolence of the Commons, might treat both parties according to their deſerts: beſides which conſiderations, they preſumed he would ſhew them no little favour, if he ſhould obtain the ſupreme Government

of

of the city, chiefly by their aſſiſtance and co-operation. To facilitate theſe deſigns, they had many private meetings, at which they earneſtly perſuaded him to take the government wholly into his hands, and promiſed to ſupport him with all their intereſt and power. Several of the moſt conſiderable Commoners likewiſe joined them, particularly the families of the Peruzzi, Acciaiuoli, Antelleſi, and Buonaccorſi, who had contracted great debts, and not being able to pay them out of their own eſtates, were deſirous of getting thoſe of other people into their hands; and to free themſelves from the importunity of their Creditors, were ready to enſlave their Country. Such encouragement and ſo fair an opportunity enflamed the Duke, who was naturally ambitious, with a ſtill greater thirſt of power: and to ingratiate himſelf with the lower ſort of the people by acting like a juſt and upright Magiſtrate, he ordered a proceſs to be commenced againſt thoſe that had been entruſted with the management of the late war againſt the Luccheſe: in conſequence of which, Giovanni de Medici, Naddo Rucellai, and Guglielmo Altoviti were put to death, and ſeveral others baniſhed, and many obliged to pay large ſums of money for their pardon. This ſevere manner of proceeding alarmed the middle ſort of Citizens, though it was very grateful to the Nobility and common people, as the latter generally take pleaſure in executions, and the former were not a little rejoyced at the fall of thoſe by whom they had been ſo grievouſly oppreſſed. So that whenever the Duke paſſed through the ſtreets, they reſounded with acclamations and praiſes of his juſtice and reſolution, whilſt every one exhorted him to perſevere in his endeavours to detect the guilty and bring them to condign puniſhment.

Upon this change, the authority of the *Twenty* began to decline, and the awe and reputation of the Duke to increaſe ſo faſt, that every Citizen, to ſhew himſelf well affected to him, had the Neapolitan arms painted over his door; nor was any thing wanting but the mere title, to make him a Prince. And being now ſtrong enough, as he imagined, to attempt any thing with ſecurity, he gave the Signiory to underſtand, "That he thought it neceſſary for the good of the city, that the ſupreme power ſhould be veſted in him; and therefore, as it was a thing agreeable to all the reſt of the Citizens, he required them to reſign their authority."

The Signiory, notwithſtanding they had long foreſeen the ruin of their city, were not a little embarraſſed at this demand; and though they were ſenſible of the danger they were in, yet, that they might not ſeem wanting in any act of duty to their country, they boldly refuſed to comply with it. Upon which, the Duke, (who out of an affectation of Religion and Humility, had taken up his quarters at the monaſtery of

Santa Croce) in order to give the finiſhing ſtroke to his wicked deſigns, immediately iſſued out a Proclamation, wherein he commanded all the people to appear before him the next morning in the piazza belonging to that Convent. At this proclamation, the Signiory were ſtill more alarmed than they had been at his firſt meſſage; and having called together ſuch of the Citizens as they thought moſt zealous for the liberty of their country, it was reſolved, ſince the power of the Duke was ſo great, and there was no other remedy left, to apply to him in an humble and ſupplicatory manner, and try whether they could prevail upon him by entreaties, now force was inſufficient, to deſiſt from this attempt; or if that could not be effected, at leaſt to govern them with more gentleneſs and moderation. For this purpoſe, they deputed ſome of their Members to wait upon him; one of whom addreſſed him in the following manner:

" My Lord,

" We are come hither to expreſs our ſurpriſe, in the firſt place, at " your Demand, and in the next, at your Proclamation to aſſemble " the people; preſuming it is your intention to extort that from us by " violence, which, upon private application, we could not in duty com- " ply with. It is not our deſign to oppoſe force by force; but rather " to repreſent to you the heavineſs of that burden which you are ſo " deſirous to take upon your own ſhoulders, and the dangers that are " likely to attend it; that ſo you may hereafter remember and di- " ſtinguiſh betwixt our advice and that which is given you by others; " not out of any regard to your perſon or intereſt, but to ſatiate their " own revenge and ambition. You are endeavouring to enſlave our " city, which has ever been free; for the government of it which for- " merly has ſometimes been conferred on the Kings of Naples, or " ſome other of their Houſe, was rather in conſequence of an alliance " or aſſociation, than of a forced ſubjection. Have you conſidered how " dear and important the love of Liberty muſt be to ſuch a Common- " wealth as ours? A principle that no force can ever ſubdue, no length " of time can ever wear away, nor any other conſideration over-balance: " Recollect, Sir, I beſeech you, how great a force will be neceſſary to " keep ſo powerful a city in ſubjection. All the foreign Mercenaries " you can hire, will not be ſufficient, and the Citizens you cannot con- " fide in: for thoſe who at preſent ſeem to be your friends, and at " whoſe inſtigation you have taken this reſolution, will be the firſt to " conſpire your ruin, in order to uſurp the government themſelves, when " they have wreaked their malice upon their fellow citizens, by your " means and aſſiſtance. The populace, which you chiefly truſt to, will " turn againſt you upon any little diſguſt; ſo that in a ſhort time, you

" may expect to ſee the whole city in arms, which will infallibly prove " the deſtruction both of you and itſelf: for thoſe Princes only can be " ſecure in their government, who have but few enemies, and ſuch as " are eaſy to be taken off either by baniſhment or death: but againſt a " univerſal diſaffection, there can be no ſecurity, as it will be impoſſible " to gueſs with any certainty, from what hand the ſtroke may come; " and whoſoever he is, that has reaſon to fear every man, cannot be " ſafe againſt any one. For if he cuts off ſome, he is ſure to expoſe " himſelf to ſtill greater dangers, by enflaming the hatred of thoſe that " are left, and making them more implacable and ripe for revenge. " That time is not able to eradicate the love of Liberty, is ſufficiently " evident; ſince it has often happened in States where the citizens " themſelves had never been free, that many have exerted their moſt " ſtrenuous endeavours to be ſo, merely upon the report of the bleſſings " of Liberty, which they have received from their fathers; and when " they ſucceeded, and taſted the ſweets of freedom, have deſpiſed all " difficulties and dangers to maintain it. And indeed, if they had " never heard of any ſuch thing from their anceſtors, the daily ſight of " the public palaces, the courts of juſtice, the colours of their militia, and " other monuments of former Liberty, would naturally have inſpired " them with a love of it. What degree of favour or merit, therefore, " on your ſide, though ever ſo conſiderable and endearing, can poſſibly " be a ſufficient recompence for the loſs of our Liberty, or what do you " think can ever make us forget the happineſs we once enjoyed? If " you was to add all Tuſcany to this State, and return to the city daily " crowned with freſh victories over our enemies, the Honour would " be yours and not ours, and the citizens would gain fellow-ſlaves rather " than ſubjects, which would only ſerve to aggravate their miſery. " And though you ſhould be religious, or affable, or juſt, or bountiful " to the laſt degree, believe me, all would not be ſufficient to gain the " affections of the people; if you think otherwiſe, you only deceive " yourſelf; for to men that have once lived free, the lighteſt chain will " ſeem heavy, and the leaſt reſtraint intolerable. In a State, which has " been reduced to ſubjection by force, it is not poſſible that the citizens " ſhould live contentedly, even under a good prince; and it muſt ne- " ceſſarily happen, if he does not conform himſelf to their deſires, that " either one party or the other will ſoon be ruined. We leave you to " judge, therefore, whether it will be better for you to endeavour to " uſurp an abſolute dominion over this city, and to hold it by down- " right force of arms, (for which the poſſeſſion of all the forts and " guards within, and all the friends that could be raiſed abroad, have " often been found inſufficient) or to be content with the authority

" and

" and power we have already given you. We would recommend the " latter of theſe two meaſures to you, becauſe that Dominion only can " be of long continuance, which is voluntarily conferred; and adviſe " you not to ſuffer yourſelf to be blindly led by ambition, to the brink " of a precipice, where you can neither retreat nor advance, and from " whence you will inevitably be thrown down and overwhelmed in the " ruins of the Commonwealth."

Theſe expoſtulations made but little impreſſion upon the Duke, who ſaid, " That it was ſo far from being his deſign to take away their liberty, that he came thither on purpoſe to reſtore it: that Citizens divided amongſt themſelves, were no better than ſlaves, whilſt thoſe that were united might properly be called free: that if he could extinguiſh private ambition and inteſtine diſcord in Florence, by his manner of governing, ſurely he might be ſaid to re-eſtabliſh their freedom, and not to deprive them of it: that he did not aſſume the government out of any ambition of his own, but accepted it at the entreaties of many of their fellow citizens, and therefore they would do well to concur with them in the choice they had made of him. That as to the dangers he was likely to expoſe himſelf to in this undertaking, he did not regard them; as it would be mean and puſillanimous to decline an opportunity of doing good, for fear of any evil that might enſue; and that none but cowards would lay aſide a glorious enterpriſe, merely upon the uncertainty of ſucceſs. That he hoped to behave himſelf in ſuch a manner, as would ſoon oblige them to acknowledge they had feared him too much, and truſted him too little." The Signiory finding by this anſwer, that no good was to be done, were forced to conſent, that the people ſhould aſſemble the next morning in the Piazza before their palace, and the government be transferred, by their authority, to the Duke, for the ſpace of one year, upon the ſame conditions that it had been formerly committed into the hands of the Duke of Calabria.

On the eighth of September, 1342, the Duke attended by Giovanni della Toſa, with all his friends, and many other citizens, came into the Piazza: and taking the Signiory with him, mounted the [*m*] Ringhiera, or landing place, at the top of the ſteps before the Palace Gate, where he cauſed the Agreement betwixt him and the Signiory to be publickly read; and when the perſon who read it, came to that Article, where the government was ſaid to be given him for a year, the people ſhouted out, *for life, for life*. Upon which, Franciſco Ruſtichegli, one of the

[*m*] As it was uſual to addreſs the people upon publick occaſions from this and other ſuch eminences, the word *Ringhiera* came at laſt to ſignify a Roſtrum, Pulpit, or reading Deſk. From hence, I ſuppoſe, comes the Italian Verb *aringare*, the French *haranguer*, and the Engliſh *to harangue*.

Signiory,

Signiory, roſe up to have ſpoken, and endeavoured to compoſe the tumult; but he was interrupted, and could not be heard. So that the Duke was made their Sovereign Lord by the conſent of the people, not for a year only, but for ever; and afterwards carried about the Piazza in a chair, amidſt the acclamations of the multitude. It is a cuſtom amongſt the Florentines, that whoever is appointed captain of the Palace Guard, is to ſhut himſelf cloſe up in it, in the abſence of the Signiory. This charge happened at that time to be in the hands of Rinieri Giotto, who being corrupted by the Duke's friends, admitted him into the palace without making any reſiſtance, to the great offence and diſhonour of the Signiory, who returned to their own houſes, and left it to be plundered by the Duke's ſervants, after they had torn the Standard of the City to pieces, and planted their maſter's there in its ſtead: at which, all the good Citizens were infinitely grieved and mortified, whilſt thoſe that either out of malice or ſtupidity had conſented to this election, did not a little rejoice.

The Duke was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the Government, but in order to take away the authority of thoſe who had been the moſt zealous advocates for their liberties, he forbad the Signiory to aſſemble any more at the Palace, and aſſigned them a private houſe to meet in. He took away the colours from the Gonfaloniers of the ſeveral Companies; he repealed the old Laws againſt the Nobility, he diſcharged all Priſoners, recalled the Bardi and Freſcobaldi from baniſhment, prohibited the wearing of ſwords or other arms, and to ſecure himſelf againſt his enemies within the City, he made as many friends as he could in the adjacent territories: for which purpoſe, he ſhewed great favour to the people of Arezzo, and all others that were in any wiſe dependent upon the city of Florence. He concluded a peace with the Piſans, though he had been veſted with abſolute power on purpoſe to carry on the war againſt them with greater vigour. He took away the ſecurities and aſſignments from the Merchants, who had lent money to the State, in the war with the Luccheſe, and not only increaſed the former taxes, but exacted new ones from the people. He entirely diſſolved the authority of the Signiory, and ſet up three new Rettori or Judges, Baglione da Perugia, Guglielmo da Sceſi, and Cerettieri Viſdomini, who were his council upon all occaſions. The impoſts he laid upon the Citizens were very grievous, his judicial proceedings partial and unjuſt, and that humility and ſhew of Religion which he had put on at firſt, were now ſucceded by ſuch an intolerable degree of haughtineſs and cruelty, that many of the Nobility, and moſt conſiderable Commoners, were condemned and put to death, after they had been tortured in a new and unheard of manner. His tyranny was no leſs inſupportable in the Country.

Country than in the City: for after a while, he appointed ſix more Judges, to plunder and oppreſs the other towns. He was jealous of the Nobility, though he lay under great obligations to ſome of them, and had recalled others from exile; as he thought they were too generous and high ſpirited to bear with his inſolent manner of governing. Upon which account, he began to pay his court to the people, by whoſe favour, and the aſſiſtance of foreign forces, he hoped he ſhould be able to ſupport himſelf in his tyrannical uſurpation.

In the month of May, at which time the Florentines uſually celebrate many Holidays, he cauſed the inferior ſort of people to be divided into ſeveral Companies, to which he gave pay, and honoured them with colours and ſplendid titles: upon which, there was nothing but feaſting and rejoicings to be ſeen in every part of the city, one half of the inhabitants being employed in viſiting, and the other in receiving, and entertaining them. And when the news of his great power and authority began to be ſpread abroad, many of the French nation reſorted to his court, to whom he gave preferments, and ſhewed more favour than to any others, as perſons whom he thought he might thoroughly confide in: ſo that Florence in a ſhort time became ſubject not only to French men, but to the French cuſtoms and dreſs, every one of both ſexes endeavouring to imitate their Faſhions, without any regard to modeſty, or even common decency. But what ſeemed moſt intolerable was, the violence that was offered by him and his followers, to all ſorts of women, from the loweſt to the higheſt. The citizens therefore were provoked beyond all patience, to ſee the majeſty of their government thus trampled upon, their ordinances aboliſhed, their Laws annulled, all honeſt converſation corrupted, and modeſty every where deſpiſed and inſulted: for thoſe who had not been accuſtomed to regal pomp, could not, without infinite concern, behold the Duke parading the City, ſurrounded by guards, both on foot and on horſeback. But as there was no remedy, they were forced to court and honour him in appearance, whilſt they mortally hated him in their hearts: and they were not a little terrified at the frequent executions, and continual impoſitions, with which he weakened and impoveriſhed the City. Nor was the Duke himſelf ignorant of the general odium he had incurred, or without private fears of his own, upon that account; though he affected to appear, as if he thought himſelf extremely beloved.

It happened, that Matteo de Morozzi, either to gain the Duke's favour, or to exculpate himſelf, diſcovered a certain plot againſt him, in which the family of the Medici, and ſome others, were concerned: but the Duke was ſo far from making an enquiry into it, that he ordered the

the informer to be put to death [n]: by which manner of proceeding, he deterred every one from giving him any ſort of information that was neceſſary for his ſafety, and gave great encouragement to ſuch as conſpired his deſtruction. He likewiſe cauſed the tongue of Bettoni Cini to be cut out, with ſuch circumſtances of cruelty, that he died of it; and for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had complained of the heavy taxes that he had laid upon the city: an act of barbarity which exceedingly increaſed the rage and diſdain of the Citizens, who having been uſed both to ſay and to do every thing with the greateſt freedom, could not bear to have their hands tied up, and their mouths ſtopped in this manner.

Theſe outrages certainly were ſufficient to rouſe not only the Florentines, (who neither know how to value their liberty nor endure ſlavery) but the moſt abject nation upon earth, to attempt the recovery of their freedom. Many of the Citizens therefore, of all ranks, were determined either to ſhake off the Yoke, or to die gloriouſly in the cauſe of Liberty: ſo that there were three Conſpiracies on foot againſt him, at the ſame time, amongſt three different ſorts of people, the Nobility, the Commons, and the Artificers and Tradeſmen. For beſides the motives ariſing from a general oppreſſion, each party had its particular reaſons. The Commons had been deprived of the government, the Nobility were not reſtored to it, and the Tradeſmen had loſt all their buſineſs. Agnolo Acciaiuoli, who was then Archbiſhop of Florence, at firſt had highly extolled the actions and good qualities of the Duke in ſome of his Sermons to the people, and wonderfully conciliated their affections to him: but when he ſaw him in full poſſeſſion of the Government, and exerciſing his power in that arbitrary and deſpotic manner, he began to think he had abuſed his fellow Citizens; and to make them ſome amends, reſolved to put himſelf at the head of the firſt and moſt powerful conſpiracy, in which he engaged with the Bardi, Roſſi, Freſcobaldi, Scali,

[n] This was acting in a manner very different from moſt Tyrants, and indeed from many wiſe States and Princes, who have always thought it neceſſary to encourage Informers, at leaſt to a certain degree, upon this maxim; that if men are falſely accuſed, they will be acquitted when they are brought to a fair trial; and thoſe who are guilty, cannot be puniſhed if they are not firſt accuſed. Tully in his oration *pro Sexto Roſcio*, ſays, that though the Dogs that were kept in the Capitol could not diſtinguiſh thieves from honeſt men, yet their barking at every body that came thither in the night, was of uſe, as it ſerved to alarm the people, and put them upon their guard. Thus it is the intereſt of the State to encourage accuſers, in order to deter thoſe who might otherwiſe diſturb the public tranquillity. Antoninus Pius, however, would neither liſten to Informers, nor ſuffer ſuch to be puniſhed as had been actually concerned in conſpiracies againſt him: and when the Senate was very urgent with him, to make an enquiry into their proceedings, he anſwered, "he did not chuſe to have it known, that there was any body who did not love him." *Victor. in Vit. Anton. Pii.*

Altoviti, Magalotti, Strozzi, and Mancini. The principal conductors of the ſecond conſpiracy were Manno and Corſo Donati, and under them the Pazzi, Cavicciulli, Cerchi and Albizi. Of the third, Antonio Adimari was the Head, and joined by the families of the Medici, Bordini, Rucellai, and Aldobrandini. Their deſign, was to have killed him in the houſe of the Albizi, whither it was imagined he would come on Midſummer-day to ſee the Horſe-races; but, as it happened, he did not go thither on that day, and their deſign was diſappointed. The next propoſal was, to aſſaſſinate him in the ſtreet: but that was thought too difficult, becauſe he always went well armed and attended: and as he ſeldom took the ſame round twice together, they could not certainly tell where it would be moſt proper to lie in wait for him. Some were of opinion it would be the beſt way to diſpatch him in the Council: but then it was conſidered that even after he was dead, they muſt of neceſſity be left to the diſcretion of his Guards.

Whilſt theſe things were in debate amongſt the conſpirators, Antonio Adimari communicated the affair to ſome of his friends at Siena in hopes of their aſſiſtance, told them the names of the principal perſons that were engaged in it, and aſſured them the whole city was diſpoſed to ſhake off their yoke: upon which, one of the Sieneſe imparted the matter to Franciſco Brunelleſchi, not with any deſign to have betrayed the conſpiracy, but becauſe he took it for granted that he was privy to it, and Franciſco, either out of fear or malice to ſome that were concerned, diſcovered the whole to the Duke, who immediately ordered Paolo da Mazzecca and Simone da Montezappoli to be apprehended. Theſe two being examined made a full confeſſion, and acquainted the Duke with the number and quality of the conſpirators, at which he was not a little frighted: however, after he had conſulted his friends, he thought fit rather to ſummon the reſt to appear before him, than to lay violent hands upon them; becauſe if they fled, the danger would be over without any further diſturbance. In conſequence of this reſolution, he in the firſt place ſent for Adimari, who relying upon the number and ſupport of his accomplices, boldly made his appearance and was ſent to priſon. After this ſtep, he was adviſed by Franciſco Brunelleſchi and Uguccione Buondelmonte to go to the houſes of the others with his guards, and to ſeiſe upon them there and put them to death: but conſidering how many enemies he had in the town, he thought he had not ſtrength ſufficient to do that, and therefore took another reſolution, which if it had ſucceeded, would have freed him from the moſt powerful of his enemies, and made him ſtrong enough to over-awe the reſt.

It had been his cuſtom to call the Citizens together and deſire their opinions and advice upon any emergency; and now having aſſembled as many

many forces as he could, he drew out a liſt of three hundred Citizens and gave it to his ſerjeants to ſummon every one of them, on a pretence that he wanted to conſult with them; deſigning when they were met, either to kill or impriſon them all. But the confinement of Adimari, and the gathering together ſuch a number of armed men, which could not be done without ſome buſtle, made many of them, eſpecially the Conſpirators, ſo ſuſpicious, that the moſt reſolute amongſt them poſitively refuſed to obey the ſummons. After the liſt had been read by them all, they had a meeting in which they encouraged each other to take up arms and die like men with their ſwords in their hands, rather than ſuffer themſelves to be driven like ſheep to the ſlaughter: ſo that in leſs than an hour all thoſe that were concerned in the different Conſpiracies, having communicated their deſigns to each other, reſolved to raiſe a tumult the next day (which was the 26th of July 1343) in the old Market-place, upon which they were all to take arms and excite the people to riſe and attempt the recovery of their liberty. The next day therefore, when the Bell rung for Nones [o], they all roſe, as had been agreed on, and at the cry of *Liberty*, *Liberty*, the people likewiſe ran to arms in their ſeveral Quarters, under the Colours of the City, which had been ſecretly delivered to them before hand by the Conſpirators for that purpoſe. All the heads of families, both of the Nobility and Commonalty, met together and took an Oath to ſtand by each other in their own defence and the deſtruction of the Duke, except ſome of the Buondelmonti and Cavalcanti, and thoſe four families of the Commoners that had been the chief inſtruments in conferring the ſovereignty upon him, who ran armed to the Piazza of the Palace with a parcel of Butchers and others of the dregs of the people at their heels to defend the Duke.

In the mean time the Duke, not a little alarmed at theſe proceedings, was very buſy in fortifying the Palace; and thoſe of his Guards that lodged in other parts of the city, mounted their horſes and rode towards the Piazza; but in their way thither they were attacked ſeveral times and many of them killed. However, as about three hundred Horſe had aſſembled there to ſupport him, he was in doubt whether he ſhould ſally out and face his enemies, or defend himſelf in the Palace. On the other hand, the Medici, Cavicciulli, Rucellai, and other families who

[o] The original is, *al ſuono di nona*. The Italians begin their account of hours from ſun-ſet, and end it at ſun-ſet again, which includes a ſpace of twenty-four hours. And as the ſun ſets with them about nine o'clock at that ſeaſon of the Year, their ninth hour muſt be about ſix the next morning, as we reckon time.—*Il ſuono di nona*, is alſo often uſed by Italian writers, for ringing the bell for *Nones* about mid-day, which is one of their ſtated hours of prayer. The latter ſeems to be meant here, as the tumult was to be begun in the Market-place, which at that time of the day might be ſuppoſed to be fulleſt of people.

had ſuffered moſt by him, were apprehenſive that if he ſhould make a ſally, many who had taken arms againſt him would declare themſelves his friends: and therefore being reſolved to prevent him from ſallying out and gaining more ſtrength, they drew up and attacked his forces that were aſſembled in the Piazza. Upon this, the families which appeared at firſt in the Duke's defence, ſeeing themſelves ſo vigorouſly aſſaulted, immediately changed their ſide, and deſerting him in his diſtreſs, all joined their fellow Citizens, except Uguccione Buondelmonte, who withdrew into the Palace, and Giannozzo Cavalcanti who retreated with ſome of his party into the New Market, where he got upon a table and made an harangue to the people, in which he earneſtly exhorted thoſe whom he found in arms there to haſten to the Duke's aſſiſtance. And to intimidate them, he magnified his ſtrength, and told them, that every man of them would be put to death if they perſiſted in their rebellion againſt their Prince. But as nobody either ſeemed to regard him or thought it worth their while to chaſtiſe him for his inſolence, after he had taken much pains to no purpoſe, he reſolved not to hazard his perſon any longer, and ſneaked away to his own houſe. The diſpute was very ſharp in the meantime betwixt the people and the Duke's party in the Piazza, and though the latter were reinforced from the Palace, they were worſted, part of them ſurrendering to the enemy, others quitting their horſes and eſcaping on foot into the Palace. Whilſt they were thus engaged in the Piazza, Corſo and Amerigo Donati with ſome others of the people broke open the Priſons, burnt the records of the Judges Courts and publick Chamber, plundered the houſes of the Magiſtrates and killed all the Dukes creatures they could meet with. The Duke on the other hand, ſeeing the Piazza was loſt, that the whole city was become his enemy, and no hopes of relief left, reſolved to try if he could regain the affections of the people by ſome acts of grace and indulgence. For which purpoſe he knighted Antonio Adimari in the firſt place, though much againſt his own inclination, and with very little ſatisfaction to the other: he then ſent for all the reſt whom he had impriſoned, and ſet them at liberty with promiſes of his future friendſhip and favour: he likewiſe cauſed his own ſtandard to be taken down, and that of the people to be ſet up again at the Palace: all which things being done in a very ungracious manner, and out of mere neceſſity, had but little effect. So that he ſtill continued blocked up in the Palace to his great mortification, when he ſaw that by graſping at too much power he was likely to loſe all, and either to be famiſhed or knocked on the head in a few days.

After this ſucceſs, the Citizens aſſembled in St. Reparata's in order to reform the Government, and appointed fourteen perſons, one half of them of the Nobility and the other of the Commoners, who in conjunction

junction with the Archbiſhop ſhould have full power to new model the State as they pleaſed. They alſo committed the authority of the Podeſta to ſix Magiſtrates, who were to adminiſter juſtice till the arrival of the perſon whom they ſhould make choice of to fill that Office. There were many people in Florence at that time, who had come thither to the aſſiſtance of the Citizens; and amongſt the reſt, ſix Deputies from Siena, men of great eſteem in their own Country, who endeavoured to bring about ſome accommodation betwixt the people and the Duke. But the people abſolutely refuſed to liſten to any overtures of that kind, except Guglielmo da Sceſi, together with his ſon and Cerettieri Viſdomini, were delivered up to them, which the Duke would not conſent to by any means, till the threats of thoſe that were blocked up with him in the Palace obliged him to comply. Greater certainly and more cruel is the reſentment of the People when they have recovered their liberty, than when they are acting in defence of it. Guglielmo and his Son were brought out and given up to thouſands of their enemies; and though the Son was not quite eighteen years of age, yet neither his youth, nor innocence, nor the gracefulneſs of his perſon were ſufficient to protect him from the rage of the multitude. Many who could not get near enough to reach them whilſt they were alive, thruſt their ſwords into them after they were dead; and not content with this, they tore their carcaſes to pieces with their nails and teeth: that ſo all their ſenſes might be glutted with revenge, and after they had feaſted their ears with their groans, their eyes with their wounds, and their touch with tearing the fleſh off their bones; as if all this was not enough, the taſte likewiſe might have its ſhare and be gratified. This ſavage Barbarity, how fatal ſoever to thoſe two, was the preſervation of Cerrettieri; for the people having ſpent their fury upon theſe unfortunate men, entirely forgot him, and he was privately conveyed in the night by ſome of his friends and relations out of the Palace into a place of ſecurity.

When the people were thus ſatiated with blood, the Duke and his friends were ſuffered to withdraw with their effects unmoleſted out of Florence, on condition that he would renounce all Claim and pretenſions to any authority over the city, and ratify his renunciation when he got to Caſentino, a place out of the Florentine Dominions; in purſuance of which agreement, he left Florence on the ſixth of Auguſt, eſcorted by many of the Citizens, and upon his arrival at Caſentino, confirmed his renunciation, though with much reluctance; and indeed it is very likely he would not have done it at all, if Conte Simone had not threatened to carry him back again to Florence [p]. This Prince, as his actions

[p] Livy relates, l. xxiv. c. 22. that Dionyſius the tyrant, uſed to ſay, "That rather than return to a private condition on horſeback, he would be dragged to it by the feet."

have

have fully ſhewn, was of a ſanguinary and avaricious diſpoſition, difficult of acceſs, and haughty in his anſwers. As he did not regard the affections of the people, whom he hoped to enſlave, he rather choſe to be feared than loved. Nor was his perſon leſs diſagreeable than his behaviour was odious. For he was very low of Stature, of a ſwarthy complection, with a long thin beard: ſo that he was every way deſpicable and worthy of contempt from all parties: and the enormities of his adminiſtration in the courſe of about eleven months, deprived him of that Dominion which he had acquired by the contrivance and co-operation of bad Citizens.

This revolution in the city encouraged all the reſt of the towns under the juriſdiction of the Florentines to take up arms for their liberties; ſo that in a ſhort time, Arezzo, Caſtiglione, Piſtoia, Volterra, Colle and St. Gimignano revolted; and the whole territory of Florence, after the example of its Metropolis ſhook off its yoke and became entirely free: in this manner, the Florentines, by the ſteps they took to recover their own liberty, at the ſame time taught their Vaſſals to do the like.

After the Duke was thus depoſed, the Council of fourteen and the Archbiſhop conſulting together, thought it would be better to attach their former ſubjects to them by pacific meaſures, than to widen the breach by hoſtilities; and pretending to be no leſs pleaſed with their liberty than their own, they ſent Deputies to Arezzo to renounce the Sovereignty which they before had over it, and to enter into an alliance with the Citizens: that ſo, though they could not for the future command them as ſubjects, they might upon occaſion make uſe of their aſſiſtance as friends. This prudent reſolution had a very good effect; for all the reſt of the towns, except Arezzo, returned to their former obedience in a few months, and Arezzo itſelf follow'd their example not many years after. Thus experience ſhews that ſome ends are obtained with leſs danger and expence by coolneſs and indifference, than by purſuing them with paſſion and impetuoſity.

When affairs abroad were compoſed in this manner, they began to ſettle the form of their government at home; and after ſome diſputes betwixt the Nobility and the People, it was agreed that one third of the Signiory, and one half of the other Magiſtrates and Officers of State

It is no wonder, indeed, that tyrants reſign their power with reluctance; for when they have done ſo, how can they refund the ſums of which they have plundered their country? How can they indemnify thoſe whom they have impriſoned? How can they reſtore life to the perſons they have put to death? Who will defend them againſt the general reſentment of the people? Periander ſaid, "it was dangerous for a tyrant to abdicate even of his own accord." Yet Sylla did it, and died a natural death, after he had ſhed the blood of 100,000 private men, 90 Senators, 15 of conſular dignity, and above 2000 Gentlemen.

ſhould

ſhould conſiſt of the Nobility. The city, as we have ſaid before, was divided into ſix parts, each of which choſe one of the Signiory; and though it ſometimes happened that their number was increaſed to twelve or thirteen, yet they were afterwards reduced again to ſix. But as theſe ſix parts were not duly proportioned, and they deſigned to give more power and authority to the Nobility, it was neceſſary to make a new regulation in this point, and to increaſe the number of the Signiory. They divided the city therefore into quarters, and choſe three of the Signiory out of each. The Gonfalonier della Giuſtizia, and thoſe of the ſeveral Companies were laid aſide; and inſtead of the twelve Buonhuomini, they created eight Counſellors, four of each quality. The commonwealth being ſettled upon this bottom, might have continued quiet and happy, if the Nobility could have been content to confine themſelves within the bounds of that moderation which is requiſite in all republican governments. But their behaviour was quite contrary: For as they had always diſdained the thoughts of equality, even when they lived a private life, ſo now they were in the Magiſtracy they thought to domineer over the whole city, and every day produced freſh inſtances of their pride and arrogance; which exceedingly galled the people when they ſaw they had depoſed one Tyrant, only to make room for a thouſand [q].

Things being thus circumſtanced, the inſolence of one ſide, and the indignation and impatience of the other, at laſt increaſed to ſuch a height, that the Heads of the people complained to the Archbiſhop of the enormities of the Nobility and the haughtineſs with which they were treated by them; beſeeching him to uſe his endeavours to bring it about that they might be confined to a certain ſhare in the other offices, and leave the Signiory to be filled by Commoners only. The Archbiſhop was naturally a good man, but of a fickle inconſtant diſpoſition and eaſily moved to change his ſide: So that his acquaintance at firſt prevailed upon him to appear in favour of the Duke of Athens, and afterwards, at the perſuaſion of other Citizens, he conſpired againſt him: in the late Reformation he exerted himſelf for the Nobility, and now he was induced, by the ſollicitation of the people, to turn his back upon them; and imagining he ſhould find other people as eaſy to be wrought upon as himſelf, he made no doubt of bringing the Nobility to comply with thoſe propoſals. For this purpoſe, he called together the *Fourteen*, who were yet in authority, and made uſe of the mildeſt and moſt plauſible arguments to prevail upon them to give up the Signiory to the People, if they had any regard to the peace of the city, or their own ſafety and preſervation. But theſe admonitions had a very different effect upon the

[q] It often happens, ſays an ingenious writer, that more diſorders are occaſioned by conſpiracies, which put an end to tyranny, than there would have been by ſuffering it.

Nobility,

Nobility from what he expected: for Ridolpho de Bardi taking him up very ſharply, upbraided him with levity and perfidy in firſt coming over to the Duke, and then deſerting him in his diſtreſs; and concluded with ſaying, "that as they had acquired the honours they enjoyed with the peril of their lives, they would maintain them in the ſame manner": after which, he and his friends abruptly withdrew, and leaving the Archbiſhop, went directly to inform all the reſt of the Nobility of what had paſſed. Thoſe of the Commoners that were of the Fourteen, likewiſe acquainted their party with theſe proceedings: and whilſt the Nobility were raiſing what force they could, for the defence of their friends that were in the Signiory, the Commons alſo, not caring to wait till they were grown too ſtrong, inſtantly took arms and ran to the Palace, where they furiouſly called upon the Nobles to reſign all ſhare in the adminiſtration. The tumult being very great, the Signiory were deſerted: for the Nobility ſeeing all the people in arms, durſt not appear, but kept cloſe at home. Upon which, the Commoners that were of the Signiory, endeavoured to pacify the Multitude, by proteſting, that their Aſſociates were good and worthy men: but not ſucceeding in that attempt, in order to protect them from further danger, they ſent them to their own houſes, whither they got with much difficulty. After the Nobles in the Signiory were thus deprived of their authority, the four Counſellors of their order were alſo turned out of their offices, and the remaining number increaſed to twelve, which conſiſted of Commoners only: beſides which, the eight that remained in the Signiory, not only made a new Gonfalonier di Giuſtizia and ſixteen other Gonfaloniers over the Companies of the people, but garbled all the Councils in ſuch a manner, that the government was now entirely in the hands of the people.

During theſe tranſactions, there happened a great dearth in Florence: ſo that there were very grievous diſcontents both amongſt the Nobility and common people; the former repining at the loſs of their authority, and the latter murmuring for want of bread. Theſe clamours encouraged Andrea Strozzi to make an attempt upon the liberties of the city. For as he ſold his corn at a cheaper rate than others, it drew ſuch numbers to his Houſe, that he boldly mounted his horſe one morning, and putting himſelf at the head of them, called upon all the reſt of the people to take up arms: by which means he had got together above four thouſand men in leſs than an hour, and conducting them to the palace of the Signiory, demanded the doors of it to be thrown open to him. But the Signiory, partly by threats, and partly by force of arms, happily diſengaged themſelves from them; and afterwards ſo terrified them by iſſuing out one Proclamation after another, that the multitude diſſolved by little and little, and every man returned to his own

houſe, leaving Andrea alone to ſhift for himſelf as well as he could; ſo that it was with no little difficulty that he eſcaped the hands of the magiſtrates. The attempt was bold indeed, and though it did not ſucceed, (as ſuch raſh enterprizes ſeldom do) yet it gave the Nobility freſh hopes of recovering their power, now they ſaw the inferior ſort of people ſo incenſed againſt the Commons. Not to neglect ſo fair an opportunity, therefore, they reſolved to take arms, and make uſe of all manner of allies to regain that by force, which they conceived had been taken from them with ſo much injuſtice. And to inſure ſucceſs, they provided themſelves with arms, fortified their houſes, and ſent to their friends in Lombardy for ſupplies.

The Commons and the Signiory, on the other hand, were no leſs buſy in arming themſelves, and ſent to the Sieneſe and Perugians to deſire their aſſiſtance: ſo that when the auxiliaries on each ſide arrived, the whole city was ſoon in arms. The Nobility drew up in three diviſions, on this ſide the Arno, at the houſes of the Cavicciulli near St. John's, at thoſe of the Pazzi and Donati near St. Pietro Maggiore, and at thoſe of the Cavalcanti in the New Market: whilſt ſuch of them as lived on the other ſide of the River, fortified the Bridges and Streets that were near their houſes. The Nerli took poſſeſſion of the Ponte alla Carraia; the Freſcobaldi and Mannelli, of that of St. Trinita; the Roſſi and the Bardi, of the old Bridge and the Rubaconte. The Commons in the mean time, having aſſembled under the Gonfalone, or Standard della Giuſtizia, and the colours of their reſpective companies, reſolved to attack the enemy without further delay. Accordingly the Medici and Rondinelli immediately fell upon the Cavicciulli in the avenue that led from St. John's Piazza to the place where their houſes ſtood. The action continued very hot and bloody for the ſpace of three hours, during which, they had great ſtones tumbled down upon their heads from the tops of the houſes, and were terribly galled with croſs-bows below: but as the number of the enemy continually increaſed, the Cavicciulli ſeeing themſelves over-powered at laſt, and deſtitute of all relief, were forced to ſurrender to the people, who ſpared their houſes and effects, and were content with taking away their arms only, and diſtributing them, diſarmed as they were, amongſt the houſes of the Commoners that were their friends or relations. When the Cavicciulli were thus defeated, the Pazzi and Donati, who had not ſo much ſtrength, were ſoon reduced; ſo that the Cavalcanti only remained entire on this ſide of the River, who were more conſiderable both in reſpect of their numbers and the ſtrength of their ſituation. But as they ſaw all the companies now advancing againſt them, and their aſſociates had been worſted by three of them only, they ſubmitted without making

much reſiſtance. Three parts of the city out of four were now in the hands of the people; but that which ſtill continued in the poſſeſſion of the Nobility, was more inacceſſible and difficult to be ſtormed than any of the reſt, not only on account of the numbers that defended it, but becauſe it was ſo ſecured by the River, that it was neceſſary to be maſters of the Bridges in the firſt place, which, as we have already ſaid, were very well fortified. A vigorous attack, however, was made upon the old Bridge, which was no leſs reſolutely ſuſtained; and as the turrets were garriſoned, the avenues blocked up, and the barricadoes guarded by the ſtouteſt of their men, the people were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. When they found therefore that all further attempts would be in vain at that paſs, they reſolved, if it was poſſible, to force their way over the Ponte Rubaconte: but meeting with the ſame obſtructions there, they left four companies to watch the motions of the enemy at thoſe two Bridges, and marched with the reſt to the Ponte alla Carraia. The Nerli had the defence of that paſs, and though they behaved with great valour, yet they could not poſſibly maintain it; not only becauſe there were no turrets there, but becauſe the Capponi and other neighbouring families of the Commoners were come to the aſſiſtance of their party; ſo that, being over-powered by numbers, they were forced to abandon their barricadoes, and give way to the fury of the aſſailants, who, having been joined by all the families of the Commoners on the other ſide of the River, then proceeded to attack the Roſſi and Freſcobaldi, and ſoon drove them from their poſts. The only party that remained unconquered were the Bardi, who defended themſelves in ſo courageous and obſtinate a manner, that neither the defeat of their aſſociates, nor the whole force of the people combined againſt them alone, nor the impoſſibility of any relief could diſmay them: and they rather choſe to ſee their houſes plundered and burnt down to the ground before their faces, and to die bravely with their arms in their hands, than tamely ſubmit to the mercy of their enemy. With this reſolution, they ſtood by each other ſo firmly, that though they were ſeveral times attacked both at the old Bridge and the Rubaconte, they as often repulſed the people at each place with great ſlaughter. There was an old obſcure Lane that led from the Via Romana, by the houſes of the Pitti, to the wall upon St. George's Hill; through this Lane, the people ſent ſix companies, with orders to attack the back parts of the houſes where the Bardi had fortified themſelves: at which they were ſo diſheartened, that the people, in a very ſhort time, got the better of them. For as ſoon as they heard their houſes were aſſaulted in that manner, thoſe that guarded the Barricadoes at the Bridges, immediately quitted their Poſts and ran to defend them: ſo that they were preſently forced, and the Bardi being utterly

utterly routed and diſperſed, took ſhelter in the houſes of the Quarateſi, Panzaneſi, and Mozzi. Upon which, the people, eſpecially the inferior ſort of them, naturally rapacious and greedy of ſpoil, began to plunder their houſes, which they afterwards burnt down to the ground, and committed ſuch other outrages as the bittereſt enemy to the city of Florence would have been aſhamed of.

The Nobility, being in this manner entirely ſubdued, the people took upon them to reform the State; and as there were three degrees of them, it was ordained that the higheſt rank ſhould have the nomination of two of the Signiory, the middle ſort of three, and the loweſt of three more: and that the Gonfalonier della Giuſtizia ſhould be choſen by turns out of all three. Beſides which, the old Laws were revived and put in execution againſt the Nobility; and to reduce them ſtill more effectually, many of them were incorporated with the other claſſes. By theſe means they were brought ſo low, that they became abject and puſillanimous, and never durſt riſe any more againſt the people: ſo that being deprived of their arms and honours, their ſpirit and generoſity likewiſe ſeemed to be extinguiſhed. After this depreſſion of the Nobles, the city continued in tranquillity till the year 1353, during which interval the great Plague happened, ſo eloquently deſcribed by Giovanni Boccaccio [r], of which above ninety-ſix thouſand people died in Florence. The firſt war with the Viſconti likewiſe happened in this period, occaſioned by the ambition of the Archbiſhop, who at that time was Prince of Milan; which war was no ſooner ended, but new factions ſprung up in the City; for though the Nobility were ruined, yet Fortune found other means to raiſe freſh troubles and diſſenſions there.

[r] That author has taken great pains indeed, to deſcribe this calamity in the moſt affecting manner, at the beginning of his *Decamerone*; and it is finely wrought up.

The End of the SECOND BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF FLORENCE.

BOOK III.

ARGUMENT.

Animoſities betwixt the Nobility and People, the chief cauſe of diſturbances in a city. The emulation betwixt the middle ſort of People and the Plebeians. Several are admoniſhed and rendered incapable of the Magiſtracy. The Speech of a Citizen to the Signiory. A reformation in Florence. Pope Gregory XI. *reſides at Avignon, and governs Italy by Legates. Eight Citizens appointed to act as ſecretaries at war. A conſpiracy of the Guelphs defeated. The ſpeech of Sylveſtro de Medici. The* Balia, *a temporary council, inſtituted. Another reformation. The ſpeech of Luigi Guicciardini to the Magiſtrates and Syndics of the Arts, when he was Gonfalonier di Giuſtizia. New diſturbances ariſe from the diſcontents of the Plebeians. The Speech of a Plebeian. The Plebeians riſe in arms. Their Demands. Michael di Lando, a wool-comber, puts himſelf at the head of them, and ſeizes upon the government. His character. He quells the Plebeians. The popular and Plebeian factions. Apprehenſion of a conſpiracy. Many executions in Florence. Remarkable ſtory of Pietro degli Albizi. Another model of government. The Plebeians are deprived of all ſhare in it. Michael di Lando is baniſhed. Lewis of Anjou comes into Italy, with an army, to drive Carlo Du-*

razzo,

Carazzo out of the kingdom of Naples, and re-eſtabliſh Queen Giovanna there. The Florentines are afraid of him. His death. Carlo Durazzo is made King of Hungary, and dies there ſoon after. Benedetto degli Alberti is baniſhed. The ſpeech of Veri de Medici to the Signiory. Donato Acciaiuoli baniſhed. A conſpiracy defeated. The Duke of Milan conſpires with the Exiles againſt Florence. The Plot is diſcovered. Several Families proclaimed Rebels and baniſhed. The death of Ladiſlaus, King of Naples.

THE bitter animoſities which generally happen betwixt the people and Nobility from an ambition in the one to command, and a reluctance in the other to obey, are the natural ſources of thoſe calamities that are incident to common-wealths; for all other evils that uſually diſturb their peace are both occaſioned and fomented by this contrariety of diſpoſitions. It was this that kept Rome ſo long divided. This alſo (if we may be allowed to compare a ſmall Republic with one that was ſo much more conſiderable) gave birth to the factions which ſprung up in Florence; though indeed it produced very different effects at laſt in the two cities. For the diſputes that firſt aroſe betwixt the Nobility and people of Rome were determined by reaſon and expoſtulation; but thoſe at Florence by the ſword. In Rome that was effected by the Laws, which in Florence could hardly be done by death and baniſhment of numbers of their citizens. The quarrels of the Romans ſtill added to their ſpirit and military virtue; whilſt thoſe of the Florentines utterly extinguiſhed it. The former deſtroyed that equality which was at firſt eſtabliſhed, and introduced a prodigious diſparity amongſt the Citizens: the latter, on the contrary, aboliſhed all ſuperiority or difference of rank, and put every man upon the ſame level. This diverſity of effects muſt certainly have proceeded from a difference of views. The people of Rome deſired no more than to ſhare with the Nobility in the adminiſtration of the common-wealth; but the people of Florence were not only deſirous to have the government of the State to themſelves, but uſed violent meaſures, and took up arms to exclude their Nobles from any part in it. And as the terms of the Roman people were more moderate, their demands ſeemed not unreaſonable to the Nobility, who, therefore, complied with them; ſo that after ſome little bickerings, and without coming to an open rupture, a Law was made, by which the people were ſatisfied, and the Nobles continued in their honours and offices. On the other hand, the demands of the Florentine people were ſo extravagant and injurious, that the Nobility took up arms to ſupport their privileges, and their quarrels grew to ſuch a height, that numbers were either baniſhed, or ſlain, or executed, before they could be ended; and the

the Laws afterwards made, were calculated rather for the private advantage of the victors than the good of the publick.

Hence it came to paſs, that the ſucceſs of the people of Rome made that State more potent and conſiderable: for as they were equally admitted to govern the Common-wealth, and to command their armies and provinces with the Nobility, they became inſpired with the ſame virtue and magnanimity; and as they grew more public ſpirited, their power alſo increaſed. But in Florence, when the people had ſubdued the Nobility, they diveſted them of all manner of authority, and left them no poſſibility of recovering any part of it, except they would entirely conform to their cuſtoms and way of living, and not only ſubmit to appear, but to be Commoners in reality, like themſelves. And this was the reaſon that induced them to change their arms, and vary their titles, and the names of their families, which was ſo frequent in thoſe times amongſt the Nobility, in order to inſinuate themſelves into the affections of the people: ſo that their courage and generoſity of mind, for which the Nobility had been held in ſuch veneration, was utterly extinguiſhed, and not by any means to be raiſed in the people where there were no ſeeds of it; by which means Florence became every day more abject and puſillanimous. And whereas Rome at laſt grew ſo powerful and wanton by the effects of its virtue, that it could not be governed any otherwiſe than by one Prince alone; Florence was reduced ſo low, that a wiſe Legiſlator might eaſily have new modelled it, and given it what form he pleaſed; which muſt be obvious to any one that has read the firſt and ſecond books of this hiſtory. As I have therefore already given an account of the original of Florence, the foundation and eſtabliſhment of its liberty, the occaſion of its diſſenſions, the tyranny of the Duke of Athens, and how the factions betwixt the Nobility and the Commons ended in the utter ruin of the former, I ſhall now proceed to relate the Conteſts that happened betwixt the Commons and the Plebeians, and the ſeveral events which they produced.

The power of the Nobility being ſuppreſſed, and the war with the Archbiſhop at an end, there ſeemed to be no ſeeds of future diſſenſions left in Florence. But the evil deſtiny of our City, and want of good conduct, occaſioned a new emulation betwixt the families of the Albizi and the Ricci, which produced as fatal diviſions as thoſe betwixt the Buondelmonti and Uberti, and the other betwixt the Cerchi and Donati had done before. The Popes then reſided in France, and the Emperors in Germany: but upon various occaſions, and at different times, had ſent great numbers of Engliſh, French, and German forces into Italy, to keep up their intereſt and reputation there. But when the wars were

over, and they were diſbanded, they all united under one common Standard, as Soldiers of Fortune, and levied contributions ſometimes upon one Prince, and ſometimes upon another. In the year 1353, a body of theſe Freebooters advancing into Tuſcany, under the command of Monſieur Real, a Provençal, threw the whole country into ſuch conſternation, that not only the Governors of Florence raiſed forces on the public account, but ſeveral private Citizens, eſpecially the Albizi and Ricci, fortified themſelves for their own defence. Betwixt theſe two families, there was a mortal hatred, each conſpiring the deſtruction of the other, in order to engroſs the ſole management of the Commonwealth with leſs difficulty. However, they had not as yet taken up arms, or proceeded to open violence on either ſide, but only thwarted each other in council, and the execution of their offices. In the meantime, whilſt the whole city was ready armed and ripe for miſchief, there unluckily happened a private quarrel in the Old Market Place; to which all the neighbours ran (as uſual on ſuch occaſions) and upon enquiring into the cauſe of it, ſome gave out, that the Ricci were going to attack the Albizi, and others that the Albizi were preparing to fall upon the Ricci; which different ſtories being immediately carried to both parties, occaſioned ſuch an uproar and diviſion throughout the whole city, that the Magiſtrates found it a very difficult matter to keep the two families and their friends from coming to a fray in good earneſt; though neither ſide had intended any ſuch thing, as it was maliciouſly reported. This diſturbance, though ſmall at firſt, and accidental, ſerved to enflame their former animoſities, and determined both ſides to be upon their guard, and ſtrengthen their parties. And ſince the Citizens were reduced to ſuch a degree of equality by the ſuppreſſion of the Nobility, that the Magiſtrates were held in greater reverence than ever they had been before, each family reſolved to avail themſelves rather of public and ordinary means, than of private violence.

We have already ſhewn that the Guelphs alone were inveſted with the Magiſtracy, and had great power given them over the Ghibeline party after the victory gained by Charles the Firſt: but this diſtinction was ſo far aboliſhed by time and various other contingencies and new diviſions, that many who were deſcended from the Ghibelines, had now got into authority and exerciſed ſome of the higheſt offices in common with the Guelphs. Uguccione de Ricci, therefore, who at that time was the head of his family, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to have the laws againſt the Ghibelines revived; which faction, it was ſuppoſed by many, the Albizi inclined to favour, as they originally came, though many years before, from Arezzo to ſettle in Florence. So that Uguccione hoped to render that family incapable of enjoying any honours in the commonwealth.

wealth by virtue of thoſe laws; ſince it was enacted by them, that no perſon whatſoever that was of Ghibeline extraction, ſhould preſume to exerciſe the office of a Magiſtrate on pain of death. This deſign was diſcovered by Pietro, the ſon of Philippo Albizi, who reſolved to connive at it; rightly judging, that if he made any oppoſition, it would be in a manner declaring himſelf a Ghibeline. Theſe laws however, though renewed to favour the intereſt and ambition of the Ricci, did not in the leaſt diminiſh the reputation of the Albizi, but rather increaſed it, and were the occaſion of many evils that afterwards happened; for indeed no laws can be made ſo prejudicial to a common-wealth as thoſe of retroſpection, and ſuch as look too far back into paſt times. Pietro therefore, having rather promoted than oppoſed thoſe laws; made uſe of the very means to advance himſelf, which his enemies had contrived to ruin him: for undertaking ſo ſee them put in execution, he daily acquired freſh authority, and became the chief favourite of this new faction of the Guelphs. And as there was no certain definition of a Ghibeline laid down in thoſe laws, nor any particular Magiſtrate deputed to inform againſt them (which rendered the laws of little effect) he got it enacted, that the Captains of the people ſhould have power to make an inquiſition into that matter, and to admoniſh ſuch as were diſcovered to be Ghibelines, not to exerciſe the function of Magiſtrates; which admonition if they did not obey, they were to be put to death: and from hence all thoſe that were afterwards incapacitated to fill the Magiſtracy, were called *Ammoniti*. But in a while the Captains grew ſo partial and inſolent, that without any regard to principle or ſufficient cauſe, they admoniſhed whomſoever they thought fit, accordingly as they were led by paſſion or private intereſt: ſo that betwixt the year 1357, in which this law took place, and the year 1371, above two hundred of the Citizens were admoniſhed.

By theſe means the Captains and the faction of the Guelphs were grown very conſiderable, eſpecially the Heads of it, Pietro degli Albizi, Lapo da Caſtiglionchio, and Carlo Strozzi, who were much courted by every one for fear of being admoniſhed. And though this injurious manner of proceeding gave great diſguſt to many, yet it was more intolerable to the Ricci than any body elſe, who had been the authors of theſe meaſures, which contrary to their intentions had ſo much increaſed the power of their enemies and were likely to prove the ruin of the Common wealth. Uguccione therefore, being one of the Signiory, in order to mitigate the ſmart of this ſcourge which he and his partiſans had made for their own backs, cauſed a new law to be paſſed, that three more Captains ſhould be added to the former ſix, two of whom were to be choſen out of the lower ſort of Mechanicks; and that thoſe who were

were admoniſhed as Ghibelines, ſhould be certified to be ſo by twenty-four Citizens of the Guelph party, deputed on purpoſe to examine into the proofs of it. Theſe laws for ſome time were ſuch a check upon the arbitrary proceedings of the Captains, that their admonitions loſt much of their terror, and were in a great meaſure laid aſide. The jealouſies however betwixt the Ricci and Albizi were not yet ſubſided, and they ſtill continued to oppoſe each other in all councils, enterprizes, and other publick affairs with the utmoſt degree of virulence. Theſe diſcords laſted from the year 1366 till 1371, by which time the Guelphs had fully recovered their former authority.

There was a gentleman of the family of Buondelmonti, whoſe name was Benchi, who for his merit in the wars againſt the Piſans, was thought worthy of being admitted into the rank of Commoners, and thereby became qualified to be of the Signiory. But when he expected that honour, a law was made, that no perſon of noble extraction, though become a Commoner, ſhould be capable of enjoying any ſhare in the Magiſtracy. At this law, Benchi was ſo highly provoked, that he joined with Pietro degli Albizi; and after a conſultation betwixt them, they reſolved to depreſs the lower ſort of people by admonitions, and take the government into their own hands. And indeed by his intereſt with the ancient Nobility, and Pietro's amongſt the principal Commoners, the faction of the Guelphs grew ſtill more and more conſiderable: for they had ſo ordered matters by their new models and regulations, that the Captains and the *twenty four* being wholly at their devotion, they began to avail themſelves of admonitions again, with more boldneſs than ever they had done before; and the family of the Albizi being at the head of that faction, became exceeding powerful. The Ricci and their friends, on the other hand, ſpared no pains to obſtruct theſe deſigns: ſo that every one living in great fear and apprehenſion of ſome fatal conſequence, ſeveral of the Citizens, who were moſt zealous for the good of their Country, aſſembled in the Church of St. Pietro Scheraggio, and having conſidered the dangerous ſituation of affairs, they went to wait upon the Signiory at their Palace, where one of the moſt eminent of their body addreſſed himſelf to them in the following manner:

" Many of us have been in doubt, magnificent Signiors, whether our aſſembling without due authority, though upon a public occaſion, might not be cenſured as too forward and preſumptuous in private men. But when we conſidered that numbers of other Citizens have daily cabals in ſecret places, without any regard to the laws, and confer together, not for the good of the public, but how they may beſt promote their own ſelf-intereſted and ambitious deſigns, we preſumed, ſince theſe men have dared to do ſo, (only to conſpire the ruin of the Common-wealth)

without incurring your diſpleaſure, that we, who had no other deſign than to concert meaſures for its peace and preſervation, ſhould not have any occaſion to ſtand in fear of reprehenſion. In which caſe, we ſhall not give ourſelves the leaſt trouble about the opinion of others, ſince *they* are ſo indifferent concerning what *we* think of *them*. The gratitude we owe to our Country at firſt induced us to aſſemble, and now to preſent ourſelves before you, magnificent Signiors, to complain of thoſe evils which (though very great indeed already) are daily increaſing upon us; and at the ſame time, to offer you any aſſiſtance that is in our power to remedy them. For how difficult ſoever the undertaking may appear, we don't deſpair of ſucceſs, provided you lay aſide all private reſpects and affections, and ſupport your authority by the favour and forces of the public. The common diſeaſe of the other cities in Italy has at laſt invaded ours, and is continually eating deeper and deeper into its vitals. For after this province had ſhaken off the yoke of the Emperors, all its towns, for want of due reſtraint, ran into extremes, and from liberty degenerated into downright licentiouſneſs, making ſuch laws and inſtituting ſuch governments as were rather calculated to foment and ſupport factions, than maintain freedom. From this ſource are derived all the defects and diſorders that they labour under. No friendſhip or union is to be found amongſt the Citizens, except betwixt ſuch as are accomplices in ſome wicked deſign either againſt their neighbours or their Country. All religion and fear of God are utterly extinguiſhed. Promiſes and oaths are no further binding than they ſerve to promote ſome private advantage, and taken, not with any deſign to obſerve them, but as neceſſary means to facilitate the perpetration of villanies, which are even honoured and applauded as good conduct and policy if they meet with ſucceſs. From hence it comes to paſs, that the moſt wicked and abandoned wretches are admired as notable induſtrious men; whilſt the innocent and conſcientious are laughed at and deſpiſed as fools. And certainly there is no ſort of corruption that may not be found in the cities of Italy, nor any people in the world ſo thoroughly diſpoſed to receive the infection as thoſe of Florence. The young men are indolent and effeminate; the old, laſcivious and contemptible. Without regard to age or ſex, every place is full of the moſt licentious brutality, for which the laws themſelves, though good and wholeſome, are yet ſo partially executed that they do not afford any remedy. This is the real cauſe of that ſelfiſh ſpirit which now ſo generally prevails, and of that ambition, not of true glory, but of diſhonourable Preferment. Hence proceed theſe fatal animoſities, theſe ſeeds of envy, revenge and faction, with their uſual attendants, executions, baniſhments, depreſſion of good men and exaltation of the evil. For the good, confiding in their virtue

virtue and uprightneſs, have not recourſe to any baſe means, like wicked men, to advance, or even ſo much as defend themſelves: ſo that they generally fall miſerable victims to the cruelty and oppreſſion of tyrants, and die in poverty and diſgrace. Such dreadful and pitiable examples, both give riſe and ſtrength to parties: for the Evil will naturally form one ſide, either out of avarice or ambition; and the Good another, out of fear and neceſſity: and what is ſtill more dangerous, the authors and ringleaders of them varniſh over their pernicious deſigns with ſome ſacred title: for being in reality enemies to all liberty, they more effectually deſtroy it, by pretending to defend the rights, ſometimes of the Nobility, ſometimes of the Commons; ſince the fruit which they expect from a victory, is not the glory of having delivered their Country, but the ſatisfaction of having conquered the other party and ſecured the government of the State to themſelves. And when they have once obtained that, there is no ſort of cruelty, injuſtice, or rapine that they are not guilty of. From thence forward, laws are enacted, not for the common good but for private ends: from that time both war and peace are made and alliances concluded, not for the honour of the public, but to gratify the humours of particular men. And if the other cities of Italy are full of theſe diſorders, certainly ours overflows: our laws, our ſtatutes, and civil ordinances are made to indulge the caprice, or ſerve the ambition of the conqueror, not to promote the true intereſt of a free people; ſo that one faction is no ſooner extinguiſhed but another is lighted up. A city that endeavours to ſupport itſelf by parties inſtead of laws, can never be at peace: for when one prevails and is left without oppoſition, it neceſſarily divides again; the people not being able to defend themſelves by the ordinary laws which were at firſt made for their preſervation. The truth of this is ſufficiently confirmed both by the ancient and modern diſſenſions, that have happened in our own city. When the Ghibelines were depreſſed, every one thought the Guelphs would then have lived in peace and ſecurity: and yet it was not long before they divided into the factions of the Neri and Bianchi. When the Bianchi were reduced, new commotions aroſe, ſometimes in favour of the exiles, ſometimes betwixt the Nobility and the people: and to give that away to others which we either could not or would not poſſeſs quietly ourſelves, we firſt committed our liberties into the hands of King Robert, then of his Brother, next of his Son, and laſt of all to the mercy of the Duke of Athens, never ſettling or repoſing under any government; as people that could neither be ſatisfied with being free nor ſubmit to live in ſlavery. Nay ſo much was our State inclined to diviſion, that rather than acquieſce under the government of a King, it meanly proſtituted itſelf to the tyranny of a vile and pitiful Agobbian.

The Duke of Athens indeed ought not to be mentioned, for the honour of this city: the remembrance however of his inſolence and oppreſſion might have taught us to behave more wiſely for the future. Yet no ſooner was he expelled but we took up arms again, and fought againſt each other with more rancour and inveteracy than ever we had done before, till at laſt the ancient Nobility were entirely ſubdued and lay at the mercy of the people: and it was then the general opinion there would be no more factions or troubles in Florence, ſince thoſe were humbled whoſe inſupportable pride and ambition had been the chief occaſion of them. But we now ſee by experience, how little confidence is to be put in the judgment of man: for that pride and ambition which was thought to be utterly extinguiſhed by the fall of the Nobility, now ſprings up again amongſt the people, who begin to be equally impatient for authority, and aſpire with the ſame vehemence to the firſt offices in the common-wealth; and having no other way to obtain their end, but by domeſtick diſſenſions, they revive the antiquated diſtinctions of Guelphs and Ghibelines, which it would have been happy for this city never to have known [*a*]. And that nothing may be ſtable and permanent in this world, it ſeems the will of Heaven that certain families ſhould ſpring up in all common-wealths to be the peſt and ruin of them. Of which, our own city can produce more inſtances perhaps than any other; ſince it owes its miſeries and diſtractions not merely to one or two, but to ſeveral of thoſe families: as firſt to the Buondelmonti and Uberti, next to the Donati and Cerchi, and now, to our ſhame be it ſpoken, the Ricci and Albizi. We have not enumerated our many paſt diviſions, nor raked ſo deep into our corruption, in order to terrify or diſcourage you, but to point out their cauſes, and by putting you in mind of them, to ſhew that we have not forgot them ourſelves; and at the ſame time to conjure you not to let ſuch examples make you deſpair of providing any remedy for the preſent. For at that time, the power of thoſe ancient families was ſo great, and their intereſt with other Princes ſo conſiderable, that neither the laws nor the authority of the

[*a*] Schach Abas, who ſat on the throne of Perſia, from 1585 to 1629, and is called one of the greateſt Princes that Kingdom ever had, (though his reign was in many reſpects very cruel and tyrannical) adviſed his ſucceſſor to ſow diviſion amongſt his ſubjects, if he hoped to live in peace; that ſo by putting himſelf ſometimes at the head of one party, and ſometimes of another, he might balance them as he pleaſed, and reign in ſecurity. *Divide & impera.* A horrible maxim, indeed! but he had practiſed it himſelf, and by various arts and means, rather worthy of a tyrant or an enemy, than the father of his people, raiſed two factions in every city of his kingdom, which continued till the laſt great revolution there, for which thoſe diviſions had paved the way. *Hiſtoire de la Revol. de Perſe*, p. 84, 85. The ſame fatal ſyſtem of politics has been adopted in many other countries, but with little *peace* to the ſovereign, and infinite diſtraction amongſt the ſubjects.

Civil

Civil Magiſtrate were able to controul them: but at this day, when the Emperor has no power, nor the Pope any influence here, and all Italy, particularly this City, is reduced to ſuch a ſtate of equality, as to be able to govern itſelf, where is the difficulty? what impediment remains, why this Common-wealth, above all others, and in ſpight of former examples to the contrary, may not only be united, but reformed and improved by new Laws and Conſtitutions, provided your Lordſhips will be pleaſed to make them: to which good work we earneſtly exhort you, not out of any private picque or reſentment, but compaſſion to our country. Our corruption, indeed, is very great, and you only can correct the rage, and expel the the contagion that devours us. The diſorders of our Anceſtors are not to be imputed to the nature of the men, but the iniquity of the times, which being now altered, afford this city fair hopes of better fortune; the malevolence of which may eaſily be fruſtrated by the inſtitution of wholeſome Laws, by a prudent reſtraint of ambition, by prohibiting ſuch cuſtoms as tend to nouriſh and propagate faction, and by ſubſtituting others that may conduce to maintain liberty and good civil government. And it would be much more gracious and acceptable, if you would now do that voluntarily, and under the favour of the Laws, which otherwiſe you will either provoke the people to do themſelves, or compel you to do by violence."

The expediency of this advice had great weight with the Signiory, eſpecially as it was very conformable to their own ſentiments; and therefore, in compliance with the exhortations and authority of thoſe that gave it, they commiſſioned fifty-ſix citizens *to provide for the ſafety of the Common-wealth* [*b*]. But as moſt people are fitter to preſerve good order than to reſtore it when loſt, theſe Citizens took more pains to extinguiſh the preſent factions, than to provide againſt new ones, which was the reaſon that they ſucceeded in neither: for they not only did not take away the occaſion of freſh ones, but made one of thoſe that were then ſubſiſting, ſo much more powerful than the other, that the Common-wealth was in great danger. They deprived three of the family of the Albizi, and as many of the Ricci, of all ſhare in the Magiſtracy for three years, except in ſuch branches of it, as were particularly appropriated to the Guelph party; of which number Pietro degli Albizi, and Uguccione de' Ricci were two. They prohibited all Citizens from coming into the palace at any time when the Signiory were not ſitting. They decreed, that in caſe of battery, or diſturbance in the poſſeſſion of his eſtate, any man ſhould have liberty granted him, upon petitioning the Council, to accuſe the aggreſſor, and make him

[*b*] After the manner of the old Romans, who uſed to give a charge to their Magiſtrates in times of danger, to take care, *ne quid detrimenti capiat Reſpublica.*

anſwer to the charge before the heads of it, who ſhould have the power of compelling him to ſubmit to their ſentence, if guilty. Theſe proviſions bore much harder upon the Ricci than the Albizi: for though they were equally ſtigmatized by them, yet the Ricci were the greater ſufferers. Pietro indeed, was excluded from the palace of the Signiory, but he had free admittance into that of the Guelphs, where his authority was very great; and though he and his aſſociates were forward enough in their admonitions before, they became much forwarder after this mark of diſgrace; and new accidents occurred, which ſtill more and more enflamed their reſentment.

Gregory XI. was Pope at that time, and reſiding at Avignon, as his late Predeceſſors had done, he governed Italy by Legates, who being haughty and rapacious, had grievouſly oppreſſed ſeveral of the cities. One of theſe Legates being then at Bologna, took the advantage of a ſcarcity, which happened at that time in Florence, and reſolved to make himſelf maſter of Tuſcany. For which purpoſe, he not only refuſed to ſupply the Florentines with proviſions, but invaded their territories with a great army, very early in the ſpring, in order to ſpoil their next harveſt; hoping by that means to make an eaſy conqueſt, when they were in a manner both famiſhed and diſarmed; and probably his deſign would have ſucceeded, if the forces he employed had not been mercenary and corrupt: for the Florentines having no other remedy, had recourſe to bribery, and gave his army an hundred and thirty thouſand Florins to deſiſt from their enterprize.

It is in the power of any man to begin a war, but not to end one, when he pleaſes. The commencement of this was owing to the ambition of the Legate, and the proſecution of it to the reſentment of the Florentines, who immediately entered into a confederacy with Bernabo Galeazzo, and all the other ſtates that were at variance with the Church: after which, they appointed eight Citizens for the management of it, whom they inveſted with an abſolute power of proceeding, and diſburſing money without controul or account. This war againſt the Pope, notwithſtanding Uguccione was dead in the mean time, gave freſh courage to thoſe that had followed the party of the Ricci, who, in oppoſition to the Albizi, had, upon all occaſions, favoured Bernabo, and appeared againſt the Church; and eſpecially becauſe all the *Eight* were enemies to the Guelphs. Upon which, Pietro degli Albizi, Lapo da Caſtiglionchio, Carlo Strozzi, and ſome others, united themſelves more firmly together, to make head againſt their enemies: ſo that whilſt the *Eight* were buſily employed in their department, and they in their admonitions, the war was carried on for three years, and did not end till the death of the Pope. It was proſecuted, however, with ſuch vigour, and general

ſatisfaction,

ſatisfaction, that the *Eight* were not only continued in their office from year to year, as long as it laſted, but got the title of *Santi*; notwithſtanding they had deſpiſed the cenſures of the Pope, made free with the treaſure and revenues of their Churches, and forced the Clergy to perform the duties of their function. So much did the Citizens at that time prefer the good of their Country to all other concerns; and ſo zealous were they to convince the Church, that as they had power to defend it whilſt they were its friends, ſo they were able to diſtreſs it now they were its enemies; having actually raiſed a rebellion quite through the States of Romagna, La Marca, and Perugia. But whilſt they made ſo vigorous a war upon the Pope, they could not defend themſelves againſt the captains and heads of their factions and their adherents. The envy and indignation with which the Guelphs looked upon the *Eight*, made them grow ſo bold and inſolent, that they often affronted and abuſed them, as well as the reſt of the principal Citizens. The Captains were no leſs arrogant; they were even more dreaded than the Signiory, and men went with greater awe and reverence to their houſes than to the palace; ſo that all the Ambaſſadors that came to Florence, were inſtructed to addreſs themſelves to the Captains.

After the death of Pope Gregory, the city had no war abroad, but was in great confuſion at home: for on one hand, the Guelphs were become ſo audacious, that they were no longer ſupportable; and on the other, there was no viſible way to ſuppreſs them: it was neceſſary therefore, to take up arms, and leave the event to Fortune. On the ſide of the Guelphs, were all the ancient Nobility, and the greater part of the more powerful Citizens; of whom as we have ſaid, Lapo, Pietro, and Carlo, were the chief. On the other, were all the inferior ſort of people, headed by the *Eight*, and joined by Georgio Scali, Tomaſo Strozzi, the Ricci, the Alberti, and the Medici: the reſt of the multitude, as it almoſt always happens in ſuch caſes, joined with the diſcontented party. The power of their adverſaries ſeemed very conſiderable to the heads of the Guelphs, and their danger great, if at any time a Signiory that was not of their ſide ſhould attempt to depreſs them. Thinking it prudent, therefore, to guard againſt ſuch an event, they had a meeting, and having particularly inquired into the ſtate and condition of the city, they found the number of perſons who had been admoniſhed, was ſo great, that they had diſobliged moſt of the Citizens, and made them their enemies. In theſe circumſtances, they thought there was no other remedy, now they had deprived them of their honours, but to baniſh them out of the City alſo, to ſeize upon the Palace of the Signiory, and to put the government of the State wholly into the hands of their own Creatures, according to the example of the Guelphs

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their predeceſſors, whoſe quiet and ſecurity was entirely owing to the total expulſion of their enemies. This propoſal was agreed to without any oppoſition; but they differed about the time of putting it in execution.

It was then the month of April, in the year 1378, when Lapo judging it unſafe to defer the matter any longer, repreſented to them that delays were always dangerous, but more particularly in their ſituation, conſidering that Sylveſtro de Medici, who was an open and declared enemy to their party, might be choſen Gonfalonier in the next Signiory. Pietro degli Albizi was of a different opinion, and thought it better to wait a little longer, as ſome forces would be neceſſary to ſupport them, which could not be got together privately; and to raiſe them publickly would be to run themſelves into manifeſt danger. His advice therefore was, that they ſhould have patience till midſummer day, which being one of their greateſt feſtivals, and a time when vaſt numbers of people reſort to the city, they might introduce what forces they pleaſed into it without danger of being diſcovered. And to obviate their apprehenſion of Sylveſtro, he propoſed to have him admoniſhed; and if that would not anſwer the purpoſe, to manage it ſo in the enſuing imborſation for magiſtrates, ſince the purſes were now empty, that either his name or that of ſome other Candidate in his ward ſhould be drawn, which would diſqualify him from filling the Office of Gonfalonier. This opinion was approved, and they reſolved to defer their undertaking, though Lapo came very unwillingly into it; alledging, that no opportunity could ever be complete in every circumſtance, and that thoſe who waited for ſuch a one muſt either never attempt any thing of moment, or be diſappointed in it if they did. However, they proceeded to admoniſh Sylveſtro, but they did not ſucceed in their deſign of excluding him. For the *Eight* being aware of the trick they intended to put upon him, contrived to defer the imborſation: ſo that Sylveſtro, the Son of Alamanno de Medici, was appointed Gonfalonier. As he was born of one of the moſt conſiderable families of the Commoners, he could not bear to ſee the people oppreſſed by a few grandees: reſolving therefore to put an end to their inſolence, and finding himſelf favoured by the people and ſupported by ſeveral of the principal Citizens, he communicated his deſign to Benedetto Alberti, Tomaſo Strozzi, and Georgio Scali, who all concurred with him and promiſed him their aſſiſtance in it. In conſequence of this, they prepared a Decree by which the laws againſt the Nobility were to be revived, the authority of the Captains retrenched, and thoſe who had been admoniſhed, were admitted into the Magiſtracy. And as it ſeemed the beſt way both to propoſe and have it paſſed at one time, if poſſible, ſince it was firſt to be preſented to the Colleges, and afterwards

afterwards conſidered in the Councils, Sylveſtro being preſident (and conſequently in a manner Prince of the city for a time) cauſed both a College and a Council to be called the ſame morning; and coming firſt to the College, in which he had but few friends, he propoſed the Decree to them which he had prepared: but it was thrown out as an innovation, and he could not get it paſſed. Seeing himſelf defeated therefore in the firſt ſtep to obtain it, he pretended to go out upon ſome neceſſary occaſion, and went away to the Council without being perceived; where, having placed himſelf in ſuch a manner that he might both be ſeen and heard by the whole aſſembly, he told them, "That he thought he had been appointed Gonfalonier, not to take cognizance of private cauſes, which had their proper judges, but to ſuperintend the State, to correct the inſolence of the great, and to moderate or alter thoſe laws, which manifeſtly tended to the ruin of the Common-wealth. That he had ſpared no pains in either, and made the beſt proviſion that was poſſible: but that the malice and perverſeneſs of ſome men was ſo great, and had raiſed ſuch an oppoſition to his good deſigns, that he found himſelf incapable of doing the leaſt ſervice to the publick, and them ſo far from being inclined to deliberate upon any thing he propoſed, that they would not ſo much as hear of it. That as he plainly ſaw it was not in his power to be of any further uſe to his Country, he knew not for what reaſon he ſhould continue any longer in an office which he either did not really deſerve, or was thought unworthy of by others. Upon which account, he would retire to privacy, and leave the people to chuſe another perſon who might either have more virtue or better fortune than himſelf." After which, he got up and left the Council, as if he would go directly to his own houſe.

Upon this, ſuch of the Council as were in the ſecret, and others that wiſhed for a change, raiſed a tumult, to which the Signiory and Colleges immediately repaired; and ſeeing their Gonfalonier retiring, they obliged him, partly by their authority and partly by their intreaties, to return to the Council, which was in great confuſion. Many of the principal Citizens were threatened and treated with the utmoſt inſolence: amongſt the reſt Carlo Strozzi was collared by an artificer, and would certainly have been knocked on the head, if ſome of the by-ſtanders had not reſcued him with much difficulty. But the perſon that made the greateſt diſturbance was Benedetto degli Alberti, who got up into one of the windows of the Palace, and called out to the people to arm: upon which, the Piazza was inſtantly full of armed men, and the Colleges were obliged to do that by fear, which they would not come into when they were petitioned. In the mean time, the Captains of the parties had aſſembled as many of the Citizens as they could in their Palace, to conſult what

courſe was to be taken in order to prevent the paſſing of this Decree: but when they ſaw ſo great a tumult, and were informed what had happened in the Council, they all thought proper to return to their own houſes.

But whoſoever he may be, that intends to make any alteration in a Common-wealth, and to effect it by raiſing the multitude, will find himſelf deceived if he thinks he can ſtop where he will, and conduct it as he pleaſes. The deſign of Sylveſtro in promoting that law was only to have quieted and ſecured the city; but the thing took a very different turn [c]: for the people were in ſuch a ferment, that the ſhops were ſhut up, the houſes barricadoed, and many removed their goods for ſecurity into the Churches and Convents; every one apprehending ſome fatal conſequence. All the Companies of the Arts aſſembled, and each of them appointed a Syndic: the Signiory called the Colleges together, and were a whole day in conſultation with the Syndics how to provide ſome means of compoſing theſe diſorders to the ſatisfaction of all parties; but as there was great variety of opinions amongſt them, nothing was concluded. The next day the Arts drew out their ſeveral Companies; which the Signiory being informed of, and apprehending what might happen, called the Council together to conſider of a proper remedy: but as ſoon as it was aſſembled the tumult increaſed, and the enſigns of the Arts, with a conſiderable number of men under arms, immediately took poſſeſſion of the Piazza. In order therefore, to give the Arts and the reſt of the people ſome hopes of ſatisfaction, and to prevent further miſchief, the Council gave a full power (which the Florentines call *Balia*) to the Signiory, Colleges, the Eight, the Captains of the Parties, and the Syndics of the Arts, to reform the State in ſuch a manner as they ſhould think moſt advantageous for the public. But whilſt they were employed in this, ſome of the inferior Companies of the Arts, at the inſtigation of certain perſons who wanted to revenge the late injuries which they had received from the Guelphs, detached themſelves from the reſt, and went to the houſe of Lapo da Caſtiglionchio, which they plundered and burnt. Lapo himſelf, when he ſaw the Signiory at the head of this attack upon the Guelphs, and the people all in arms, having no other remedy but either to abſcond or fly, firſt of all took ſanctuary in the Church

[c] When circumſtances of time will not admit of alterations, though neceſſary, it is much better to let things remain as they are, than to attempt a reformation; ſince the remedy perhaps may prove worſe than the diſeaſe. It is prudent in this caſe, to imitate the practice of phyſicians, with regard to certain patients, whom they will not allow to take phyſick; becauſe it would inevitably ſtir up many ill humours in their bodies, which are leſs dangerous in a ſtate of coagulation than of agitation. *Expediebat, quaſi ægræ ſaucíæque, Reipublicæ requieſcere quomodo cunque, ne vulnera curatione ipſâ reſcinderentur.* Says Florus, l. iii. c. 23.

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of Santa Croce, and afterwards fled to Caſentino, in the habit of a Monk, where he was often heard to condemn Pietro degli Albizi for having put off their deſign till St. John's day, and himſelf for having concurred in it. But Pietro and Carlo Strozzi, upon the firſt rumour of the tumult, only concealed themſelves, in hopes that their friends and relations would have intereſt enough to ſecure their ſtay in Florence when it was over.

The houſe of Lapo being thus burnt and rifled, ſeveral others underwent the ſame fate, either out of public hatred or private malice; (as miſchief is generally ſoon propagated when once begun) and to go through with their work the more completely, they broke open the Jails, and ſet the priſoners at liberty: after which, they plundered the Monaſtery of St. Agnoli, and the Convent di Santo Spirito, into which ſeveral of the Citizens had conveyed their moſt valuable effects. Nor would the publick chamber have eſcaped their fury, if they had not been reſtrained by the preſence and authority of one of the Signiory, who being mounted on horſeback and attended by a body of armed men, oppoſed himſelf to the rage of the multitude in the moſt effectual manner he could. This commotion being thus in ſome meaſure quieted, partly by the authority of the Signiory, and partly by the approach of night, the Balia proceeded the next morning to requalify the Ammoniti, though with an injunction not to exerciſe any function in the Magiſtracy during the next three years. They repealed ſuch laws as had been made by the Guelphs to the prejudice of the other Citizens, and proclaimed Lapo da Caſtiglionchio and his aſſociates Rebels, with many others that had incurred the hatred of the public: after which, the names of the new Signiory were publiſhed, and Luigi Guicciardini declared their Gonfalonier. As they were all eſteemed men of pacific diſpoſitions, and deſirous of public tranquillity, great hopes were conceived that there would be no more tumults. However, the ſhops were not opened, the Citizens ſtill continued armed, and ſtrong guards were placed in all parts of the city: ſo that the Signiors were not publickly inveſted with the Magiſtracy, or with the uſual pomp; but privately in the Palace, and without any ceremony. They rightly concluded, that the beſt and moſt neceſſary ſervice they could do the public in the beginning of their office, would be to compoſe the city: for which purpoſe, they commanded the people to lay down their arms, the ſhops to be opened, and every one that had been called out of the Country to the aſſiſtance of any Citizen, immediately to depart. They planted guards in the ſeveral ſtreets; ſo that if thoſe that were admoniſhed could have been content, the whole city was in a fair way of being quieted. But as they thought it hard to wait three years longer before they could enjoy any ſhare in the Magiſtracy, the

Arts having aſſembled again to obtain them ſatisfaction in that point, demanded of the Signiory that for the good and quiet of the city, it ſhould be decreed that no Citizen for the future ſhould be admoniſhed, who had ever been one of the Signiory or the College, or the Captains of the companies, or the Conſuls, or Syndics of any of the arts: and, further, that a new imborſation ſhould be made of the Guelph party and the old one burnt. Theſe demands were readily granted both by the Signiory and the Councils, in hopes of preventing any further tumult. But as it ſeldom happens that men who covet the property of others and long for revenge, are ſatisfied with a bare reſtitution of their own, ſome who wanted to be fiſhing in troubled waters endeavoured to perſuade the Artificers that they could never be ſafe, except many of their enemies were either baniſhed or cut off: which ſuggeſtions being repreſented to the Signiory, they ſummoned the Magiſtrates of the Arts and their Syndics to attend them; and when they were aſſembled, Luigi Guicciardini, their Gonfalonier, addreſſed himſelf to them in the following manner:

"If theſe Lords and I myſelf had not long ago been acquainted with the temper and genius of this city, and obſerved that its foreign wars were no ſooner ended, but diſſenſions began at home, we ſhould have been more alarmed and more incenſed at the tumults which have lately happened: but as things that are familiar to us become leſs affecting, we have borne them with ſome degree of patience; eſpecially as we were conſcious to ourſelves that the cauſes of them could not be imputed to any miſconduct on our part, and had reaſon to hope that they, like all former commotions, would ſometime or other have an end, upon our complying with ſo many and ſuch extravagant demands. But finding you are ſo far from being ſatisfied, as you ought to be, that you are contriving freſh miſchiefs againſt your fellow Citizens, and endeavouring to procure their baniſhment, we confeſs we are highly diſpleaſed at the malice and baſeneſs of your proceedings. We can aſſure you, with great truth, that if we had apprehended the city would have been in the leaſt danger, during the time of our Magiſtracy, either by ſiding with or againſt you, we would have declined that honour by a voluntary exile. But preſuming we had people to deal with, who had ſome degree of humanity, and love of their Country ſtill left, we chearfully accepted it in hopes of getting the better of your Ambition at laſt by our lenity, and readineſs to oblige you. We have the misfortune however, to ſee that the more we grant, the more ſhameleſs and arrogant are your demands. And if we are obliged to tell you ſo, it is not with any deſign to increaſe your diſcontents, but to convince you of your error: others perhaps may flatter you, but we ſhall always think it our duty to tell

you plainly, and without diſguiſe, what we think is for your good. What is there, in the name of God, that you can reaſonably aſk more of us? you deſired to have the Captains of the parties deprived of their authority: they have been deprived. You inſiſted that the old Imborſation ſhould be burnt, and a new one made; we conſented. You wanted to have thoſe reinſtated in the Magiſtracy that had been admoniſhed: it has been granted. At your interceſſion, we pardoned ſuch as had been guilty of burning houſes and robbing Churches, and baniſhed many of our principal Citizens at your inſtigation. To gratify you, the grandees are bridled with new laws, and every thing done that might give you content. Where then can we expect your demands will ſtop; or how long will you thus abuſe your liberty? don't you perceive, that whilſt we ſubmit with patience, you ſhew no moderation in your Victory? whither will your diſſenſions at laſt hurry this poor city? can you ever forget how Caſtruccio, a private Citizen of Lucca, availed himſelf of ſuch Diviſions to diſtreſs it? and how the Duke of Athens, from an inferior Commander in your ſervice, made himſelf your Lord and Sovereign? on the contrary, when ye were united, neither the Archbiſhop of Milan, nor the Pope himſelf, was able to cope with you; but, after a war that laſted many years, were forced to ſheath their ſwords with diſhonour. Why then will ye ſuffer your own diſcords (when ye have no other enemies) to bring a city into ſlavery, which ſo many powerful princes could never reduce? for what elſe can ye expect from your diviſions, what from the goods ye have already taken, or may hereafter take from your fellow Citizens, but dearth and poverty? the perſons you plunder, are ſuch as ſupply the city with neceſſaries by their induſtry; and if they fail, how muſt it be ſupported? whatever is got that way, cannot laſt long; and then ye have nothing to look for but remedileſs famine and diſtreſs. We therefore command you, and, as far as our dignity will allow of it, we for once intreat you to live quietly, and be content with ſuch regulations as we have eſtabliſhed; and if any thing ſeems wanting to give you ſatisfaction, that you would make it known with modeſty, and not inſiſt upon it with clamour and tumult: for if your requeſts are reaſonable, you may aſſure yourſelves, they ſhall always be complied with, and no handle left for wicked and deſigning men to plot the deſtruction of your Country, and conſequently of yourſelves, under the ſhelter of your own wings."

The reaſonableneſs of theſe expoſtulations made ſuch an impreſſion upon the audience, that they humbly deſired the Gonfalonier to accept their thanks, acknowledged that he had behaved himſelf like an upright Magiſtrate, and a good Citizen, and promiſed to pay a ready obedience in whatſoever he ſhould command them. To make a trial of them, the

the Signiory deputed two Citizens for each of the chief offices, to conſult with the Syndics of the Arts, what reformations were moſt neceſſary to be made in them for the good of the publick, and to report them to the Signiory.

But whilſt theſe things were in agitation, a freſh tumult aroſe which was attended with ſtill more danger to the city than the former. The greater part of the late robberies and other miſchiefs had been committed by the Rabble and dregs of the people; and thoſe of them that had been the moſt audacious, apprehended that when the moſt material differences were compoſed, they ſhould be called to account for their crimes, and deſerted, as it always happens, by thoſe very perſons at whoſe inſtigation they had perpetrated them. Beſides which, the inferior ſort of people had conceived an hatred againſt the richer Citizens, and principals of the Arts, upon a pretence that they had not been rewarded for their paſt ſervices in proportion to what they deſerved. For when the city was firſt divided into Arts, in the time of Charles the Firſt, there was a proper head or governor appointed over each of them, to whoſe juriſdiction in civil caſes every perſon in the ſeveral Arts was to be ſubject. Theſe Arts or Companies, as we have ſaid, were at firſt but twelve, but afterwards they were increaſed to twenty-one, and arrived at ſuch power and authority that in a few years they wholly engroſſed the government of the city: and becauſe ſome were more, and others leſs, honourable amongſt them, they came by degrees to be diſtinguiſhed, and ſeven of them were called the *Greater*, and fourteen the *Leſs*. From this diviſion, and other reaſons before-mentioned, proceeded the arrogance of the Captains of the parties: for the Citizens that had formerly been Guelphs, to which party thoſe offices were always appropriated, had made it a conſtant rule to favour the greater Arts, and to diſcountenance the leſs, and all thoſe that ſided with them; which chiefly gave occaſion to all the tumults we have hitherto made mention of. And, as in the diviſion of the people into Arts and Corporations, there were many trades in which the meaner ſort are uſually occupied, that were not incorporated into any diſtinct or particular company of their own, but admitted into any of the others, according as the Nature of their Craft made them fit, it happened that when they were not duly ſatisfied for their labour, or in any otherwiſe oppreſſed by their maſters, they had no other head to apply to for redreſs, but the Magiſtrate of that company, to which the perſon belonged that employed them, who, they commonly thought, did not do them juſtice. Now, of all the Companies in the City, that of the Clothiers had then, and ſtill has, the moſt of this ſort of people depending upon it; and being more opulent and powerful than any of the reſt, it maintained by far the greater part of

of the multitude. The meaner ſort of the people, therefore, both of this company and the others, were highly enraged at ſuch treatment; and being terrified alſo at the apprehenſion of being puniſhed for their late outrages, they had frequent meetings in the night; where, conſidering what had happened, they repreſented to each other, the danger they were in. And to animate and unite them all, one of the boldeſt and moſt experienced of them, harangued his Companions in this manner:

" If it was now to be debated, whether we ſhould take arms to plunder and burn the houſes of our Fellow-citizens, and rob the Churches, I ſhould be one of thoſe who would think it worthy of great conſideration, and perhaps be induced to prefer ſecure poverty to hazardous gain. But ſince arms have been already taken up, and much miſchief done, the firſt points to be conſidered are, I ſhould think, in what manner we muſt ſecure ourſelves, and ward off the penalties we have incurred. If no one ſhould give us this advice, without doubt, Neceſſity itſelf would point it out. You ſee, the whole City is full of rage and complaints againſt us, the Citizens are daily in council, and the Magiſtrates frequently aſſembled. Aſſure yourſelves, they are either preparing chains for us, or contriving how to raiſe forces to deſtroy us. It behoves us, therefore, to have two objects chiefly in view, at theſe conſultations: firſt, how to avoid the puniſhment due to our late miſdeeds; and in the next place, what means are to be uſed that we may enjoy a greater degree of liberty and ſatisfaction for the future, than we have done hitherto. To come off with impunity for our paſt offences, it is neceſſary, if I may preſume to adviſe you, to add ſtill more to them, to redouble our outrage,, to rifle and burn a great number of houſes, and to draw in more accomplices in our crimes; for where many are guilty, none are chaſtiſed. Small faults are puniſhed, and great ones uſually rewarded; and where many ſuffer, few ſeek revenge; a general calamity being always borne with more patience, than a particular one. I ſay again, therefore, that to redouble our crimes, is the ſureſt way to procure a pardon for what has been already done, and to obtain the liberty we deſire [*d*]: nor is there any difficulty to diſcourage us. The enterprize is eaſy, and the ſucceſs not to be doubted of. Our enemies are opulent, indeed, but divided: their diſunion will give us the victory,

[*d*] Monſieur Balzac ſays, from Phalaris's Epiſtles, " It has always been a general opinion, that they who riſe in arms againſt their country, or their prince, are in a manner under a neceſſity to do evil, becauſe they find it unſafe to do good. They dare not become innocent, leſt they ſhould expoſe themſelves to the ſeverity of thoſe laws, againſt which they have offended: they continue therefore in their crimes, becauſe they think men will not be ſatisfied with their repentance."

and

and their riches, when we have got them, ſhall maintain it. Let not the antiquity of their blood, nor the meanneſs of our own, with which they ſo inſolently upbraid us, either dazzle or overawe you. All families having the ſame original, are of equal antiquity [e]: nor has nature ſhewn any partiality in the formation of mankind. Let both ſides be ſtripped naked, and both will be found alike. Clothe yourſelves in their robes, and them in your rags; and then you will appear the Nobles, and they the Plebeians: for it is poverty alone that makes the real difference betwixt us. It fills me with juſt concern, indeed, to hear that ſome of you repent forſooth, of what you have done, and out of a qualm of conſcience, reſolve to proceed no further. If that be the caſe, I have been miſtaken in my judgment, and *you* are not the men I once thought you. Neither conſcience, nor the fear of infamy, ought to terrify you: for thoſe that ſucceed in their attempts (let them have uſed what means ſoever) are never upbraided with them, or called by ignominious names: and as for conſcience, you have no reaſon to give yourſelves any trouble about it. When famine, and racks, and dungeons, are ſure to be our portion, what greater terrors can there be in Hell? conſider the courſe of this world; you will find the rich, the great, and the powerful, have arrived at all their wealth, and grandeur, and authority, either by violence or fraud: and when once they are in poſſeſſion of them, you ſee with what oſtentation they gild over the foulneſs of their uſurpations, with the unjuſt, but glorious titles of conqueſt and good policy. Obſerve, on the other hand, what generally becomes of thoſe who are either too ſtupid or too puſillanimous to follow their examples: they are buried in poverty and obſcurity, or wear away their lives in ſlavery and contempt. Honeſt ſervants are ſervants for ever, and good men are always poor: whilſt the bold and reſolute ſoon free themſelves from bondage, and the fraudulent and rapacious from indigence and diſtreſs. God and Nature have given every man the means of making his fortune: and it is ſooner and more eaſily done by force or circumvention, than by honeſty and plain dealing. Hence it is, that we ſee mankind in general is more prone to rapine than induſtry, to evil than good. Hence it is that we devour each other, and he that is weakeſt is at all times ſure to come off with the worſt. Force, there-

[e] This is a conſtant topic with ringleaders of tumult and ſedition; we find it urged by the famous Gabrini Rienzi, in the revolution he occaſioned at Rome, by Maſſianello to the rabble of Naples, and Wat Tyler's Chaplain in the Kentiſh inſurrection, during the reign of Richard II. who was ſo ingenious to verſify it in the following manner:

When Adam delv'd and Eve ſpan,
Who was then a Gentleman?

fore

fore, is always to be uſed, when there is an opportunity: and what fairer opportunity than the preſent, can we ever hope for from the hands of Fortune? The Citizens are divided, the Signiory irreſolute, the Magiſtrates frighted: ſo that before they can come to any determination, the matter will be over, and we ſhall either be maſters of the whole City, or of ſo great a part of it, as will not only procure us pardon for what is paſt, but enable us to keep our enemies in ſufficient awe for the future. I confeſs the reſolution is bold and dangerous [*f*]; but where the neceſſity is urgent, boldneſs becomes prudence, and danger, in great undertakings, is always deſpiſed by brave and courageous men. Thoſe enterprizes that are begun with peril, for the moſt part are crowned with glory; and men ſeldom extricate themſelves from one danger, but by riſquing a greater. Beſides, as we have nothing but priſons and tortures, and death before our eyes at preſent, we have leſs to fear in behaving ourſelves like men, than from deſpair, and giving up all for loſt: for in one caſe our deſtruction is certain, and in the other, there is a poſſibility of ſucceſs. How often have I heard you curſe the inſatiable avarice of your Taſk-maſters? how often groan under the injuſtice of your Magiſtrates? now is your time, not only to ſhake off the yoke, but to retaliate their oppreſſions. Time has wings, opportunity flies away, and when once paſt, are never to be recalled. You ſee what preparations they are making; let us be before-hand with them. If we ſtrike the firſt blow, we are ſure of victory, to the ruin of our enemies, and the exaltation of ourſelves; for it is an enterprize that will honour many of us, and ſecure us all."

This ſpeech ſo inflamed his hearers, who before were ſufficiently ripe for miſchief, that they determined to riſe as ſoon as they had drawn a proper number of accomplices into the conſpiracy: and in the mean time, they bound themſelves by an oath, to aſſiſt and ſtand by each other, when any of them ſhould be oppreſſed by the Magiſtrates.

[*f*] In this ſpeech, which is otherwiſe in Character, there is this inconſiſtency, however, that in the former part of it, the Plebeian having repreſented the enterprize *as eaſy, and the ſucceſs not to be doubted of*; now ſays, *he* confeſſes the reſolution is *bold and dangerous*. This may either be an overſight in the author, or purpoſely put into the mouth of the Speaker, who is not to be conſider'd as an orator, but an illiterate rough man, provoked by oppreſſion, and blinded by his paſſions to ſuch a degree, that whilſt he is earneſtly recommending revenge, he forgets what he has ſaid before, and contradicts himſelf, as it generally happens upon ſuch occaſions. The latter perhaps, may be the caſe; ſince Machiavel ſays, in the Dedication of this hiſtory to Pope Clement VII. "That the ſpeeches and harangues to the public, as well as his own private reflexions and obſervations, are always delivered without reſtraint or reſerve, and in a manner conſiſtent with the actions, character, and temper of the perſon that ſpeaks, or is ſpoken of." The reader is left to judge.

But whilſt they were conſpiring in this manner againſt the government, the Signiory had ſecret information of their proceedings, and cauſed one Simone della Piazza, and ſome others, to be apprehended, who confeſſed the whole plot, and that the very next day was deſigned for the inſurrection. Upon this, conſidering the danger they were in, they immediately ſummoned the Colleges, together with the Syndics of the Arts, and thoſe Citizens that had been appointed to uſe their endeavours for the reunion of the City. But, before they could be got together, it was late at night, and the Signiory were adviſed by them to conſult with the Conſuls of the Arts, who were inſtantly ſent for, and unanimouſly agreed, that all the Militia of the City ſhould be raiſed, and ordered the Gonfaloniers of the people to appear early the next Morning, at the head of their ſeveral Companies under arms in the Piazza before their Palace. At the time that Simone was under torture, and the Citizens were aſſembling, one Niccolo da St. Friano, who took care of the clock, happened to be in the palace, and being aware of what they were about, he ran home as faſt as he could, and raiſed all the Neighbourhood; ſo that above a thouſand men were preſently got together in arms at the Piazza di Santo Spirito. Upon this, the reſt of the conſpirators took the alarm, and the Piazzas of St. Pietro Maggiore and St. Lorenzo, (places which had been appointed before-hand for their Rendezvous) were likewiſe ſoon filled with armed men. It was now day-light in the morning of the twenty-firſt of July, and not above eighty of the militia were aſſembled to ſupport the Signiory; and of the Gonfaloniers, not ſo much as one appeared; for as they were informed, that the whole City was in arms, they durſt not ſtir out of their houſes. The firſt of the mob that entered the Piazza of the Signiory, were thoſe that had aſſembled at St. Pietro Maggiore, and not being oppoſed by the Militia, they were ſoon followed by the reſt, who likewiſe meeting with no reſiſtance, began to call upon the Signiory in a furious and threatning manner, to deliver up their priſoners: but as no regard was paid to their threats, they determined to uſe other means to force them to a compliance, and immediately ſet fire to the houſe of Luigi Guicciardini: upon which, the Signiory, to prevent greater miſchief, ordered the priſoners to be diſcharged. When they had thus got their accomplices ſafe into their hands again, they took the Gonfalone, or Standard della Giuſtizia, from the Eſſecutore; under the cover and authority of which, they burnt ſeveral of the Citizens houſes down to the ground, and wreaked their malice upon many others, againſt whom they had taken any picque, either on public or private accounts. For if any one of the Plebeians had been injured or affronted by a particular Citizen, he led the Mob directly to his enemy's houſe: nay, it was ſufficient barely to

to mention the perſon's name, or to call out, *to ſuch a man's houſe*, or *to ſuch a one's ſhop*, and immediately the new Gonfalonier carried the Standard that way. They burnt all the books and accounts of the Clothier's company, and after they had done a great deal more miſchief, to crown their proceedings with ſome action of merit and *eclat*, as they thought, they knighted ſixty-four Citizens: amongſt whom were Sylveſtro de' Medici, Benedetto and Antonio degli Alberti, Tomaſo Strozzi, and others of their friends; though ſome of them ſubmitted to it with much reluctance. Their levity, indeed, was very remarkable upon this occaſion, for they conferred the honour of knighthood on ſome of thoſe very perſons whoſe houſes they had burnt down but a few hours before; particularly upon Luigi Guicciardini, the late Gonfalonier: ſuch is the caprice of the multitude, and ſo ſoon are their diſguſts changed into favour and affection!

The Signiory being thus abandoned in this perilous conjuncture by the Militia, the heads of the Arts, and even by their Gonfaloniers, were not a little diſmayed when they ſaw nobody come to their aſſiſtance, as they had ordered: for out of the ſixteen companies, only thoſe of *the Golden Lion*, and *the Squirrel*, under the command of Giovenco della Stufa and Giovanni Cambi, made their appearance; and they did not ſtay long in the Piazza; for not being joined by the reſt, they thought it moſt prudent to draw off again. Some of the Citizens of their party, ſeeing the Multitude ſo outrageous, and the Palace deſerted, durſt not ſtir out of their doors; others mixed with the Mob, and went along with them, hoping thereby to ſave their own houſes, and thoſe of their friends: by which means the number of the people was much increaſed, and the Signiory left almoſt alone to defend themſelves. This ferment continued all the day; and at night they ſat down, to the number of ſix thouſand, near the palace of Meſſer Stephano, behind St. Barnaby's Church; from whence they ſent, in a threatning manner, before day-break, to demand the Colours from the Heads of the Arts. The next morning, as ſoon as it was light, they proceeded with the Standard of Juſtice, and the Colours of the ſeveral Arts, to the Palace of the Podeſta, and demanded poſſeſſion of it; which being refuſed, they broke down the doors, and forced their way into it. The Signiory, therefore, being deſirous to come to ſome compromiſe with them, ſince they were not able to quell them by force, ſent four of their body to them, at the Palace of the Podeſta, to know their demands: but upon their arrival there, they found that the Ringleaders of the Plebeians had already ſettled the terms which they expected from the Signiory, with the Syndics of the Arts, and ſome other of the principal Citizens: ſo that they returned with four Deputies from the People,

who made the following demands: That the Clothiers Company ſhould no longer be ſubject to the juriſdiction of any Magiſtrate who was not a Florentine by birth. That there ſhould be three new companies of Arts added to the others; one of Woolcombers and Dyers; another of Barbers, Taylors, Shoemakers, and other ſuch mechanics; and the third, of the Trades that were inferior to theſe: out of which Companies, two of the Signiory ſhould always be choſen, and three more out of the other fourteen minor Arts. That the Signiory ſhould provide Halls where theſe new Companies might meet for the diſpatch of buſineſs. That no perſon that was incorporated into theſe Arts ſhould be compelled to pay any debt under the ſum of fifty [g] Ducats, before the expiration of the two next enſuing years, at which time the Principal only ſhould be paid to the Creditor, and the intereſt into the Bank, or publick Stock. That all ſuch as were in baniſhment, or under any ſentence, ſhould be recalled and pardoned: and that thoſe who had been admoniſhed, ſhould be made capable of enjoying any dignity or poſt of honour. Many other articles were added to theſe, in favour of their particular friends, and to the prejudice of their enemies, ſome of whom they inſiſted ſhould be ſent into exile, and others admoniſhed. All which demands, grievous and diſhonourable as they were to the government, were yet deliberated upon by the Signiory, the Colleges, and the Council of the People, who were apprehenſive of ſtill greater miſchiefs, if they did not comply with them. But, before a Law could be paſſed for that purpoſe, it was neceſſary it ſhould have the aſſent of the Common Council, which could not be obtained immediately, as it was contrary to eſtabliſhed cuſtom to hold two councils on the ſame day. However, as they were told that was the only obſtacle, the Arts ſeemed pretty well contented, and the people ſo well ſatisfied, that they promiſed to lay down their arms, and give no further diſturbance, as ſoon as the Law they demanded ſhould be paſſed. The next morning, whilſt the Common Council were deliberating upon it, the Multitude, naturally voluble and impatient, got together again under the ſame Colours, and returned into the Piazza before the Palace; where they made ſuch a dreadful clamour, that the whole Council, as well as the Signiory, were not a little terrified: and Guerriante Marignuoli, one of the Signiors, being more frighted than any of the reſt, ran down ſtairs under a pretence of ſhutting the gates, and ſneaked away to his own houſe. He was diſcovered, however, by the Mob; but they did not offer any ſort of violence to him, and contented themſelves with crying out, as he paſſed through them, "that if all the Signiory did not immediately

[g] The Silver Ducat is worth about 4*s.* 6*d.* ſterling, the Golden one about 9*s.*

mediately quit the Palace, they would knock their children on the head, and burn their houſes." In the mean time, the Law had paſſed, the Signiory had retired into their proper apartment, and the Counſellors being come down ſtairs, were walking in the Portico and Cloyſters, expecting the immediate deſtruction of the City, and afraid to ſtir out, conſidering the baſeneſs of the Mob [*b*], and the perverſeneſs, or rather the puſillanimity, of thoſe in whoſe power it was not only to have curbed, but utterly ſuppreſſed them. The Signiory were in no leſs diſtraction, and gave up the City for loſt, ſeeing themſelves deſerted by one of their colleagues, and that nobody had the courage either to aſſiſt or even ſo much as to comfort or adviſe them.

Whilſt they were in this diſtreſs, and knew not what courſe to take, Tomaſo Strozzi and Benedetto Alberti, either out of ambition, and a deſire of remaining alone in poſſeſſion of the Palace, or perhaps becauſe they thought it the beſt expedient to allay the fury of the populace, adviſed them to give way to it, by reſigning the Magiſtracy, and retiring to their own houſes. This advice, though given by thoſe that had been the chief fomentors and abettors of the inſurrection, would have been immediately complied with by all the reſt of the Signiory, if Niccolo del Bene and Alamanno Acciaiuoli, who had a little recovered their ſpirits, and were moved with a juſt indignation, had not made anſwer, "that if other people had a mind to retire, it could not be helped; but for their own parts, they were determined rather to die like men, than quit the Palace, or lay down their authority before the uſual time. This oppoſition increaſed the perplexity of the Signiory, and the rage of the People, to ſuch a degree, that at laſt the Gonfalonier, chuſing rather to reſign his office in a diſhonourable manner, than to maintain it at the peril of his life, recommended himſelf to the protection of Tomaſo Strozzi, who led him out of the Palace, and con-

[*b*] Livy's remark is moſt true. *Hæc natura multitudinis eſt; aut ſervit humiliter, aut ſuperbe dominatur: libertatem quæ media eſt, nec ſpernere modice, nec habere ſciunt; & non ferme deſunt irarum indulgentes miniſtri, qui cupidos atque intemperantes Plebeiorum animos ad ſanguinem & cædes irritent. Such is the nature of the multitude; humble and abject even to baſeneſs when they obey; but inſolent to the laſt degree, when they command. They are neither content with liberty, nor without it, nor know how to keep any medium. And for the moſt part, there are perſons ready enough to indulge their paſſions, and irritate their greedy and intemperate minds to plunder and bloodſhed.*" Livy, lib. xxiv. c. 25. As Milton ſays of them;

"They bawl for freedom in their ſenſeleſs mood,
"And ſtill revolt when truth would ſet them free.
"*Licence* they mean, when they cry *Liberty*;
"For who loves that, muſt firſt be wiſe and good;
"But from that mark how far they rove we ſee,
"For all this waſte of wealth and loſs of blood."

ducted.

ducted him to his own houſe. Upon which, all the reſt of the Signiory thought fit to follow the example of their Gonfalonier, and were led away one by one: ſo that Niccolo and Alamanno ſeeing themſelves left alone, and thinking it would be rather fool-hardineſs than prudence to ſtay there any longer in their circumſtances, likewiſe retired and left the Palace in the hands of the people, and the *Eight* that had been appointed to act as Secretaries at War, who had not yet laid down their offices.

When the people firſt entered the Palace, one Michael di Lando, a Woolcomber, but a bare-footed ragged fellow, carried the Standard of Juſtice before them; and after he had got up to the top of the ſteps, near enough to be heard by the Signiory, who were then ſitting, he turned himſelf round to his followers, and ſaid to them, "You ſee, my friends, not only the Palace, but the whole City is in your hands; how would you have them diſpoſed of?" Upon which, they unanimouſly cried out, "that he ſhould be their Gonfalonier and chief Magiſtrate, and govern the City as he pleaſed." Michael, therefore, who was a ſhrewd ſenſible fellow, and much more obliged to Nature than Fortune, readily accepted of the government, with a deſign, however, to compoſe the City, and put an end to all diſturbances as ſoon as poſſible. For this purpoſe, and to keep the people employed, that he might have a little time to digeſt his deſigns, he ſent them to ſearch for [*i*] Ser Nuto, who had been appointed Provoſt Marſhal, or rather Hangman, by Lapo da Caſtiglionchio. And to begin his adminiſtration with an appearance of Juſtice, as he had acquired it by favour, he cauſed a Proclamation to be iſſued, that nobody ſhould dare to burn or plunder any man's houſe for the future: to enforce the obſervance of which, he ordered a Gibbet to be erected in the great Piazza. After this, in order for a further reform of the City, he immediately turned all the Syndics of the Arts out of their offices, deprived the Signiory and Colleges of their authority, and burnt the old Imborſations. In the mean time, the Mob had brought Ser Nuto into the Piazza, where they hung him up by one leg upon the Gibbet; and as every one tore away a joint, or a piece of his fleſh, in two or three minutes, there was nothing left of him but one of his feet. On the other hand, the Eight Secretaries at War, thinking the government of the City devolved upon them, ſince the abdication of the late Signiory, had already appointed a new one: but Michael being informed of it, ſent them word to quit the Palace immediately, for he intended to let every one ſee that he knew how to govern Florence without their advice or aſſiſtance. He then called together all

[*i*] The Italian word *Meſſere*, or *Meſſer* (which is a contraction of it) is a title of reſpect prefixed to the proper name of a man, and anſwers to our *Mr.* But the word *Ser*, which is ſtill a further abbreviation, is rather a term of diminution and inferiority, and ſometimes of contempt, as we ſay in Engliſh, *Maſter* ſuch a one.

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the Syndics of the Arts, and appointed a new Signiory, conſiſting of Eight members: four of which were choſen out of the Plebeians, two out of the greater companies, and two more out of the leſs. He likewiſe reformed the other branches of the Magiſtracy, and divided it into three juriſdictions, one of which was to adminiſter juſtice to the new Companies, another to the greater, and the third to the leſs Arts. He gave the rents of all the ſhops upon the old Bridge to Sylveſtro de' Medici, and took the *Podeſteria*, or Bailiwic of Empoli, himſelf: beſides which, he was very liberal to many other Citizens, who had befriended the Plebeians, not only out of gratitude for paſt favours, but to engage them to ſupport him thereafter againſt envy.

But in this reformation of the State, the Plebeians thought Michael had been too partial to ſome of the principal Commoners, and that they themſelves had not ſuch a ſhare in the government, as was ſufficient to defend, much leſs to maintain, them in it; wherefore, according to their uſual inſolence, they again took arms and ran in a tumultuous manner under their Colours into the Piazza, calling to the Signiory to come out upon the Ringheria, there to deliberate upon new matters, which they had to propoſe to them for their own ſecurity, and the good of the public. But Michael being well acquainted with their arrogance, and not caring to exaſperate them too far, before he knew what their demands were, gently reprimanded them for applying in ſo clamorous a manner, exhorting them to lay down their arms, and aſſuring them, that they ſhould find the Signiory ready to comply with any thing that was reaſonable; but that it was not conſiſtent with their dignity to ſuffer it to be extorted from them by compulſion. This anſwer ſo enraged the multitude againſt thoſe in the Palace, that they drew off to a place near St. Mary's new Church, where they appointed eight heads over them, with other ſubordinate Officers and Magiſtrates, to give them more dignity and reputation: ſo that the city had now two Tribunals, and was governed by two diſtinct adminiſtrations. Theſe heads reſolved amongſt themſelves, that eight perſons, to be choſen by their own new Companies, ſhould always reſide with the Signiory in the Palace, and that whatſoever was reſolved on by the others, ſhould not paſs into a law till it had their aſſent. They took away all honours and emoluments which had been granted to Sylveſtro de' Medici, and Michael di Lando, in their former deliberations; and aſſigned places and penſions to ſeveral of their own partiſans, the better to ſupport the dignity of their reſpective offices. After they had come to theſe reſolutions, to make them more effectual, they ſent two deputies to the Signiory, who were to inſiſt upon having them confirmed by the Councils, and to threaten them with violence in caſe

it ſhould be refuſed. Theſe deputies, accordingly, delivered the ſubſtance of their Commiſſion to the Signiory, with much boldneſs and preſumption, reproaching the Gonfalonier with the authority they had conferred on him, the favours he had received from them, the ingratitude and ſupercilious manner in which he had ſince behaved; and concluded their ſpeech with ſuch menaces, that Michael, not able to bear with ſo intolerable a degree of inſolence any longer, determined (with a reſolution more ſuitable to the dignity of his new office, than the meanneſs of his birth) to chaſtiſe this height of audaciouſneſs in an exemplary manner; and having drawn a ſword which he had by his ſide, after he had given them ſeveral cuts with it, he ſent them tied neck and heels to priſon.

As ſoon as the Plebeians heard of this, they were enflamed to the laſt degree, and reſolved to uſe violence to obtain their ends, now other means had failed: for which purpoſe, they moved forwards in a furious and diſorderly manner, directly towards the Palace with a deſign to force their way into it. Michael in the mean time, apprehending the conſequence of what he had done, determined to be before hand with them, thinking it more honourable to ſtrike the firſt blow, than to ſtay cooped up within the walls of the Palace, till he was attacked by the enemy and forced to ſneak out of it, as the late Gonfalonier had done to his great mortification and diſgrace. He therefore aſſembled a conſiderable body of the Citizens, who now began to repent of their folly, and putting himſelf at the head of them on horſeback, he proceeded towards St. Mary's with an intent to engage the Multitude. The Plebeians likewiſe, as we have juſt ſaid, had already determined to attack him, and were moving forward towards the Palace at the ſame juncture for that purpoſe; but as each ſide happened to take a different route, they did not meet by the way. Upon which, Michael turning back again, and finding the Mob had got poſſeſſion of the Piazza and were going to make an aſſault upon the Palace, inſtantly fell upon them and diſperſed them, driving ſome of them quite out of the City, and forcing the reſt to throw away their arms and hide themſelves. This victory put an end to the tumult; a victory gained entirely by the magnanimity and good conduct of the Gonfalonier, who upon this occaſion, ſhewed himſelf in valour, generoſity, and prudence, far ſuperior to any other Citizen, and well deſerves to be numbered amongſt thoſe few that have been real benefactors to their Country. For if he had been of an ambitious or ſelf-intereſted diſpoſition, the Republick muſt have totally loſt its liberty, and relapſed into a more intolerable degree of ſervitude than it was under the tyranny of the Duke of Athens. But his integrity would not ſuffer him to cheriſh any deſign that might be

be prejudicial to the good of the public, and his prudence taught him to conduct himſelf in ſuch a manner as not only gained him the firſt place and confidence of his own party, but enabled him to triumph over that of his enemies. Theſe proceedings ſtruck a terror into the Plebeians, and opened the eyes of the better ſort of people, who could not help wondering at their own ſtupidity, and that, after they had riſen in arms to humble the pride of the Nobility, they could ſo patiently ſubmit to be inſulted by the very dregs and refuſe of the city.

When Michael obtained this victory over the Plebeians, the new Signiory was already appointed, two of whom were of ſo baſe and abject condition, that every one ſeemed deſirous to rid themſelves of ſuch infamous Magiſtrates: ſo that on the firſt of September, when the new Signiory entered upon the Magiſtracy, and the others were coming out of the Palace Gate, there began to be an uproar in the Piazza, which was full of armed men, who ſhouted out with one voice, "that they would have no Plebeians in the Signiory." The reſt of the Signiory therefore, in order to appeaſe them, degraded their two aſſociates, one of whom was named Tira, and the other Baroccio, and choſe Georgio Scali and Franciſco di Michaele in their room. They likewiſe diſſolved the Plebeian Companies, and deprived all thoſe of their offices that had any connexion with them, except Michael di Lando, Ludovico di Puccio, and ſome few others of the beſt of them: and in the laſt place, they divided the ſubordinate Magiſtracy into two ſeparate juriſdictions, one of which was to preſide over the greater Arts, and the other over the leſs. For the Signiory, it was only provided in general, that five of that body ſhould be drawn out of the leſs Companies, and four out of the greater; and the Gonfalonier alternately out of each.

In this manner the tranquillity of the city was re-eſtabliſhed for that time: and though the government of the republick was taken out of the hands of the Plebeians, yet the lower Companies had more power than the chief Commoners, who were forced however to be content with what they had, in order to ſatisfy the Arts, and to deprive the Plebeians of their countenance and aſſiſtance. Several others likewiſe that wiſhed to ſee thoſe kept down, who, under the name of the Guelph party, had treated many of their fellow Citizens with ſuch inſolence and indignity, rejoyced at this regulation; and as Georgio Scali, Benedetto Alberti, Sylveſtro de' Medici, and Tomaſo Strozzi were the principal of thoſe who favoured and promoted it, they became in a manner the chief governours of the city. Theſe proceedings however, and this new model of government revived the old diviſions betwixt the more conſiderable Commoners and the lower ſort of Mechanicks, which had firſt been occaſioned by the ambition of the Ricci and Albizi: and be-

cauſe they afterwards produced terrible conſequences, and we ſhall often have occaſion to ſpeak of them in the courſe of this hiſtory, we ſhall henceforward diſtinguiſh theſe two factions by the Names of the *Popular* and the *Plebeian*.

This conſtitution of government laſted three years, a period which, though ſhort, abounded with Executions and Baniſhments: for as thoſe that were chiefly concerned in the adminiſtration well knew there were great numbers of Malecontents both within the city and without it, they lived in perpetual fear and alarm. The diſaffected within the walls, either actually did, or were ſuppoſed to cabal daily againſt the State; and thoſe without, being no longer under any reſtraint, were continually raiſing diſturbances abroad by the aſſiſtance of foreign Princes or Republics, ſometimes in one part, ſometimes in another.

There was then at Bologna one Giannozzo da Salerno, a commander employed in the ſervice of Carlo Durazzo (a deſcendant from the Royal Family of Naples) who deſigning, if poſſible, to wreſt that Kingdom out of the hands of Queen Giovanna, kept this general in pay at the expence of Pope Urban, betwixt whom and the Queen there had lately been great conteſts. There was likewiſe a vaſt number of the Florentine exiles in Bologna at the ſame time, who held a cloſe correſpondence with him and his maſter Carlo, which gave great uneaſineſs to the governors of Florence, as they were the more eaſily prevailed upon thereby to give credit to the malicious reports that were raiſed of ſuch Citizens as they ſuſpected before. In the mean time, whilſt the Magiſtrates were under theſe apprehenſions, they received intelligence that Giannozzo was actually to march towards Florence at the head of the exiles, and that many within the Walls were ready to take up arms at his arrival there and deliver up the city to him. Upon this information, numbers were accuſed; the chief of whom were Pietro degli Albizi, Carlo and Philippo Strozzi, Cipriano Mangioni, Jacopo Sacchetti, Donato Barbadori, and Giovanni Anſelmi, who were all committed to priſon, except Carlo Strozzi, and he fled. Beſides which, the Signiory ordered Tomaſo Strozzi and Benedetto Alberti to patrole the city with ſome Companies of the Militia, in order to deter any one from riſing in favour of the enemy. After the Priſoners had been examined and nothing criminal could be proved againſt them, the Magiſtrate was going to acquit and diſcharge them: upon which, their enemies immediately called the people together and raiſed ſuch a ferment by their clamours and calumnies, that he was forced to paſs ſentence of death upon them. And though Pietro degli Albizi had been more honoured and reſpected in Florence for a long courſe of years than any other Citizen of his time; yet neither the clearneſs of ſuch an eſtabliſhed reputation, nor the ſplendor

dor of his family availed him any thing. It happened not long before, whilſt he was regaling his fellow Citizens one day at a great entertainment which he had made for them, that ſome perſon unknown (perhaps a true friend with a deſign to put him in mind of moderation in ſo remarkable a degree of proſperity, or very likely it might be an enemy, who did it to terrify him with the apprehenſion of ſome ſudden change, when he conſidered the volubility of fortune) ſent him a ſalver of ſweetmeats and amongſt them a large nail, which being obſerved and handed about the table from one to another, was whimſically interpreted as an admonition to nail down the wheel of fortune now he was got to the top of it [*k*]; as it muſt of neceſſity happen, if the rotation continued, that he would ſometime or other be whirled to the bottom: and this prognoſtication was indeed fully verified, as it proved, by his ſudden fall and unfortunate end.

Theſe executions occaſioned freſh murmurs and diſcontents in the city: ſo that both thoſe that had got the upper hand, and thoſe that were depreſſed, lived in continual fear and ſuſpicion of each other. Dreadful indeed were the conſequences which flowed from the apprehenſions of the former; as every little accident furniſhed them with a handle to trample upon their fellow Citizens; ſome of whom they daily either put to death, or admoniſhed, or ſent into exile. They likewiſe made ſeveral new laws to ſtrengthen their hands, and keep thoſe down of whom they entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion: beſides which, they appointed forty-ſix Commiſſioners, who by the authority of the Signiory were to purge the common-wealth of all diſaffected perſons. Theſe Commiſſioners admoniſhed thirty-nine Citizens, degraded ſeveral of the higher rank, and exalted many of the lower: and to defend themſelves againſt any danger from abroad, they took [*l*] John Aguto, or Augut, into their pay, an Engliſh

[*k*] In the conſulſhip of L. Genutius, and L. Æmilius Mamercus, the plague continuing to afflict the Romans, they had recourſe to the ceremony of driving a nail, which had never been done before, but to keep an account of the years, (*quia rara per ea tempora literæ erant*, ſays Livy) according to an ancient Law, "that the Great Prætor ſhould drive a nail on the third day of September." From that time this political ceremony was turned into ſuperſtition, and ſimple people were made to believe, that this action would be effectual to avert public calamities, or at leaſt *to nail them down*, and retard their progreſs. This nail was of braſs, and driven into the wall behind the Chapel of Minerva, in the Capitol, on the right hand of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus: and to perform this ceremony, a Dictator was purpoſely created. *Vid. Danet in voce* Clavus, *and Livy*, lib. vii. c. 3. Probably this might be a cuſtom amongſt the Italians when this tranſaction happened, and derived from the ancient Romans; ſince they have been forward enough to imitate them in many other rites and modes of worſhip, as the late Dr. Middleton has fully ſhewn in his letter from Rome.

[*l*] This *John Aguto*, or *Augut* (as he is corruptly called by the Italians) before-mentioned in the firſt book of this hiſtory, was Sir John Hawkwood, an Engliſh Knight; who was ſo highly eſteemed in Italy for his courage and military conduct, that the Senate of Florence honoured him for his extraordinary merits, with an Equeſtrian Statue,

Commander of very great reputation, who had been many years in the ſervice of the Pope and other Italian Princes. Their apprehenſions from abroad chiefly aroſe from the intelligence they had received that Carlo Durazzo was raiſing a powerfull army to invade the Kingdom of Naples, as it was given out, and that he had a great number of the Florentine exiles under his banners. But to guard againſt the danger with which they were threatned from that quarter, they not only put their Militia

and a magnificent monument, as a perpetual teſtimony of his valour and fidelity. The Italian hiſtorians are full of his great exploits, and Paolo Jovio celebrates them in his Elogies. I ſhall only quote the four following verſes concerning him out of Giulio Ferroldo.

Hawkwood, Anglorum decus, et decus, addite, genti
Italicæ, Italico præſidiumque ſolo;
Ut tumuli quondam Florentia, ſic Simulachri
Virtutem Jovius donat honore tuam.

Hawkwood, whom England boaſts her ſtouteſt ſon,
And glad Italians their Preſerver own;
A ſtately tomb as grateful Florence gave,
So learned Jovio does thy picture ſave.

This renowned Knight thus celebrated abroad, was neglected and had no honours paid to his memory at home; except that ſome of his fellow ſoldiers and followers in the foreign wars, founded a chauntry for him at Caſtle Henningham, in Eſſex, the place of his birth, and for two of his Companions, John Oliver, and Thomas Newington, Eſquires. *Vid. Camden's Britannia*, Vol. i. p. 420. *Second Edit. by Biſhop Gibſon.*

The account given of him by Collier, is as follows: "He was born at Sibble Henningham, in Eſſex, in the reign of Edward III. His Extraction was mean, his Education ſuitable, but his improvement in arms wonderful. His father was Gilbert Hawkwood, a Tanner, who bound him apprentice to a Taylor, in London. But being preſſed into the King's ſervice in his French wars, he behaved himſelf ſo valiantly, that it was not long before he got a company of Foot, and was afterwards knighted for ſome good ſervices. However, as a peace was concluded ſoon after betwixt the two Crowns, and his eſtate was not ſufficient to maintain his Title with dignity, he went into Italy with ſome Engliſh forces to advance his fortune. There he ſerved firſt, with good ſucceſs, under John, Marquis of Montferrat; next, under Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, at the ſollicitation of Bernabo, the Duke's brother; with whom he was in ſuch eſteem for his ſucceſsful valour, that he gave him Domitia, his Daughter, in marriage, with a dower ſuitable to her birth. This alliance ſpread his fame far and near, chiefly throughout Italy: yet either upon further hopes, or ſome diſguſt, he quitted the ſervice of his father-in-law, and went over to the enemy. Afterwards he went to Rome, where the Pope made him commander in chief of his forces, in an expedition for the recovery of part of Provence, which had revolted from him. When he had effected this, he entered into the pay of the Florentines, whom he ſerved ſo ſucceſsfully, that he was looked upon as the beſt ſoldier of that age. He died at Florence in a very advanced age, Anno 1394, and in the 18th of Richard II. The Florentines, to perpetuate the memory of his great exploits, and faithful ſervice to their ſtate, honoured him with a Statue and a ſumptuous Monument. His friends alſo raiſed him one of Stone at Sibble Henningham, arched over with a repreſentation of Hawks flying in a wood, in alluſion to his name. But it is now utterly deſtroyed by time. He had a Son named John, born in Italy, who was Knighted, and naturalized in the reign of Henry IV.

in good order, but raiſed a large ſum of money; and when Carlo had advanced as far as Arezzo, they made him a preſent of eleven thouſand Ducats, upon a promiſe that he would not moleſt them. He accordingly proceeded in his march to invade the territories of Queen Giovanna, and having made himſelf maſter of the Kingdom of Naples, he ſent her priſoner into Hungary. But this ſucceſs alarmed the governors of Florence ſtill more, who could not flatter themſelves that the new King would have a greater regard to their bribe, than the alliance which had always ſubſiſted betwixt his family and the faction of the Guelphs, whom they had ſo grievouſly oppreſſed.

Theſe ſuſpicions growing ſtronger and ſtronger every day, made them behave with more rigour to the other party: a manner of proceeding that only ſerved to multiply their diſcontents, and to increaſe, inſtead of allaying their own fears, which were not a little heightened by the inſolence of Georgio Scali and Tomaſo Strozzi, whoſe authority was much ſuperior to that of the Magiſtrates; and therefore they all ſtood in great awe of thoſe two Citizens, as they knew it was in their power, if they ſhould join the Plebeians, to turn them entirely out of the adminiſtration. This intemperate and tyrannical manner of governing began to grow intolerable however, not only to all good Citizens, but even to the ſeditious themſelves; and it was not poſſible that the arrogance of Georgio Scali in particular could be long ſupported. It happened accordingly ſoon after, that ſome of his informers accuſed one Giovanni di Cambio of conſpiring againſt the State: but as he was found innocent of the crime that was laid to his charge, the Magiſtrate, who was then the Captain of the people, adjudged that the accuſer ſhould ſuffer the ſame puniſhment that would have been inflicted upon Cambio if he had been proved guilty. Georgio therefore perceiving that all his authority and interceſſions for him were in vain, went together with Tomaſo Strozzi at the head of a Mob which they had raiſed, and having reſcued him by force, they plundered the Captain's Palace and obliged him to hide himſelf for fear of being knocked on the head. This outrage ſo highly diſguſted the whole city, that his enemies thought they had now a fair opportunity not only of wreaking their own private revenge upon him, but of delivering the Common-wealth out of his hands and the hands of the Plebeians, who had ſo unmercifully tyrannized over it for the ſpace of three years. And this deſign was not a little promoted by the Captain's behaviour, who went directly to the Signiory as ſoon as the tumult was over, and told them "that, as they had done him the honour to confer that office upon him, he had accepted it with pleaſure, upon a preſumption that he was to ſerve good and virtuous men, and who would have taken arms, if neceſſary, to favour the courſe of

juſtice,

juſtice, and not to obſtruct it. But ſince he had ſeen enough of their manner of governing the city and behaving themſelves, that poſt which he had ſo cheerfully accepted in hopes of advancing his own fortune and reputation as well as ſerving the Common-wealth, he ſhould much more cheerfully reſign, to avoid further danger and ſave himſelf from utter ruin". Upon this, ſome of the Signiory, after they had perſuaded the Captain to continue in his office, by giving him fair words and promiſing they would take care that he ſhould not only be indemnified for the loſs he had already ſuſtained, but that he ſhould live in ſecurity for the future, immediately entered into a conſultation with ſuch of the Citizens as they thought wiſhed well to their country and were the leaſt ſuſpected of diſaffection; in which it was concluded that now or never would be the time to deliver the city from the yoke of Scali and the Plebeian faction, as he had alienated the affections of the generality by this laſt enormity. They reſolved therefore to make uſe of the opportunity before the paſſions of the people ſubſided, well knowing that the favour of the multitude is ſoon loſt and as ſoon regained by any little accidental circumſtance. And to conduct the affair to a happy iſſue, they thought it abſolutely neceſſary to draw Benedetto Alberti into a concurrence with their deſign, without whoſe aſſiſtance the undertaking ſeemed too raſh and dangerous.

Benedetto, though a man of immenſe fortune, was yet very humane, ſtrict in his morals and principles, a ſteddy friend to the liberties of his country, and ſufficiently diſguſted at the tyrannical proceedings of the government: ſo that it was no difficult matter to engage him in any meaſures that might contribute to the downfall of Scali. For as the inſolence and oppreſſion of the principal Commoners and the Guelph faction had made him their enemy and a friend to the Plebeians: ſo, when he ſaw the latter purſuing the very ſame meaſures, he quickly detached himſelf from them, and had not the leaſt hand in any of the late injuries and violences that had been offered to his fellow Citizens; the ſame motives, that at firſt inclined him to take part with the Plebeians, afterwards determining him to leave them. Having thus brought Benedetto and the Heads of the Arts into their deſign, they ſeized upon Georgio Scali; but Tomaſo Strozzi made his eſcape. The very next day he was beheaded, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into his party, that not ſo much as one of them offered to ſtir in his favour, though they crowded in great numbers to ſee his execution. When he came to ſuffer death in the face of that very people which had ſo lately worſhiped him with a degree of idolatry, he could not help complaining of the hardneſs of his deſtiny and the wickedneſs of thoſe Citizens, who, by their oppreſſions, had forced him to court and careſs a Rabble in which

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he found there was neither honour nor gratitude. And ſeeing Benedetto Alberti at the head of the guards that ſurrounded the ſcaffold, he turned himſelf towards him and ſaid, " Can *you* too, Benedetto, ſtand tamely by, and ſee me murdered in this vile manner? I aſſure you, if you was in my circumſtances, and I in yours, I would not ſuffer you to be treated ſo: but, remember that I tell you, this is the laſt day of my misfortunes, and the firſt of yours". He then bewailed his own folly in having truſted to the fidelity of the Plebeians, which he might well have known is ever liable to be ſhaken and ſeduced by any little ſuſpicion, or miſrepreſentation, or blaſt of envy. With theſe lamentations he ended his life in the midſt of his enemies to their great exultation: after which, ſome of his chief Confidants were alſo put to death and their bodies dragged through the ſtreets by the people.

His death threw the whole city into a ferment: for, during the execution, many of the Citizens had taken arms in favour of the Signiory and Captain of the people; and many others to gratify their own revenge or private ends. And as the city was full of different humours, almoſt every one had a ſeparate view, and was eager to accompliſh it before he laid down his arms. The ancient Nobility, now called *Grandees*, could not bear to live any longer without ſome ſhare in the public honours, and exerted their utmoſt efforts to recover them: for which purpoſe, they endeavoured to have the Captains of the Arts reſtored to their former authority. The Heads of the popular faction and the greater Arts were diſguſted that the government of the ſtate was ſhared in common with them by the inferior Arts and Plebeians: the inferior Arts, inſtead of giving up any part of their authority, were very deſirous to increaſe it: and the Plebeians were afraid of having their new Companies diſſolved. From theſe different views and apprehenſions it came to paſs, that there was nothing to be ſeen in Florence but tumults for the ſpace of a whole year: for ſometimes the Grandees, ſometimes the greater, ſometimes the leſs Arts, and ſometimes the Plebeians were in an uproar; and it often happened that they all took arms at the ſame time in different parts of the city. So that there were frequent ſkirmiſhes and frays betwixt them and the guards of the Palace: for the Signiory ſometimes by oppoſing, and ſometimes by giving way to them, endeavoured by all poſſible means to find ſome remedy for ſuch diſtractions. At laſt however, after two Conferences had been held, and two Balias inſtituted for the reformation of the city, after many miſchiefs and more dangers and troubles, a form of government was eſtabliſhed for the future; by which it was provided, that all ſuch ſhould be recalled as had been baniſhed ſince Sylveſtro de' Medici was Gonfalonier. That all offices and appointments which had been conferred by the Balia of 1378, ſhould be

be aboliſhed: That the two new Companies ſhould be diſſolved, and their individuals reincorporated into their reſpective Arts: That the inferior Arts ſhould not chuſe any Gonfalonier di Giuſtizia: That inſtead of enjoying one half of the public honours, they ſhould now be limited to one third, and thoſe too of the lower rank. So that the Popular Nobility and the Guelphs reaſſumed their ſuperiority in the Government of the State; and the Plebeians were utterly diſpoſſeſſed of it, after they had held it from the year 1378 till 1381, at which time this revolution happened.

The new adminiſtration however was no leſs grievous and oppreſſive to the Citizens at firſt than that of the Plebeians had been: for ſeveral of the Popular Nobility, who had ſhewn themſelves the forwardeſt in ſupporting the people, and many of the Heads of the Plebeians were baniſhed: amongſt the reſt was Michael di Lando, whom neither the remembrance of his former great merit and authority in reſtraining the fury of the populace when they were ſo licentiouſly plundering the city, nor any other conſideration, was ſufficient to protect from the reſentment of the governing party. Such was the gratitude of his country-men for his former ſervices! and from this impolitic manner of proceeding in Princes and Governors of Common-wealths, it happens that men naturally growing diſguſted at their ill-timed ſeverity and ingratitude, often incur their diſpleaſure before they are aware of it. Accordingly, as ſuch executions and baniſhments had ever been diſapproved of by Benedetto Alberti, he could not help blaming the authors of thoſe that had lately happened, both in public and in private company. Upon which the government began to grow ſuſpicious of him as a favourer of the Plebeian party, and one that had conſented to the death of Georgio Scali, not out of any real diſapprobation of his conduct, but that he might the more eaſily get the reins of government into his own hands. His daily converſation and behaviour increaſed their ſuſpicions to ſuch a degree, that they kept a ſtrict watch over him, and reſolved to take the firſt opportunity of ruining him.

Whilſt they lived in this manner at home, they did not ſuffer much from abroad, though indeed they were not altogether without their alarms. For about this time Lewis of Anjou came into Italy with an army to drive Carlo Durazzo out of the Kingdom of Naples and to reinſtate Queen Giovanna. His arrival threw the Florentines into no little perplexity: for Carlo as their old friend and Ally demanded their aſſiſtance; whilſt Lewis on the other hand, inſiſted upon their ſtanding neutral if they expected any future favour or good offices from him. That they might ſeem willing therefore to oblige Lewis, they diſcharged Sir John Hawkwood from their ſervice; and at the ſame time, to aſſiſt Carlo,

Carlo, they prevailed upon his Ally Pope Urban to take that commander into his pay. This double dealing was exceedingly reſented by Lewis, who eaſily ſaw through it: ſo that when freſh ſuccours arrived in Tuſcany from France, to enable him to carry on the war againſt Carlo in Puglia, he joined the exiles from Arezzo, and having forced his way into that town by their aſſiſtance, he drove out the governing party there which adhered to Carlo. He likewiſe determined to have changed the government of Florence, but was prevented by death, which gave a new turn to affairs in Puglia and Tuſcany; for Carlo then firmly eſtabliſhed himſelf in a Kingdom which he had in a manner given up for loſt: and the Florentines, who were ſomething dubious, whether they ſhould be able to defend their own city, reſolved to make themſelves maſters of Arezzo, which they bought of the garriſon that Lewis had left in poſſeſſion of it. After Carlo had thoroughly ſettled himſelf in Puglia, he left his wife there with his two children, Ladiſlaus and Giovanna (as we have elſewhere related) and went to take poſſeſſion of Hungary, which Kingdom had devolved to him by right of inheritance, but died there ſoon after he was crowned.

Greater rejoycings never were ſeen in any city, even for a victory of their own, than there were in Florence, both in public and in private, upon this acquiſition; many families keeping open houſes, and vying with the public in the pomp and extravagance of their entertainments. But none of them were to be compared to thoſe made by the family of the Alberti, the ſplendor and magnificence of which were ſo far above the condition of any private perſon, that they would have done honour to a Prince. This oſtentation excited much envy amongſt their fellow Citizens, which, added to the ſuſpicion that the government had already conceived of Benedetto, at laſt proved his ruin: for they could not quiet their apprehenſions, whilſt they thought he was taking theſe ſteps to reconcile the Plebeians to him, in order to drive them out of the city whenever he thought proper.

Whilſt they were indulging theſe jealouſies, it happened, that he was drawn Gonfalonier of the Companies, and his Son-in-law Philippo Magalotti, Gonfalonier of juſtice at the ſame time; an accident that redoubled the fears of thoſe in the adminiſtration, who thought Benedetto had now much more power than was conſiſtent with the ſafety of the ſtate: and as they were deſirous to find ſome means of averting the danger they apprehended themſelves in, without noiſe or tumult if poſſible, they ſecretly encouraged Beſe Magalotti, his enemy and competitor, to repreſent to the Signiory, that Philippo not being ſo old as the Law required in the perſon that filled that office, neither ought

nor could be admitted to it. Upon this, the affair was brought before the Signiors, part of whom out of hatred, and the reſt for the ſake of peace and quietneſs, adjudged him unqualified to hold that dignity: after which, Bardo Mancini was drawn in his room, a bitter enemy to the Plebeian faction, and no leſs inveterate againſt Benedetto. No ſooner was this man in poſſeſſion of his office, but he called a Balia for the reformation of the State; by the authority of which, Benedetto was ſent into exile, and all the reſt of his family admoniſhed, except Antonio. Before his departure he called all his friends together, and ſeeing them very ſorrowful and dejected, he took his leave of them in this manner:

"You ſee, my dear friends and fellow Citizens, in what manner fortune has contrived my ruin, and how ſhe ſtill threatens you: at which, neither you nor I ought to be at all ſurprized, ſince it is almoſt always the Lot of thoſe who endeavour to maintain their integrity, in wicked and corrupt times, and to ſupport that which the generality are deſirous to pull down. The love of my Country firſt induced me to join with Sylveſtro de' Medici; and afterwards to ſeparate myſelf from Georgio Scali. From the ſame principle I could not forbear cenſuring the proceedings of thoſe that are now at the Helm, who, having nobody to chaſtiſe them, are likewiſe deſirous to get rid of every one that dares to reprehend them. I cheerfully ſubmit to baniſhment, if I am doomed to it, only to free them from the awe they ſtand in of me, and not of me only, but of every one, who, they are conſcious, has an eye upon their tyrannical and licentious proceedings. On my own account I am not much concerned; for that reputation with which I was honoured whilſt my Country was free, cannot be taken away from me now it is enſlaved; and the review of my paſt life will always afford me more ſatisfaction, than the diſgrace of my exile can give me regret. It fills me with concern, I confeſs, to leave my Country a prey to the avarice and oppreſſion of a few particular men. It grieves me, when I reflect, that this day, which puts an end to my misfortunes, in all probability will give birth to yours, and that the malevolence of fortune may fall ſtill more heavy upon you than it has done upon me. Let me exhort you however, not to deſpair, but to bear up againſt her frowns, and to behave yourſelves in ſuch a manner, that whenever you fall into adverſity, which you may daily expect from the preſent ſituation of things, the world may bear witneſs that it is not owing to any demerit of your own."

After his departure, he ſtill kept up the ſame reputation of piety and goodneſs abroad, that he had ever maintained at home; and going to viſit the Holy Sepulchre, he died in his return at Rhodes. His bones were

were brought back to Florence and interred there with the higheſt honours, by thoſe very people who had perſecuted him whilſt alive with ſo much rancour and injuſtice.

The family of the Alberti were not the only ſufferers in theſe diſtractions, for many other Citizens were either admoniſhed, or ſent into exile: amongſt thoſe that were baniſhed were Pietro Benini, Matteo Alderotti, Giovanni and Franciſco del Bene, Giovanni Benci, and Andrea Adimari, beſides a great number of the lower ſort of people: amongſt thoſe that were admoniſhed, were the Covoni, the Benini, the Rinucci, the Formiconi, the Corbizi, the Mannelli, and the Alderotti. It always had been the cuſtom to empower the Balia to ſit for a certain determinate time; but the Citizens, who were members of this, having done what they were deputed for to the ſatisfaction of the State, were going to break up before the expiration of that term, as they thought it would have an appearance of modeſty and diſintereſtedneſs. But the people hearing of their reſolution, ran in arms to the Palace, and inſiſted that they ſhould baniſh and admoniſh ſeveral others before they reſigned their authority: at which, the Signiory were exceedingly offended, though they thought proper to amuſe the people with fair words and promiſes, till ſuch time as they had got their guards together, and were ſtrong enough to make them lay down their arms by force. However, to give them ſome ſort of ſatisfaction, and to diminiſh the authority of the Plebeians ſtill more, they made a Decree, by which the third part of the public honours which they before enjoyed, ſhould now be reduced to a fourth. And that there might be always two at leaſt in the Signiory of approved fidelity to the government, they gave the Gonfalonier di Giuſtizia, and four other Citizens, authority to make a freſh Imborſation, and to put the names of a ſelect number of Citizens into a particular purſe, out of which two of every new Signiory ſhould always be drawn.

Every thing being thus ſettled in 1381, after a ſeries of troubles and convulſions, which had laſted ſix years, the Florentines enjoyed tranquillity at home till the year 1387: at which time, Giovanni Galeazzo Viſconti, commonly called the Conte di Virtu, impriſoned his Uncle Bernabo, and thereby became ſole Lord of all Lombardy. This Conte di Virtu thought he could have made himſelf King of Italy by force of arms, as he had made himſelf Duke of Milan, by treachery: for which purpoſe, he began ſo vigorous a war upon the Florentines, in the year 1390, and conducted it in ſuch a manner, that he would certainly have ruined them, if he had not died ſoon after. However, they made a courageous and indeed a wonderful defence, conſidering their State

was a Republic [m]; and at the end of the war they were not ſo much hurt, as they had been frighted in the courſe of it. For after the Duke had taken Bologna, Piſa, Perugia, and Siena, and was making preparations to be crowned King of Italy at Florence, he was prevented by ſudden death from enjoying the fruit of his victories, and the Florentines delivered from the calamities, which otherwiſe muſt have fallen upon them.

During the time of this war with the Duke, the office of Gonfalonier di Giuſtizia was fallen into the hands of Maſo degli Albizi, whom the remembrance of Pietro's unfortunate end had made a bitter enemy to the Alberti, though Benedetto was now dead. And as the animoſities of the Factions were not yet extinguiſhed, he reſolved to be revenged on the reſt of that family before he went out of office. For which purpoſe, he availed himſelf of a depoſition, that had been made by a certain perſon who was accuſed of holding a ſecret correſpondence with the exiles, in which Alberto and Andrea degli Alberti were named as his accomplices, and immediately taken into cuſtody. Upon this, the whole city was in ſuch an uproar, that the Signiory having ſufficiently provided for their own defence, called the people to a conference, appointed a new Balia, (by the authority of which many Citizens were baniſhed) and cauſed a freſh imborſation of Magiſtrates to be made. Amongſt thoſe that they baniſhed were almoſt all the Alberti; beſides which many of the Artificers were either admoniſhed or put to death. This tyrannical manner of proceeding ſo enraged the Arts and the lower

[m] What other advantages ſoever the advocates for a republican form of government may alledge in its favour, when compared with monarchical power, it is certain that the former cannot exert itſelf with the ſame vigour as the latter, eſpecially in time of war. And the more any governments have of democracy in their conſtitution, the weaker they generally are in that reſpect. Their deliberations are ſlow, their councils divided, and the reſult of them too public. Beſides which, they are ſo ſubject to tumults and faction and civil diſſenſion, that they muſt of neceſſity be more feeble and tardy, either in defending themſelves, or annoying the enemy. They have often been ſo ſenſible of theſe inconveniencies, upon ſuch occaſions, that they have been forced to create Dictators, Stadtholders, &c. and put themſelves under the government of one ſingle Prince, or other perſon veſted with abſolute power and authority for a certain ſtated time, as the only means to cloſe the wounds of faction, and to give more life and vigour to the State. A prince is to the community what the ſpirit and ſoul are to the body.

Spiritus intus alit, totamque infuſa per artus
Mens agitat molem, & magno ſe corpore miſcet.
Virg. Æn. VI. 726.

One common Soul
Inſpires and feeds and animates the whole.
This active mind infuſed thro' all the ſpace,
Unites and mingles with the mighty maſs. Dryden.

ſort

ſort of people, who now ſaw their lives and honours ſo wantonly taken away, that they roſe in arms, ſome of them running to the Piazza before the Palace, and others to the houſe of Veri de' Medici, who after the death of Sylveſtro was become the Head of that family. In order to ſooth thoſe that were in the Piazza, the Signiory ſent Rinaldo Gianfigliazzi and Donato Acciaiuoli (two Commoners that were more acceptable to the Plebeians than any others) with the colours of the Guelph faction and thoſe of the people in their hands. The other party that had repaired to the houſe of Veri de' Medici earneſtly intreated him to take the government into his hands, and deliver them from the oppreſſion of thoſe Citizens who were daily endeavouring to deſtroy the Commonwealth and every good man in it.

All writers that have left any memoirs of the tranſactions of thoſe times, unanimouſly agree, that if Veri had been as ambitious as he was virtuous, he then might eaſily have made himſelf abſolute Lord of the City: for the violence and grievous injuries that were indiſcriminately offered both to the good and bad, had provoked the Arts, and all thoſe that favoured them, to ſuch a degree, that they only wanted ſomebody to lead them on to ſatiate their revenge. Amongſt ſeveral others that adviſed him to take the ſole government of the Republic into his hands, Antonio de' Medici was the moſt importunate, though they had been long at open enmity together: but Veri, inſtead of paying any regard to him, only ſaid, "that as he had always deſpiſed his threats, whilſt he was his profeſſed enemy, ſo he would not be ruined by his counſel now he pretended to be his friend;" and turning to the multitude, he exhorted them not to deſpair, for he would ſecure them, if they would follow his advice. After which, he advanced in the midſt of them to the Piazza, and from thence, went by himſelf into the Palace, where he told the Signiory, "he was far from being ſorry, that his manner of life had been ſuch as to procure him the love of his Fellow-citizens; but he could not help being concerned, that they had formed an opinion of him, which he truſted his converſation had not at all deſerved: for as he had never ſhewn the leaſt ſign of an ambitious or turbulent diſpoſition, he could not imagine what induced them to think he would either favour ſedition, or entertain any deſign of uſurping the government. That he prayed their Lordſhips, however, that the error and ignorance of the multitude might not be imputed as a crime to him, ſince he had delivered himſelf up into their hands as ſoon as it was poſſible. That he exhorted them to uſe their power with moderation; and for the preſervation of the City, to be content with the ſuperiority they had already obtained, rather than endeavour to make their victory complete by the utter ruin of it."

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The Signiory having highly commended Veri's behaviour, desired him to make the people lay down their arms, and then they would comply with any thing whatsoever that he and the other Citizens should advise. Upon this, he returned into the Piazza, and having called together his followers, and those that were under the Colours of Rinaldo and Donato, he told them all, that he found the Signiory very well disposed to give them any manner of satisfaction: that many things had been already granted, but that the shortness of the time, and the absence of some magistrates, had prevented their being put in Execution. That in the mean time, he conjured them to lay down their arms, out of reverence to the Signiory; assuring them, that instead of menaces and insults, obedience and a respectful behaviour were more likely to prevail upon the government to gratify their requests: and that if they would follow his directions, both their liberties and honours should be secured to them. Upon these assurances and a reliance on Veri's word, they all returned to their own houses.

As soon as this tumult was composed, the Signiory, in the first place, began to fortify the Piazza, and then immediately inrolled two thousand Citizens, well affected to the government, whom they divided into Companies, with orders, to be ready to assist them whenever they should be called upon; strictly prohibiting all others at the same time, from bearing arms upon any occasion whatsoever. After they had taken these steps to secure themselves, they put many of the Artificers to death, and banished others that had been the most active and clamorous in the late insurrection. And that the Gonfalonier della Giustizia might have the more reverence shewn him, they ordained, that no one should be capable of being admitted to that dignity, before he was five and forty years of age. They likewise made several other provisions to strengthen their hands, which were not only intolerable to those against whom they were particularly designed, but odious to all good Citizens of their own party; who could not help thinking *that* a bad administration, and built upon a sandy bottom, which stood in need of so much severity to support it. Those of the Alberti that were still left in the City, and many others, particularly the Medici, who thought themselves, as well as the people, abused and deceived, were extremely disgusted at these proceedings; but the first that had courage enough to oppose them, was Donato, the son of Jacopo Acciaiuoli. This Donato, though he was one of the Grandees of the City, and rather superior than equal to Maso degli Albizi (who, by the steps he had taken in his Gonfaloniership, was become in a manner the Head of the Common-wealth) could not live quietly himself in a city where so many were discontented; and disdained the common practice of making a private advantage of public misfortunes. He therefore

therefore reſolved to uſe his intereſt, in the firſt place, that all ſuch as had been ſent into exile, might be recalled, at leaſt that thoſe who had been admoniſhed ſhould be requalified to hold their former honours and employments. For this purpoſe, he inſinuated firſt to one Citizen, and then to another, that there was no other expedient left to quiet the people, and allay the rage of faction; and that if he was one of the Signiory, he made no doubt, but he could bring the matter to bear. But as delay is irkſome in all things, and too much precipitation is commonly attended with danger; to avoid one extreme, he ran into the other. There were then in the Signiory Michael Acciaiuoli, his near relation, and Niccolo Ricoveri, his intimate friend: and as he thought this was an opportunity not to be loſt, he entreated them to propoſe a Law to the Councils for the reſtoration of their Fellow-citizens. At his perſuaſion, they accordingly moved it to the reſt of the Signiory, who were all of opinion, that it would be imprudent to attempt any change of Government in which the advantage would be doubtful, and the danger very great and certain. Donato, therefore, having firſt tried all means to no purpoſe, began to grow outragious, and ſent them word, "That ſince they would not ſuffer the City to be reformed by other methods, it ſhould be done by force:" at which they were ſo incenſed, that after they had communicated the affair to thoſe that were in the adminiſtration, Donato was cited to appear before them, and being convicted of ſending that meſſage, by the Evidence of the perſon who carried it, he was baniſhed to Barletta. They likewiſe baniſhed Alamanno and Antonio de' Medici, and all thoſe that were of Alamanno's family, together with many of the inferior Arts, who had any intereſt amongſt the Plebeians. All theſe things happened within two years after Maſo degli Albizi had aſſumed the government.

In this ſituation of affairs, whilſt many were diſcontented at home, and many impatient under their baniſhment abroad, there happened to be amongſt the Exiles at Bologna, Picchio Cavicciulli, Tomaſo de' Ricci, Antonio de' Medici, Benedetto degli Spini, Antonio de' Girolami, Chriſtofano di Carlone, and two others of much inferior condition; but all young and ſpirited men, and determined at all events to return to their Country: eſpecially as Piggello and Baroccio Cavicciulli, who were in the number of thoſe that had been admoniſhed in Florence, had found means to ſend them word, that if they could get ſecretly by night into the City, they would receive them into their houſes, from whence they might take ſome convenient opportunity of ſallying out and killing Maſo degli Albizi, and afterwards call the people to arms, who would be ready enough to riſe, as they were ſufficiently diſaffected to the Government, and ſure of being ſupported by the Ricci, Adimari, Medici, Mannelli,

Mannelli, and many other conſiderable families. Fluſhed with theſe hopes, they privately entered the City at a place appointed, on the 4th of Auguſt 1397, and immediately ſet ſpies to watch the motions of Maſo; as they deſigned to begin the tumult by diſpatching him. Not long after, Maſo came out of his Houſe, and went to an Apothecary's, not far from the Church of St. Pietro Maggiore: upon which, the perſon that had been ſet to watch him, ran to acquaint the conſpirators, who immediately took their ſwords and haſted to the Apothecary's, but found he was gone from thence. They were not diſcouraged, however, at this diſappointment, but turned aſide towards the Old Market Place, where they killed one of their enemies party, and proceeded towards the New Market, ſhouting, and calling upon the Citizens to arm for the recovery of their Liberties, and put the Tyrants to death. From thence they advanced towards a Street called the Calimara, at the end of which they killed another man: but ſeeing that nobody regarded their cries, nor offered to take arms and join them, they retired into the Loggia Nighittoſa, from the garrets of which they again called out to a great mob (which by this time was got round them, more out of curioſity than with a deſign to give them any aſſiſtance) conjuring them to take arms, and ſhake off ſo deteſtable a Yoke; and aſſuring them, "that the groans of their Fellow-citizens had moved them more than any private injuries which they had ſuſtained themſelves, and were the only occaſion of their making that attempt to reſcue them out of ſlavery: that they had often heard that many of them were continually wiſhing for ſome opportunity of revenging themſelves, and were determined to do it whenever they could get any body to head them. But now that opportunity was come, and they had leaders to conduct them, they ſtood gazing upon each other, till they would ſee the aſſertors of their Liberties knocked on the head, and their oppreſſions redoubled. That they were aſtoniſhed to ſee thoſe who formerly uſed to take arms upon any little grievance, now crouching under ſo intolerable a burden, and tamely ſubmitting to have ſo many of their Fellow-citizens admoniſhed, and ſo many ſent into exile, when it was in their own power both to reſtore the Exiles to their Country, and thoſe that had been admoniſhed, to their former honours." Theſe exhortations and reproaches, ſtinging as they were, had yet no effect upon the people, who either durſt not ſtir, out of the awe they ſtood in to the Government, or would not, out of the prejudice they had conceived againſt the Exiles from the death of thoſe two Citizens, whom they had killed. So that when theſe Ringleaders of the tumult perceived that neither their words nor actions made any impreſſion upon the multitude, they were at laſt convinced, when it was too late, how dangerous a thing it is to attempt the deliver-

ance of a people who are willing to continue in ſlavery; and deſpairing of ſucceſs, they ſhut themſelves up in the Church of St. Reparata, not with any hopes of ſaving their lives, but of deferring their death for a little while.

Upon the firſt rumour of this tumult, the Signiory had armed themſelves, and fortified their palace; but when they heard the event, who they were that had been the occaſion of it, and whither they had retired, they recovered their ſpirits, and ordered an officer to take a party of the guards with him, and force the doors of the Church. But the others defended themſelves ſo reſolutely there, that many of them were killed: the reſt being taken and examined, it did not appear that any other of the Citizens had been privy to the Conſpiracy, except Baroccio and Piggello Cavicciulli, whom they put to death with their accomplices.

This conſpiracy was hardly quaſhed, when another and more dangerous one was diſcovered. The Florentines, as we have ſaid before, were then at war with the Duke of Milan; who not being able to conquer them by dint of arms, had recourſe to other methods; and having engaged many of the Citizens in his deſign, by means of the Exiles, (of whom there were numbers all over Lombardy) it was agreed amongſt them, that upon a certain day appointed for that purpoſe, all the Exiles who lived neareſt to Florence, and were able to bear arms, ſhould advance towards the City, and endeavour to force their way into it, from the channel of the Arno. In which attempt, if they ſucceeded, they were to be joined by their friends in the City, and then proceed to the houſes of the chief governors, whom they had determined to put to death, and afterwards to reform the State as they thought proper. Amongſt the Citizens within the walls, that were concerned in the conſpiracy, was Samminiato de' Ricci; and as it often happens in ſuch undertakings, that a few perſons are not ſufficient to put them in execution, and it is dangerous to truſt a great number, whilſt he was endeavouring to engage as many in it as he could, he unluckily met with one that betrayed him. For having communicated the affair to Sylveſtro Cavicciulli, whom he thought the remembrance of his Kinſman's death, and the ſufferings of his family, would inſpire with a thirſt of revenge, he proved to be miſtaken in his man: for Sylveſtro being moved by fear more than any other conſideration, immediately went and informed the Signiory of it, who ordered Samminiato to be taken into Cuſtody, where he confeſſed himſelf guilty, and acquainted them with every particular circumſtance of the deſign. None of the other Conſpirators, however, were taken, except Tomaſo Davizi, who coming from Bologna towards Florence, without knowing what had happened there, was

arreſted upon the road: all the reſt, when they heard what had befallen Samminiato, were ſo terrified, that they fled out of the City.

Samminiato and Tomaſo being puniſhed according to the nature of their crimes, a new Balia was inſtituted, conſiſting of many Citizens, with authority to proceed againſt Delinquents, and to provide for the Safety of the Common-wealth. By this Council, ſix of the family of the Ricci, ſix of the Alberti, two of the Medici, three of the Scali, two of the Strozzi, Bindo Altoviti, Bernardo Adimari, and many others of lower condition, were proclaimed Rebels. All the reſt of the Alberti, Ricci, and Medici, except ſome very few, were rendered incapable of holding any office for the ſpace of ten years.

Amongſt thoſe of the Alberti that were not admoniſhed, was Meſſer Antonio, whom they ſpared, as a man of a very quiet and peaceable diſpoſition. But, before the Signiory had thoroughly got over the apprehenſion they had been in from the late danger, a prieſt was taken up, who had often been ſeen to go backwards and forwards betwixt Florence and Bologna, whilſt the conſpiracy was upon the anvil: and upon examination, he confeſſed that he had ſeveral times brought letters for Meſſer Antonio. Upon which, he was immediately taken into cuſtody; and though he poſitively denied it at firſt, yet being convicted by the prieſt, he had a fine laid upon him, and was baniſhed to the diſtance of three hundred miles from the city. And to free the government from the continual apprehenſions they had lived under, from the practices of the Alberti, they baniſhed all of that family that were above fifteen years of age. Theſe things happened in the year 1400; and about two years after, Giovanni Galeazzo died, which, as we ſaid before, put an end to a war that had laſted ten years. After a reſpite of theſe two years from foreign troubles and domeſtick feuds, the government having drawn a little breath, and in ſome meaſure recovered its ſtrength, it was reſolved to attempt the reduction of Piſa; in which enterprize they ſucceeded, and not only gained reputation abroad, but continued quiet at home, till the year 1433, except that in the year 1412, ſome of the Alberti having returned from baniſhment, another Balia was appointed, which made new laws for the ſecurity of the State, and inflicted other penalties upon that family. During this period, the Florentines likewiſe engaged in a war with Ladiſlaus, King of Naples, which ended in the Year 1414, upon the death of that Prince, who finding himſelf not able to cope with their forces, was obliged to cede Cortona to them, a City which had been ſome time in his hands. But afterwards gathering freſh ſtrength, he renewed the war with much more vigour: and if he had not been prevented by death (as the Duke of Milan was likewiſe in his deſigns) he certainly would have reduced them to great diſtreſs,

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and perhaps as much danger of loſing their liberties, as ever they were in from that Duke. So that their eſcape was no leſs remarkable at the end of this war, than at the concluſion of the other; for after the King had taken Rome, Siena, was in poſſeſſion of all la Marca d'Ancona, Romagna, and had no impediment left but Florence, to obſtruct his progreſs with all his forces into Lombardy, he ſuddenly died. In this manner, the death of others was more than once of greater Service to the Florentines, than any Friend, or Valour of their own.

After the deceaſe of this Prince, the State continued in tranquillity both at home and abroad for the ſpace of eight years, at the end of which, the wars that enſued with Philip, Duke of Milan, likewiſe revived the ſpirit of domeſtic faction, which never ſubſided again till the ſubverſion of that Adminiſtration, which had ruled the State from the year 1371 till 1434, maintained many wars with great glory, and added the Cities of Arezzo, Piſa, Livorno or Leghorn, and Monte Pulciano, to their own Dominions; and would have done ſtill greater things if the City had continued united, and the rage of faction had not flamed out afreſh, as we ſhall more particularly relate in the next book.

The End of the THIRD BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF FLORENCE.

BOOK IV.

ARGUMENT.

The importance of one honeſt, wiſe, and powerful Citizen. The chief cauſe of changes in a Common-wealth. The family of Medici, having been depreſſed, at laſt, in ſome meaſure, recover their authority. Philip Viſconti, Duke of Milan, enters into a treaty with the Florentines; which he breaks, and ſeizes upon Furli and Imola, and defeats the Florentine army. Rinaldo degli Albizzi endeavours to quiet the clamours of the people, and adviſes a continuation of the War. Uzzano's opinion. They try to bring over Giovanni de' Medici. His anſwer to Rinaldo. The factions of Uzzano and Medici. The remarkable courage and fidelity of Biagio del Melano. The perfidy and cowardice of Zanobi del Pino. Niccolo Piccinino, the Florentine General, goes over to the Duke of Milan. The Venetians enter into a League with the Florentines, and appoint Carmignuola their Commander in chief. A new taxation, called the Cataſto. The conſequences of it. How Carmignuola conducted the war in Lombardy. A peace concluded betwixt the Duke and the Allies. The conditions of it. The advice of Giovanni de' Medici to his two ſons, at his death. His character. Volterra rebels againſt the Florentines; but is ſoon reduced to obedience. Rinaldo promotes a war with Lucca. Uzzano oppoſes

oppoſes it, but to no purpoſe. The cruelty of Aſtorre Gianni, the Florentine Commiſſary, to the Seravezzans, and their complaints of it. He is caſheered for it. Rinaldo, the other commiſſary, is likewiſe accuſed of miſconduct. His ſpeech to the Council of Ten. The project of Philip Brunelleſchi, a celebrated Painter and Architect, to lay Lucca under water, is defeated. The tyrant of Lucca is depoſed by the people. The Florentines are defeated by Piccinino, the Duke's General. A peace enſues betwixt them and the Luccheſe. Uzzano is perſuaded by Niccolo Barbadori, to join him in endeavouring to drive Coſimo de' Medici out of the City. His anſwer. His death. Rinaldo becomes head of that faction. He garbles the Magiſtracy, and impriſons Coſimo. Malavolti's generous behaviour to him in priſon. Coſimo is baniſhed. Rinaldo's advice to his party is neglected. He, with many others, riſe in arms to depoſe the Signiory; but lay them down again, at the mediation of Pope Eugenius IV. The Signiory baniſh Rinaldo, and recall Coſimo.

ALL Republics, eſpecially ſuch as are not well conſtituted, undergo frequent changes in their laws and manner of government. And this is not owing to the nature either of Liberty or Subjection in general, as many think, but to downright oppreſſion on one hand, or unbridled licentiouſneſs on the other. For the name of Liberty is often nothing more than a ſpecious pretence, made uſe of both by the inſtruments of licentiouſneſs, who, for the moſt part, are Commoners, and by the promoters of ſlavery, who generally are the Nobles; each ſide being equally impatient of reſtraint and controul. But when it fortunately happens, which indeed is very ſeldom, that ſome wiſe, good, and powerful Citizen, has ſufficient authority in the Common-wealth, to make ſuch laws as may extinguiſh all jealouſies betwixt the Nobility and the People, or at leaſt ſo to moderate and reſtrain them, that they ſhall not be able to produce any bad effect; in ſuch caſe, that State may properly be called free, and its conſtitution looked upon as firm and permanent. For, being once eſtabliſhed upon good Laws and Inſtitutions, it has no further occaſion, like other States, for the virtue of any particular man to ſupport it. Of ſuch laws and principles, many of thoſe ancient Common-wealths, which ſo long ſubſiſted, were formerly conſtituted: and for want of them, others have often varied, and ſtill vary, their form of government from tyranny to licentiouſneſs, and from licentiouſneſs to tyranny. For as each of thoſe ſtates always has powerful enemies to contend with, it neither is, nor can be, poſſible they ſhould be of any long duration. All good and wiſe men muſt of neceſſity be diſguſted at them; ſince much evil may very eaſily be done in the former, and hardly any good in the latter: the inſolent having too much authority in one,

and the ignorant and unexperienced in the other; and both muſt be upheld by the ſpirit and fortune of one man alone, who yet may either be ſuddenly taken off by death or overpowered by adverſity. I ſay therefore that the model of government which took place in Florence after the death of Georgio Scali in the year 1381, was at firſt ſolely maintained by the conduct of Maſo degli Albizi, and afterwards by that of Niccolo Uzzano.

The city continued in tranquillity from the year 1414 till 1422: for as King Ladiſlaus was now dead [n], and Lombardy divided betwixt different maſters, the Florentines had nothing to fear either at home or abroad. Thoſe that had the greateſt authority in it next to Niccolo da Uzzano, were Bartolomeo Valori, Nerone di Nigi, Rinaldo degli Albizi, Neri di Gino, Capponi, and Lapo Niccolini. The animoſities however, which were at firſt kindled in the city by the quarrel betwixt the Albizi and the Ricci, and afterwards blown up to ſuch a height by Sylveſtro de' Medici, were not yet extinguiſhed: and although that party which had the largeſt ſhare in the affections of the people, continued only three years in the adminiſtration and was turned out of it in 1381, yet as they were favoured and ſupported by the greater part of the Citizens, they could not be totally ſuppreſſed. It is true, indeed, that frequent admonitions and the continual perſecutions that were carried on againſt the Heads of it, from the year 1381 to 1400, had brought them very low. Thoſe that ſuffered moſt by theſe proceedings were the Alberti and the Medici, ſeveral of whom had their eſtates confiſcated, others were either baniſhed or put to death, and thoſe that were ſuffered to continue in the city, were deprived of all their honours and employments; by which their party was much depreſſed and almoſt reduced to nothing. They retained however a ſharp reſentment of the injuries they had received, and determined to take the firſt opportunity of revenge; which yet they thought proper to diſſemble in thoſe circumſtances.

This adminiſtration, which was compoſed of the moſt conſiderable Commoners, or popular Nobility, and had kept the city ſo long in peace, at laſt was guilty of two errors in point of conduct which proved the ruin of it. For in the firſt place, they grew inſolent and ſupine; and in the next, they began to quarrel amongſt themſelves, inſtead of taking proper care to guard againſt their enemies: ſo that whilſt they were

[n] He was poiſoned at Perugia by a Phyſician's daughter of that city, of whom he was paſſionately enamoured. Her father having been bribed by the Florentines, to get him diſpatched, prevailed upon her, to give him poiſon in a Philter, or love-potion. He was a brave and generous Prince; but his virtues were obſcured by many vices. He died in 1414 and was ſucceeded by his ſiſter Giovanna, or Joan. *Collenucio. Hiſt. Neap.* l. v.

daily provoking their fellow-citizens by freſh oppreſſions, and become ſo jealous of each other, that they rather encouraged plots and cabals againſt their aſſociates in the government, than uſed any means to defeat the revenge of thoſe whom they ſeemed to deſpiſe, the Medici in a great meaſure recovered their former power and authority. The firſt of this family that began to lift up his head again, was Giovanni the Son of Bicci de' Medici; who being a man of great goodneſs and humanity, and grown exceeding rich, was admitted to a ſhare in the government of the State: at which there was ſuch extraordinary rejoycings amongſt the people, that many of the graver ſort of the Citizens were not a little alarmed when they ſaw the old humours began to ſhew themſelves again. Upon this, Niccolo da Uzzano took the opportunity of repreſenting to his Collegues, how dangerous a thing it was to promote a man of ſo general a reputation to ſuch a degree of power: that it was an eaſy matter to get the better of ſome diſorders in the beginning of them, which afterwards would admit of no remedy: and that he knew Giovanni was a perſon of much greater influence and abilities than ever Sylveſtro had been. But theſe remonſtrances made little or no impreſſion upon the reſt of the Governors, who envied Niccolo's reputation, and were glad to avail themſelves of any aſſiſtance, which they thought might contribute to ruin him.

Whilſt theſe ſparks of diſcord were ſecretly rekindling in Florence, Philip Viſconti, the ſecond Son of Giovanni Galeazzo, becoming ſole Lord of all Lombardy by the death of his brother, had ſet his heart upon recovering the State of Genoa, which then lived free under the government of their Doge Tomaſo da Campo Fregoſo. But he was diffident of ſucceſs in this or any other enterpriſe except he could firſt engage the Florentines to enter into an Alliance with him; the credit of which he imagined would enable him to accompliſh his deſigns. With this view, he ſent Ambaſſadors to propoſe it to the Citizens of Florence; many of whom thought it better to continue upon the ſame amicable terms they had been with him for many years, than to enter into any particular treaty: as they plainly ſaw how much reputation he would acquire thereby, and how little advantage their own city was likely to reap from it. Others were of a different opinion, and voted for a treaty with him upon certain conditions; which if he did not obſerve, he would manifeſt his evil deſigns to the whole world, and juſtify them in making war upon him. After long debates, an agreement was at laſt concluded, in which Philip engaged not to interfere in any affairs on this ſide the Rivers [o] Magra and Panaro. But ſoon

[o] The former of theſe Rivers ariſes in the Parmeſan, and taking a ſouth-weſt courſe by Pontremoli, waters a Valley that is likewiſe called Magra, and at laſt falls after

after this ſtipulation, he firſt ſeized upon Breſcia, and then upon Genoa, contrary to the expectation of thoſe in Florence that promoted the convention; who thought the Venetians would have protected Breſcia, and that Genoa was able to defend itſelf. And as Philip was to keep poſſeſſion of Serezana and ſome other towns on this ſide the Magra, by the capitulation made betwixt him and the Doge of Genoa, (on a promiſe that if ever he alienated them, the Genoeſe ſhould have the refuſal) he conſequently was guilty of infringing the articles of the Convention he had ſo lately made with the State of Florence. Beſides which, he had entered into another treaty with the Legate of Bologna.

Theſe proceedings alarmed the Florentines to ſuch a degree, that they thought it high time to provide ſome remedy, leſt worſe conſequences ſhould enſue. Upon which Philip, who was aware that he had rouzed their apprehenſions, immediately ſent Ambaſſadors to Florence, in order to juſtify himſelf and feel the pulſe of the Citizens; and at the ſame time, if poſſible, to lull them into ſecurity, by repreſenting how much he was ſurprized at the unkind opinion, he heard, they had conceived of him; and that he was ready to cancel any thing he had done, which might give them the leaſt umbrage or ſuſpicion of his ſincerity. But this Embaſſy ſerved only to raiſe diſcord and diviſions in the city: as ſome of the moſt conſiderable of thoſe that were in the adminiſtration, thought it would be adviſeable to arm themſelves, and take proper meaſures to fruſtrate the deſigns of the enemy: for when ſuch preparations were made, Philip perhaps might think it his beſt way to remain quiet; and thus by preſenting a war, the peace that ſubſiſted betwixt them might be eſtabliſhed upon a ſurer and more ſtable foundation. On the other hand, there were many who, either out of oppoſition to the government, or the dread of a war, alledged, " that it was unreaſonable and unjuſt to entertain ſuch ſuſpicions of an Ally upon ſo ſlight an occaſion; as he had not yet done any thing that could juſtify them in treating him after that manner: that raiſing forces and appointing officers, they muſt ſurely know, was the ſame as declaring war, which could not be carried on againſt ſo powerful a Prince without bringing inevitable ruin upon their city: that there was

into the Mediterranean a little below Sarzano. Lucan makes mention of it, *Pharſal.* l. ii. The Panaro riſing in the Apennine mountains on the confines of Tuſcany, runs northward into the Modeneſe, and divides that State from Romagna: then turning eaſt-ward it runs by Ferrara, through the Ferrareſe, and empties itſelf into the Gulph of Venice at Valona, where it is called the Podi Valona. As the ſources of theſe two Rivers are not far aſunder, and their ſtreams run different ways, they almoſt cut Italy in two, from the north-eaſt to the ſouth-weſt, and were therefore pitched upon, very likely, as proper boundaries betwixt the contending parties.

not

not the leaſt proſpect of any advantage which might accrue from it: for as Romagna lay betwixt their Dominions and thoſe of the Duke, they muſt not expect to remain in poſſeſſion of any conqueſts they ſhould make; nor could they hope to penetrate even into Romagna, when they conſidered that the forces of the Church were ſo near at hand". The former opinion, however, prevailed at laſt, and they accordingly appointed ten ſuperintendants of the war, raiſed ſoldiers, and impoſed new taxes upon the Citizens; which being laid heavier upon the poorer ſort of the people than the rich, occaſioned great murmurs in the city; every one exclaiming againſt the oppreſſion of their Governors, who had wantonly embroiled them in an expenſive and unneceſſary war, only to gratify their own private intereſts and ambition, and to eſtabliſh themſelves in their tyranny. They had not yet, indeed, proceeded to an open rupture with the Duke; but their ſuſpicions grew ſtronger and ſtronger every day; eſpecially as he had ſent ſome troops to Bologna at the requeſt of the Legate, who was under no little apprehenſions from the practices of Antonio Bentivogli, one of the exiles in that city. Theſe forces therefore lying ſo near the territories of Florence, gave the governors of that State great uneaſineſs: but what ſtill increaſed it, and more fully diſcovered the Duke's deſign to commence hoſtilities againſt them, was his manner of proceeding at Furli.

Georgio Ordelaffi, Lord of Furli, died about that time, and left his Son Tibaldo to the care of Duke Philip. And though his widow, who looked upon ſuch a Guardian with a very ſuſpicious eye, had ſent the Child to her father Ludovico Alidoſſi Lord of Imola, yet the people of Furli obliged her to comply with the will of her huſband, and to put him into the Duke's hands again. Upon which, the better to avoid ſuſpicion and diſguiſe his own deſigns, he got the Marquis of Ferrara to ſend Guido Torelli as his Lieutenant, with a body of ſoldiers to ſeize upon Furli in his name; and in this manner that Town fell into the hands of Duke Philip. When this event and the arrival of his troops at Bologna came to be known in Florence, it fully determined the majority of the Governors to declare war, notwithſtanding that reſolution ſtill met with great oppoſition, eſpecially from Giovanni de' Medici, who publickly proteſted againſt it, and ſaid, "that although they were ſufficiently convinced of the Duke's deſigns, it would yet be more prudent to wait till he attacked them, than to be the aggreſſors: for otherwiſe the Duke might fairly juſtify all his ſubſequent proceedings to the other Princes of Italy; and for their own parts, they could not in that caſe expect ſuch effectual aſſiſtance from them, as they might do when his ambitious and enterprizing ſpirit came to be more generally known; ſince experience ſhewed that all States act with much more

vigour when their own ſafety is concerned than in the defence and protection of others." To this it was replied, " that it would be much better to march boldy out and meet the enemy, than to ſtay till they were attacked by him at home: that fortune in general was more favourable to the Invader, than to thoſe that are invaded: and though perhaps it might be more expenſive, it certainly would prove leſs detrimental in the end, to carry the war into the territories of their enemy, than to have their own depopulated." This advice was approved of, and it was reſolved, that the Ten ſhould uſe their utmoſt efforts in the firſt place to wreſt the City of Furli out of the Duke's hands again. But Philip ſeeing the Florentines ſo earneſtly bent upon the recovery of a town which he was reſolved to maintain, now thought it high time to throw off the maſk, and immediately ſent Agnolo della Pergola with a conſiderable force to Imola, to keep the Lord of that place ſo fully employed in the defence of his own State, that he ſhould not be able to give his Grandſon any aſſiſtance. Agnolo accordingly advanced almoſt to the walls of Imola, and finding the moats frozen over, (as it was then a very cold ſeaſon) he took the town by ſurprize the ſame night, and ſent Ludovico priſoner to Milan, though the Florentine army lay no further off at that time than Modigliana.

The Florentines, therefore, ſeeing Imola loſt, and open war now publickly avowed, ordered their Commanders to go and lay ſiege to Furli; which they did, and inveſted it on every ſide: and, to prevent the Duke from ſending all his forces to its relief, they took Count Alberigo into their pay, who made daily excurſions from Zagonara, a town in his poſſeſſion, to the very walls of Imola. But Agnolo, who perceived our army was ſo advantageouſly poſted, that it would be impoſſible to raiſe the ſiege of Furli, without running too great a riſque, determined to ſit down before Zagonara, rightly judging, that the Florentines would abandon their enterprize againſt Furli, and march to its ſuccour; which muſt oblige them to fight him at a great diſadvantage. In the mean time, Alberigo was reduced to ſuch diſtreſs by the Duke's army, that he was forced to capitulate, and agreed to ſurrender, if the town was not relieved in the ſpace of fifteen days. When this came to be known in the Florentine camp, and in the City, the eagerneſs which every one ſhewed to prevent that loſs, was the occaſion of their ſuſtaining a much greater. For having raiſed their camp before Furli, to go to the relief of Zagonara, they came to an engagement with Agnolo, in which they were utterly routed; not ſo much by the valour of the enemy, as the badneſs of the weather: for our forces having marched ſeveral hours, through very deep and miry roads, and continual rain, found the enemy quite freſh, and in ſo good order, that,

as it might well be expected, they were not able to ſtand before them, but ſoon fled and were diſperſed. However, in ſo great a defeat, and which made ſo much noiſe all over Italy, there was nobody killed but Ludovico degli Obizi, and two of his men, who were thrown from their horſes, and trampled to death in the mire.

The news of this misfortune occaſioned great conſternation in Florence, and particularly amongſt thoſe of the governing party, who had been the chief promoters of the war; as they ſaw the enemy now ſo powerful and elated, and themſelves in a manner not only diſarmed and without allies, but hated to the laſt degree by the people, who inſulted them whenever they appeared in the ſtreets; complaining of the inſupportable taxes they had laid upon them, and upbraiding them with the heavy expences of an unneceſſary war. "Theſe are the men, ſaid they, who appointed ten ſuperintendants to ſtrike a terror into the enemy! how bravely they wreſted Furli out of the hands of the Duke! you now ſee, Fellow-citizens, the bottom of their hearts, and their villainous machinations! theſe are the *Defenders of our Liberty* forſooth; a name that they inwardly hate, as their actions have fully ſhewn, which never tended to any other point than to eſtabliſh and increaſe their own power, which God has now, moſt juſtly indeed, been pleaſed to humble. This is not the only time they have brought our city to the brink of ruin; the expedition againſt King Ladiſlaus, and many others of the ſame kind, might be inſtanced, if it was neceſſary. To whom will they now have recourſe for aſſiſtance in their extremities? To Pope Martin, whom they ſo vilely abuſed, only to gratify Braccio da Montone? To Queen Giovanna, whom they baſely abandoned, and obliged to throw herſelf into the arms of the King of Arragon?" With theſe and other ſuch taunts as fury and deſpair commonly ſuggeſt to an enraged multitude, they purſued them wherever they went.

The Signiory, therefore, having called a meeting of the principal Citizens, earneſtly exhorted them to uſe their good offices and endeavours to ſooth the people, and to appeaſe the general indignation which their clamours had excited. At this meeting, Rinaldo (eldeſt ſon to the late Maſo degli Albizi) having ſecretly entertained ſome hopes of becoming ſole governor of the Republic, by the merit of his own ſervices, and the reputation of his father, made a long ſpeech; in which he told them, "That it was neither generous, nor juſt, nor good policy, to form a judgment of ſuch enterprizes from the event of them; for it happened ſometimes, that the beſt laid deſigns miſcarried, and the worſt were crowned with ſucceſs. That if bad meaſures were applauded, merely becauſe they proved fortunate, it would give encouragement to raſhneſs and preſumption; which might one time or other be the deſtruction of

the Common-wealth; as it did not always happen that they ſucceeded. That, on the other hand, it might be of great prejudice to vilify deſigns that were wiſely planned, for no other reaſon than becauſe they failed in the execution [p]; ſince that would deter ſuch as were moſt able, from giving their advice, and delivering their opinion, without reſerve, in any exigency." He then ſhewed the neceſſity of entering into this war, and that Tuſcany muſt have been the ſeat of it, if they had not carried their arms into Romagna: that although it was the will of God their forces ſhould be defeated, the loſs was not ſo great as it would be, if they abandoned themſelves to deſpair: that if they would exert themſelves as they ought to do, they would find no great reaſon to be ſo dejected at their overthrow, nor the Duke to triumph in his victory. That they might make themſelves eaſy about the taxes, which would not be ſo heavy by a great deal for the future, as they had been; ſince a defenſive war could not be attended with ſo much expence, as an offenſive one. He laſtly conjured them to imitate the noble example of their anceſtors, whoſe magnanimity even in the loweſt ebb of their fortune, had at all times ſupported the State againſt the moſt powerful enemies."

Upon theſe exhortations, enforced by the authority of ſo popular a man, the Citizens began to recover their ſpirits, and took Count Oddo, the Son of Braccio da Montone, into their pay, under the inſpection of Niccolò Piccinino, who had learnt the art of war from Braccio himſelf, and was eſteemed the beſt ſoldier that had ever fought under his banners: to whom they likewiſe joined ſeveral commanders of their own, and remounted ſuch of the cavalry as had loſt their horſes in the late defeat. They alſo gave a commiſſion to twenty of the Citizens, to raiſe further ſupplies for the maintenance of the war; who ſeeing the governing party now humbled by their misfortunes, took courage, and laid the chief burden of the tax upon their ſhoulders; at which they were not a little mortified in their turn. However, as they could not for ſhame remonſtrate againſt it as a particular hardſhip, they only complained of it in general, and ſaid, it was too heavy, and ought in ſome meaſure to be remitted. But when this came to the ears of the council, they took effectual care to prevent it; and in order to make all impoſitions appear the more grievous and hateful to the people for the future, they gave a ſtrict charge to their officers to collect this with the utmoſt rigour, and to kill any one that ſhould dare to oppoſe them, or refuſe to pay it. In conſequence of theſe orders, ſo many were either knocked on the head,

[p] See the Reflexions on Fortune and Prudence, prefixed to the Life of Caſtruccio Caſtracani, towards the end of this volume.

or grievouſly wounded, that it was apprehended the two parties would come to blows, and that much miſchief would enſue: for thoſe who had been ſo long in power, and uſed to be treated with ſuch reverence and diſtinction, could not bear the thoughts of being inſulted in this manner; and the other ſide were reſolved, that every man in his turn ſhould equally feel the ſting of theſe oppreſſions.

Certain of the principal Citizens, therefore, had a private conference, in which they determined to reſume their former authority, and to ſupport it with more vigour for the future; ſeeing their remiſſneſs had emboldened private men to cavil at their conduct, and given freſh courage to thoſe who were wont, upon every occaſion, to put themſelves at the head of the populace. After many of theſe meetings, and much conſultation, they agreed to have a more general one in St. Stephen's Church; where they accordingly aſſembled, to the number of ſeventy, by the permiſſion of Lorenzo Ridolphi and Franciſco Gianfigliazzi, who were then in the Signiory. But Giovanni de' Medici was not there; either becauſe he had not been invited, as a perſon in whom they could not thoroughly confide, or refuſed to come, becauſe he did not approve of ſuch cabals. When they were all met, Rinaldo degli Albizi took the chair, and repreſented to them, in a pathetic manner, the preſent circumſtances of the City, and how the government of it, by their too great ſecurity and inadvertence, had again fallen into the hands of the people; from whom their fathers had recovered it in the year 1381. He reminded them of the tyranny of thoſe that were in the adminiſtration from 1377, till that time; in which interval, either the Father, or Grandfather, or ſome near relation, of almoſt every one that was then preſent, had been unjuſtly put to death. That the City was now going to relapſe into the ſame ſtate of confuſion and oppreſſion, as the multitude had already taken upon them to impoſe taxes; and, if they were not either curbed by force, or reſtrained by ſome other more deſirable expedient, would certainly, in the next place, proceed to appoint ſuch officers as they thought fit: after which, they would turn the preſent magiſtrates out of their ſeats, to the utter deſtruction of an adminiſtration which had governed the City with ſo much glory and reputation, for the ſpace of forty-two years. The conſequence of which would be, that Florence muſt either be blindly governed by the caprice of the multitude, (and then one party would live in continual danger and apprehenſion, whilſt the other rioted in all manner of licentiouſneſs) or it muſt fall under the ſubjection of ſome one perſon, who would make himſelf abſolute Lord, and perhaps Tyrant over it. It was the duty, he ſaid, of every man that had any affection for his Country, or regard for his own reputation, to exert himſelf at that time, and to follow the

example of Bardo Mancini, who delivered the City from the imminent danger it was in, by the extirpation of the Alberti: and as the audacioufneſs of the multitude was in a great meaſure owing to the largeneſs of the imborſations, and the little care that was taken in them, (which had filled the palace with new and mean men) he thought the only remedy that was left for ſuch diſorders would be, to reſtore the authority of the Nobility, and diminiſh that of the Minor Arts, by reducing them from fourteen to ſeven: which would leſſen the power of the Plebeians in the Councils, both by retrenching their number, and by throwing more weight into the ſcale of the Grandees, who would be ſure to uſe all poſſible endeavours to depreſs them, out of revenge for old injuries. That wiſe men always availed themſelves of different ſorts of people at different ſeaſons; and if their fathers had made uſe of the aſſiſtance of the Plebeians, to humble the inſolence of the Grandees, now the latter were brought ſo low, and the former become ſo audacious, it would be no bad expedient to join with one to lower the other: to effect which, if artifice was not ſufficient, they muſt have recourſe to forcible means; as they had that in their power, now ſome of them were in the *Commiſſion of Ten*, and might ſecretly bring a few companies of ſoldiers into the City."

This ſpeech of Rinaldo's was much applauded, and his advice approved of by every body; and Niccolò da Uzzano, in the name of the reſt, made anſwer, "That what he had ſaid was very true, and the remedies he propoſed efficacious and certain, provided they could be applied without making an open diviſion in the City; which yet he thought might be done, if they could draw Giovanni de' Medici into their deſigns: for if he concurred with them, the multitude being deprived of their head, would not be able to make any oppoſition: but if he could not be brought over, they could not effect it without force; and in that caſe, it was doubtful whether they ſhould prevail, and if they did, they probably might not long enjoy the fruits of their victory. He then modeſtly reminded them of the advice he had before given them, and of their contempt of thoſe warnings, at a time when they might readily have prevented theſe difficulties: but it was now too late to do that, he ſaid, without great peril and hazard, except they could gain Giovanni de' Medici."

They deputed Rinaldo, therefore, to wait upon Giovanni, and try, if he could make any impreſſion upon him; which he did accordingly, and uſed all the arguments he could think of to perſuade him to join them; and not, by foſtering and indulging the multitude, at laſt encourage them to rebel, to the utter ſubverſion of the Government, and ruin of the City at the ſame time. To which Giovanni replied, "That he

he had always thought it the duty of a good and wiſe Citizen to endeavour to prevent any change in the eſtabliſhed laws and cuſtoms of the State he lived in, as nothing gave greater offence to the generality, than alterations of that kind; and where many are diſcontented, it is but natural to apprehend ſome fatal event. That this their deſign in all probability, would produce two very pernicious effects: for, in the firſt place, they would be obliged to confer honours and employments upon ſuch, as having never enjoyed any before, did not know how to ſet a due value upon them, and conſequently would have the leſs reaſon to complain, if they were not admitted to them; and in the next, by depriving others of ſuch emoluments as they had long been uſed to taſte the ſweets of, they would provoke them to ſuch a degree, that it would be impoſſible ever to appeaſe them again till they were reſtored: by which manner of proceeding, one party would think themſelves much more aggrieved, than the other benefited. So that whoſoever ſhould be hardy enough to purſue ſuch a reſolution, would ſoon find he had gained but few friends, and many enemies; the latter of whom would be more eager to do him a miſchief than the former to defend him: mankind being naturally more prone to revenge than gratitude; ſince the one puts them to the expence of refunding, and repaying paſt favours; the other always ſeems attended with ſome degree either of pleaſure or profit." Then addreſſing himſelf in a more particular manner to Rinaldo, he told him, that if he would be pleaſed to recollect what had already happened, and conſider how baſely and perfidiouſly the Citizens of Florence commonly dealt with each other, perhaps he might not be altogether ſo ſanguine in his preſent undertaking: for that as ſoon as the promoters and adviſers of it had ſufficiently depreſſed the people by the help of his authority, they would certainly fall upon him next with the whole force and aſſiſtance of the Plebeians, whoſe affections he muſt have loſt by ſuch a conduct; and then he would be utterly deſerted and ruined. That he could not help remembring the fate of Benedetto Alberti, who, at the inſtigation of ſuch as conſpired his deſtruction, conſented to the ſevere proceedings againſt Georgio Scali and Tomaſo Strozzi, and ſoon after, was ſent into exile himſelf, by the very perſons who had inveigled him into thoſe meaſures. He adviſed him, therefore, to think more coolly of the matter, and to tread in the ſteps of his father, who, amongſt other Benefactions, had made himſelf ſo dear to his fellow Citizens, by lowering the exceſſive price of ſalt; by leaving it to the option of every one, whoſe taxes did not amount to the value of half a Florin, whether he would pay them or not; and by procuring a law to be paſſed, that no body ſhould be arreſted for debt on ſuch days as the Councils were aſſembled. He told him in ſhort, that for his own part, he ſhould

never agree to have any alterations made in the laws or conſtitutions of his Country [q].

When the ſubject of theſe deliberations came to be publickly known, it ſtill added to the reputation of Giovanni, and wonderfully increaſed the hatred which the people had already conceived againſt the other Citizens; with whom he broke off all manner of commerce, that he might not ſeem to give them any encouragement to purſue their deſigns under his countenance and authority. On the contrary, he took great pains, to convince every one in his daily converſation, that it was ſo far from his intention to blow up diſcord and faction, that he ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavours to extinguiſh them; and that he deſired nothing more than the union of the City. At which declarations, many of his followers were not a little diſappointed, as they expected to have ſeen him act with more vigour in ſuch a conjuncture; eſpecially Alamanno de' Medici, who being a man of a warm diſpoſition, was continually urging him to take this opportunity of humbling his enemies, and exalting his friends; reproaching him with his coldneſs and phlegmatic manner of proceeding, which, as he ſaid, emboldened thoſe that wiſhed him ill, to form daily conſpiracies againſt him, without any ſort of fear or reſerve, and would one time or other prove the ruin of all his family and dependants. They were ſeconded in this by Coſimo his ſon; but he was deaf to all their remonſtrances and prognoſtications, and determined to

[q] Nothing can be more diſguſtful to a free people, that have lived in peace and ſecurity under the protection of good Laws, (the neceſſity, utility, and comfort of which, have been fully evinced by a long courſe of time) than an attempt to annul them. Nor has any thing been more fatal to Princes: of which, every one muſt remember many inſtances, that would be tedious, and perhaps invidious, to recite. For, as Giovanni de' Medici ſays, in the beginning of this anſwer to Rinaldo, *where many are diſcontented, it is but natural to apprehend ſome fatal event.* Let the Reader figure to himſelf what clamours, and perhaps commotions, would enſue in this kingdom, if the *Habeas Corpus* Act, for inſtance, or any other fundamental law of our happy Conſtitution, ſhould ever be repealed; which, thank Heaven, there is no fear of at preſent. Long eſtabliſhed laws and cuſtoms recommend themſelves by their duration, and become not only venerable by antiquity, but in a manner ſacred: ſo that it is a dangerous thing to meddle with them; of which, our greateſt and wiſeſt Princes and Legiſlators have always been moſt ſenſible. Hence the celebrated ſaying, *Nolumus Angliæ leges mutari*: and, *old ways are the beſt ways*: the latter of which was formerly engraved upon the walls of the Houſe of Commons. Hence the juſt attachment and regard that has always been ſhewn to them.—The learned Sir John Forteſcue, Chancellor of England, in the time of Henry VI. ſpeaking of this kingdom in his treatiſe, *De dominio politico & regali*, ſays, "*Regnum hoc in omnibus nationum & regum temporibus, iiſdem quibus nunc regitur legibus & conſuetudinibus, regebatur.*" "The laws and cuſtoms by which this Kingdom is now governed, are the very ſame with thoſe by which it was governed in the times of all former Kings, and the ſeveral nations that have come into it." A rare example! *See State Tracts*, Vol. III. p. 269, 270. *concerning the right of Subjects to petition*, &c.

purſue

purſue his own meaſures: the deſigns of the faction, however, were now plainly diſcovered, and the City began once more to divide itſelf into parties.

There were at that time, two Chancellors preſiding in the ſupreme Court of Juſtice under the Signiory, whoſe names were [r] Martino and Paolo: the former was of Uzzano's party, the latter followed that of the Medici. Rinaldo, therefore, perceiving that Giovanni continued inflexible, and would not come into their meaſures at any rate, reſolved to turn Martino out of his office, as he thought that court would then be wholly at his devotion. But the other ſide being aware of this, were before-hand with him, and contrived matters ſo well, that they got Martino continued and Paolo diſcharged, to the great mortification and prejudice of his party. This would certainly have occaſioned great commotions in the City, if it had not happened in a time of war: for the people had not yet recovered their ſpirits ſince the defeat before Zagonara; and whilſt things were in ſuch confuſion at home, Agnolo della Pergola, the Duke's General, had taken all the towns in Romagna, that were in the poſſeſſion of the Florentines, except Caſtracaro and Modigliana; ſome of them being ſo ill fortified, that they were not in a condition to ſuſtain a ſiege, and others given up through the puſillanimity or treachery of their governors.

In the reduction of theſe towns there happened two remarkable circumſtances, which may ſerve to ſhew how much true valour and fidelity are admired, and with what deteſtation cowardice and perfidy are looked upon even by an enemy. Biagio del Melano was then Governor of the Caſtle of Monte Petroſo, which was inveſted on every ſide by the enemy; and as they at laſt ſet fire to it and he ſaw there was no poſſibility of ſaving the fortreſs, he threw a parcel of ſtraw and bedding over the walls, on that ſide where the fire had not yet ſpread itſelf, upon which he let down two of his Sons who were but infants, and told the enemy "they were welcome to them and all his other wordly goods, which indeed were now in their hands; but his honour and reputation, which he had always eſteemed his only real treaſure, he would never give up, nor was it in their power to raviſh them from him." The beſiegers, ſtruck with admiration at his Magnanimity, immediately ran to take up the children, and threw him ropes and ſcaling ladders to ſave himſelf; but he would not make uſe of them; and choſe rather to periſh in the flames, than owe his life to the enemies of his country [s]. An example of fortitude that may vie with the heroiſm

[r] The ſurnames of theſe two Magiſtrates are wanting in the original.

[s] An inſtance of the ſame kind happened at Prænesta, when it was taken by Sylla. He ordered his ſoldiers to plunder the town, and knock all the inhabitants on the head,

of Antiquity; and the more remarkable, as ſuch were but very rare in thoſe times. What effects could be ſaved from the fire were generouſly reſtored to the children, who were likewiſe ſent home to their relations: and the Republick, out of gratitude to the bravery of their father, made a handſome proviſion for them as long as they lived. Very different was the behaviour of Zanobi del Pino, governor of Galeata, who not only ſhamefully gave up that place without making any defence, but adviſed Agnolo to leave the mountains and faſtneſſes of Romagna, and deſcend into the plains of Tuſcany, where he might carry on the war with leſs danger and greater advantage. But Agnolo, deteſting his baſeneſs and cowardice, delivered him up to his own men, who, having treated him with the contempt and abhorrence he deſerved, ſhut him up in a dungeon, with nothing but a pack of cards to eat; telling him "*that* would ſoon make him a good Ghibeline, ſince he had choſen to leave the Guelphs:" but he died in a few days of hunger [*t*].

except one man, who had formerly entertained him with great hoſpitality. This man, however, when he heard of it, ſaid, he diſdained the thoughts of being obliged for his life to one that had ruined his country; and diſguiſing himſelf, he mixed in the crowd with his Fellow-citizens, and was killed. But are not theſe inſtances of madneſs rather than true valour? and if they are not, have we not many of the ſame in modern hiſtory, and ſome in that of our own nation, without recurring to Antiquity?

[*t*] As Machiavel has honoured Biagio with ſaying, that *his fortitude might vie with the heroiſm of antiquity*, he ought in juſtice to have diſtinguiſhed Zanobi too by comparing his baſeneſs with that of old times. For there were very *eminent* Poltroons and Traitors in thoſe days as well as in theſe later ages, bad as they have been: though Machiavel, like many others, ſeems to ſpeak as if the world was inhabited only by Heroes and Demi-Gods at that time of day. There have always been good and bad, brave men and cowards, and mankind ſeem to have been pretty much the ſame from the firſt accounts we have had of their actions to the preſent times. Complaints of their prodigious wickedneſs and degeneracy are not peculiar to our own: the moſt antient poets and hiſtorians, both ſacred and prophane, abound with them. If Biagio was a man *antiquæ fidei*, Zanobi likewiſe had many a vile parallel in thoſe ſo much celebrated ages. Let one ſuffice, out of the ſecond volume of the learned Dr. Leland's Life of Philip of Macedon, with the remark of a good Commentator upon it. "The Olynthians having given refuge to two brothers, who were ſuppoſed to have formed a conſpiracy againſt Philip, he ſeized this opportunity of gratifying his ambition; and upon their refuſing to deliver up the accuſed, he razed their city to the foundations; a city which for its extraordinary elegance and delightful ſituation, was celebrated through all Greece. The wretched inhabitants, without diſtinction, and without regard to condition, ſex, or age, were expoſed to public auction, and ſold to any of the Greeks who were inclined to purchaſe them.—Philip ſucceeded in the reduction of this city by bribing Euthycrates and Laſthenes, the Olynthian commanders, and ſome others, to betray their country. Theſe two principal traitors became objects of contempt and deteſtation, even to the Macedonians. The ſoldiers were continually inſulting them with the opprobrious names of traitors, parricides, and villains. They complained to Philip, and deſired his protection: but his anſwer completed their confuſion, and plainly ſhewed with what abhorrence ſuch wretches muſt ever expect to be received, even by thoſe who have been ſerved by their iniquity. *Don't mind theſe rude ill-mannered fellows*, ſaid Philip; *they are*

In the mean time, Count Oddo and Niccolo Piccinino had entered the Vale of Lamona, to try if they could prevail upon the Lord of Faenza to join the Florentines; or at leaſt to curb the excurſions of Agnolo, if poſſible, in Romagna. But as that Vale is naturally fortified with ſtrong paſſes, and the inhabitants inured to arms, the Count was ſlain and Niccolo taken priſoner and ſent to Faenza. Fortune however ſo ordered it, that the Florentines gained by the conſequence of this defeat, what they could not perhaps have obtained by a Victory: for Niccolo negotiated ſo effectually with the Lord of Faenza and his Mother, that they conſented to enter into an alliance with the Republick of Florence; in conſequence of which he was ſet at liberty. Yet he did not think fit to purſue thoſe meaſures himſelf, which he had recommended to others: for when he had received the arrears that were due to him from the Florentines, he either thought their pay too inconſiderable, or that he could have better elſewhere: upon which, he ſuddenly left Arezzo where he then reſided, and went to Duke Philip in Lombardy, who took him into his ſervice. The Florentines diſmayed at this unexpected deſertion, and the great expence they had been at to no purpoſe, began to perceive they were not any longer able to bear the burden of this war alone; and therefore ſent Ambaſſadors to entreat the Venetians to take a ſhare in it, and prevent the further progreſs of a Prince, whoſe growing power, if not timely checked, would be as prejudicial to them as to the State of Florence. The Venetians were likewiſe adviſed to it by Franciſco Carmignuola, a Commander of very great reputation in thoſe times, who had formerly ſerved under the Duke, but afterwards left him upon ſome diſguſt. They were doubtful, however, for ſome time what part to act in this matter; as they did not thoroughly confide in Carmignuola, and ſuſpected the miſunderſtanding betwixt him and the Duke was only a pretended one. But whilſt they were in this ſtate of ſuſpence, it happened that the Duke had found means to bribe one of that General's Domeſticks to give him poiſon; which, though it did not prove mortal indeed, yet very much impaired his health. Upon this, the Venetians laid aſide all ſuſpicion of Carmignuola's fidelity;

ſtrangers to all civility and good breeding, and call every thing by its proper name. The fate of theſe men was worthy of their baſeneſs: they were thus expoſed to all poſſible inſult, unprotected and deſpiſed; and either removed by a violent death, or ſuffered to languiſh in diſgrace and poverty."

The treatment which theſe vile betrayers of their country met with, verifies the proverb, that, *however we may reliſh the treaſon, we abhor the traitor.* But we leave the Reader to determine, whether it was politic in Philip to uſe theſe wretches with ſuch ſarcaſtic ſeverity. As he meditated further acquiſitions, and might again have occaſion to employ ſuch like baſe inſtruments to accompliſh his ends, was it not the way to deter others from yielding to his corrupt ſollicitations?

and the Florentines ſtill continuing to ſollicit their aid, they entered into a League with them, in which it was agreed betwixt the two States, that the war ſhould be proſecuted at their common expence; that the Venetians ſhould hold what they might happen to conquer in Lombardy, and the Florentines enjoy ſuch towns as they could reduce in Tuſcany and Romagna; and that Carmignuola ſhould be appointed Captain General of the League. In conſequence of this confederacy, the war was immediately carried into Lombardy, where it was conducted with ſuch bravery and integrity by Carmignuola, that in the courſe of a few months, he took many towns from the Duke, and at laſt made himſelf maſter of Breſcia; a city which, according to the method of making war in thoſe times, was thought impregnable.

This war having now laſted five years, that is, from 1422 to 1427, the Citizens began to be ſo grievouſly impoveriſhed by the heavy and continual impoſitions which had been laid upon them, that it was thought proper to make ſome alteration in them. In order, therefore, to proportion them according to every man's circumſtances, it was provided that perſonal eſtates ſhould be taxed as well as real, and that whoſoever had effects of that kind to the value of an hundred Florins or more, ſhould pay one half as much for every hundred as a perſon that had land or houſes of the ſame worth. And as this tax was regulated by a Law made on purpoſe, and not left to the Arbitrement of partial or intereſted perſons, it was likely to fall ſo much the more heavily upon the richer Citizens. Upon which account, it was vehemently oppoſed by them all before it paſſed into a Law, except Giovanni de' Medici, who publickly expreſſed his approbation of it; ſo that it was carried againſt them. And becauſe every man's goods were rated in this aſſeſſment, which the Florentines call *Accaſtare*, it went by the name of *Cataſto*. By this law the more powerful Citizens were in ſome meaſure reſtrained from oppreſſing the inferior ſort, and influencing their votes in the Councils, as they had been uſed to do, by the threats of taxing them accordingly as they gave their ſuffrages. This tax, therefore, was very cheerfully ſubmitted to by the generality, though highly diſguſtful to the government. But as it is the nature of mankind to be ever reſtleſs and diſcontented, and when they have gained one advantage, to be ſtill graſping at a higher, the people not ſatisfied with this equality of taxation, eſtabliſhed by the Law, demanded a retroſpect, by which it might appear how much leſs the rich Citizens had paid before, than they ought to have done according to this regulation, and every one be made to account for deficiencies; that ſo they might be put upon the ſame level with thoſe who had been obliged to ſell their goods and inheritances to diſcharge impoſitions ſo arbitrarily laid upon them. This demand

demand ſeemed ſtill more grievous than the Cataſto itſelf, to thoſe that had lately been in power, who, to evade the force of it, made heavy remonſtrances, and ſaid, " it was a moſt unjuſt diſtribution; as the tax was laid upon moveables, which often changed hands and were daily ſubject to periſh: that there were many who had concealed treaſures, the knowledge of which could not eaſily be come at: that it was hard upon thoſe who were loaded with the care of the public affairs, (to the great detriment of their own private concerns) to be equally taxed with the reſt of the Citizens; and that it might reaſonably be hoped, whilſt the Republick was ſatisfied with only the pecuniary contributions of ſome, it would not be ſo rigorous to exact both the labours and fortunes of others." To this it was anſwered by thoſe who approved of the Cataſto, " that as moveable goods changed hands, the tax might be varied accordingly; that no account was to be made of ſuch as had concealed treaſure, or money locked up in their coffers; for as wealth of that ſort did not yield any profit or intereſt, it would be unreaſonable to tax it; and whenever it was otherwiſe applied, it muſt of neceſſity be known: that if any one was tired of his labours for the good of his country, he was at liberty to reſign his employment if he pleaſed, and to give himſelf no further trouble about it; ſince it was hoped, other well-diſpoſed Citizens might be found, who would not grudge to aſſiſt the Republic both with their fortune and counſels: and that when ſo much honour, and ſo many other emoluments were the conſtant reward of ſuch as filled the great offices of State, they might think themſelves very well paid for their ſervices, without being exempted from the common taxes [*u*]. But this, they ſaid, was not the real cauſe of their

[*u*] If a perſon (ſays Mr. Bayle, in Voc. du Haillan) ſhould aſk whether thoſe, who have public employments, are as mercenary as the ſervants of a private man, the queſtion would ſeem abſurd at firſt ſight: but after due examination, it would appear a proper ſubject to be argued upon on both ſides; and one would even chuſe the affirmative ſide of the queſtion. Conſider the accounts of news-writers, both printed and not printed, and the converſation of people that have lived a long while amongſt the great. Conſult the hiſtorians who give the moſt particular relations of things; read thoſe eſpecially that publiſh Memoirs. If you will properly weigh all theſe, I make no doubt, but you will confeſs, that a poor Footman is proportionably leſs mercenary, and more generous, than moſt of thoſe that enjoy conſiderable employments, either at court or in the ſtate. They are perſons who are very ſeldom ſatisfied; they are always ready to aſk for new dignities and a larger ſalary, to complain that the reward they receive is but a poor one, to make a great ſhew of their ſervices, to murmur if they are neglected and others preferred, and to ſhew their diſcontent by their raſh and haughty proceedings. Theſe Gentlemen make no ſcruple of demanding large recompences, becauſe they perſuade themſelves, that their maſter, a King, a Sovereign Prince, and the Public, cannot come to want, though they themſelves ſuck at their vitals like the moſt greedy leeches. Let it not be objected, that ſuch a one, or ſuch a one ruined themſelves in the ſervice of their Prince, and that the whole eſtate, and the very houſes of ſuch a Lord,

murmurs;

murmurs; they were mortified that they could no longer carry on a war ſolely at the expence of others, but were now obliged to ſhare in it themſelves: that if this courſe had been taken before, there neither would have been any war with King Ladiſlaus in times paſt, nor at preſent with Duke Philip; both which were ſet on foot, without any neceſſity, and only to enrich ſome particular Citizens."

Theſe diſcontents, however, were in ſome degree allayed by the authority of Giovanni de' Medici, who repreſented to the people, the bad conſequences of retroſpects: "That it behoved them rather at preſent to look forward, and provide for the future: that if the late taxes had been heavy and unreaſonable, they ought to thank God that a way had been found to alleviate them, and to uſe their endeavours to unite, and not divide the City, as they certainly would, if they perſiſted in their demand of reducing former taxes to the level of the preſent: and that a wiſe General was ſometimes very well content with a victory, that was not altogether complete; ſince experience ſhewed, that men, by graſping at too much, often loſt what they had gained before." With theſe, and other arguments of the like nature, he ſoothed the reſentment of the people in ſuch a manner, that they dropped their demand of a retroſpect.

Soon after this, a peace was concluded with Duke Philip at Ferrara, by the mediation of a Legate from the Pope: but as it was not long before he broke the conditions of it, the League took up arms again, and came to an engagement with his forces at Maclovio, where they utterly defeated him. After which, he propoſed freſh terms to them, which were accepted by the Florentines, becauſe they grew jealous of the Venetians, and thought, that they themſelves were throwing their money away only to aggrandize others. The Venetians likewiſe, for their part, were no leſs ready to come into the accommodation; as they found Carmignuola proceeded but very ſlowly, and made little advantage of his victory, after he had routed the Duke's army: on which account, they thought it unſafe to truſt him any further. A peace there-

are ordered to be ſold. Theſe are not inſtances of generoſity: the love of their country is not the cauſe of the poverty to which they are reduced: it is owing either to their mercenary diſpoſition, or to their luxury and exceſſes. They imagined, that if they appeared at court, or in the army, with ſplendid equipages, which, after all, are not of the leaſt ſervice to the public, they ſhould the more eaſily obtain the reward they aimed at: and if at laſt they ruined themſelves, it was not for the advantage of the State, but to gratify their own pride, and other private paſſions. An Ariſtides, a Fabricius, who, after they had been raiſed to the higheſt poſts, and lived with exemplary frugality, left very little or nothing to their children indeed; but are noble inſtances of public ſpirit and love of their country. But where, adds he, are ſuch men to be met with?—*Thank Heaven, there are yet ſome ſuch to be met with in England.*

fore

fore was ſigned betwixt them in the year 1428; by which, the towns that had been taken from the Florentines in Romagna were reſtored to them, and Breſcia ceded to the Venetians; beſides which, the Duke gave them the city of Bergamo, and the Territory belonging to it. This war coſt the Florentines three millions and five hundred thouſand Ducats; a war, which only ſerved to give the Venetians an opportunity of extending their power and dominion; whilſt it produced nothing but poverty and diſſenſion amongſt themſelves. For a peace was no ſooner concluded with the Duke, but freſh Commotions began amongſt their own ſubjects. The late Governors not being able to bear the Cataſto, and ſeeing no other way to rid themſelves of it, endeavoured to raiſe a ſpirit of diſcontent in the reſt of the Citizens; that ſo they might avail themſelves of their co-operation to procure a repeal of it. For this purpoſe, they repreſented to the Commiſſioners that were appointed to levy the tax, "that they ought to ſearch all the houſes of the neighbouring towns; as the inhabitants of Florence might, perhaps, convey ſome part of their effects thither." In conſequence of which, all towns that were ſubject to the Florentines, had orders to deliver inventories of their goods to them in a certain time. But the people of Volterra would not comply with this order, and ſent ſome of their townſmen to complain of it to the Signiory, as an act of oppreſſion: at which the Commiſſioners were ſo provoked, that they ſent eighteen of them to priſon. The Volterrans likewiſe were exceedingly enraged at this treatment; but durſt not rebel at that time, for fear of bringing a heavier puniſhment upon their Deputies.

In this juncture, Giovanni de' Medici fell ſick, and finding there was no hope of recovery, he called his two Sons, Coſimo and Lorenzo, to his bed ſide, and ſpoke to them in this manner: "I perceive that I am now approaching the limits which God and Nature have preſcribed to my days. I ſhall die with pleaſure, as I leave you both, my dear children, in health and proſperity, and in a condition to live with honour, and beloved by every body, if you follow my example and inſtructions. For indeed, nothing gives me ſo much conſolation in this extremity, as the reflexion that I have never injured any man; but, on the contrary, have always endeavoured to do good to every one to the utmoſt of my power. Let me adviſe you to do the ſame. If you would live with ſafety and comfort, be content with ſuch a ſhare in the government as your fellow Citizens confer upon you; by which you will avoid envy and danger. For it is that which a man arrogates to himſelf that makes him odious, and not what is voluntarily given him: ſo you will always be upon a much ſecurer bottom and obtain more, than they, who, by attempting to invade the rights of others, often loſe their own, and in the mean time

time live in continual anxiety and diſquietude. By obſerving this conduct, I have not only preſerved, but augmented my fortune and reputation in this City, amongſt ſo many enemies and inteſtine broils: and by the ſame manner of life, it is in your power both to maintain and increaſe yours. But if you take a different courſe, you may depend upon it, your end will be like that of ſeveral others, who, in my memory, have ruined both themſelves and their families." He died not long after, extremely lamented by the whole City, as he well deſerved to be, conſidering his excellent qualities. For he was very charitable and compaſſionate, and not only gave liberally to thoſe that were in want, but prevented their aſking. His univerſal benevolence taught him to love good men, and pity the evil. He never ſollicited any Honours, though he obtained the higheſt. He never went to the palace, but when the reſt of the Signiory ſent for him. He was always averſe to war, and recommended pacific meaſures. To thoſe that were in adverſity, he was a kind friend, and promoted the welfare of ſuch as lived in proſperity. Diſdaining to plunder the public, his ſole aim was to ſerve his Country. When in power, he was affable and eaſy of acceſs to every one; exceeding wiſe, though not a man of much eloquence. He had a melancholy countenance, but was pleaſant and facetious in converſation. He died poſſeſſed of immenſe riches, and full of glory and reputation; leaving his ſon Coſimo heir to his fame and fortune; both which he not only maintained, but augmented.

The Volterran deputies being tired of their impriſonment, at laſt promiſed to comply with the order before mentioned: upon which, they were ſet at liberty, and returned to Volterra, juſt at a time when they were making an Imborſation for new Magiſtrates there: and as it happened, one Giuſto, [*x*] a Plebeian, but a man in great credit with the people, and one of thoſe that had been confined at Florence, was drawn amongſt the reſt. This man, though already ſufficiently irritated at the Florentines, both on account of the private injury which he himſelf had ſuſtained, and the indignity that was offered to the whole town, became ſtill more determined by the inſtigations of Giovanni di [*y*], a man of a noble family and his aſſociate in the Magiſtracy, to make uſe of his intereſt and authority, to wreſt the town out of the hands of the Florentines, and take the government of it upon himſelf. Upon this encouragement, Giuſto took arms, made himſelf maſter of the town, ſeized upon the Governor, and, by the conſent of the people, took the reins into his own hands. The Florentines were not a little mor-

[*x*] The Surname is wanting in the original.

[*y*] The Surname is alſo wanting here.

tified

tified at the revolt of Volterra. However, as they had concluded a peace with the Duke of Milan, they thought they ſhould have nobody to diſturb them in attempting to recover it; and therefore immediately appointed Rinaldo degli Albizi and Palla Strozzi their [z] commiſſaries to conduct the expedition. But Giuſto expecting to be moleſted in his new ſovereignty by the Florentines, ſent to deſire the aid of the Lucheſe and Sieneſe; the former of whom would not ſend him any, as they were then in amity with the State of Florence: and Paolo Guinigi, who at that time was Lord of Lucca, in order to regain the friendſhip of the Florentines (which he feared he had loſt by inclining to the intereſt of Duke Philip) not only flatly refuſed to give him any aſſiſtance, but ſent the perſon under a guard to Florence, who came to ſollicit it. Theſe commiſſaries reſolving to come upon the Volterrans before they could form any alliances, preſently drew together all their horſe, and raiſed a large body of infantry in the lower part of the Vale of Arno and the territory of Piſa, and advanced towards Volterra. Giuſto, on the other hand, was not wanting to himſelf; and though he ſaw the great preparations which the Florentines were making againſt him, and that he muſt expect no ſuccour from the neighbouring States, yet he truſted to the ſtrength and ſituation of the place, and manfully provided for his defence. There was at that time in Volterra, one Meſſer' Arcolano, a man of good intereſt amongſt the moſt conſiderable of the townſmen, and brother to that Giovanni, by whoſe perſuaſions Giuſto had been prevailed upon to take the government of it himſelf. This Arcolano having aſſembled ſeveral of his moſt truſty friends, repreſented to them how fair an opportunity providence had now given them of advancing themſelves and delivering their city out of its preſent troubles: for if they would take up arms to depoſe Giuſto and deliver up the city again into the hands of the Florentines, they would not only preſerve its ancient privileges, but become the Governors of it. To this they all readily conſented, and going directly to the Palace where Giuſto reſided, ſome of them ſtaid below ſtairs, whilſt Arcolano and three others went up into his apartment; and finding him there with ſome of the Citizens, they took him aſide, as if they had ſomething of importance to communicate to him; and having drawn him by degrees, in the courſe

[z] Commiſſaries, in the foreign ſervice, are officers that muſter the army, ſettle the procuration, conveyance, and diſtribution of proviſions, ammunition, and pay, take a particular account of every regiment, ſee that they are complete, that the horſes are in good order, and the men well armed and accoutred. They likewiſe ſometimes regulate the conduct of the General, and are a check upon his proceedings, and ſometimes command the forces themſelves, acting as *Intendant* of the army and Lieutenant General at the ſame time.

of their converſation, into another room, they ſhut the door and fell upon him with their ſwords. He had the courage however to draw his own, and deſperately wounded two of them before he fell: but not being able to deal with ſo many, he was killed at laſt, and his body thrown out of the window. After which, the reſt of Arcolano's accomplices took arms and delivered up the city to the Florentine commiſſaries; who preſently brought in their whole army and took poſſeſſion of it, without any Capitulation or terms granted to the inhabitants. So that the city was ſtill more humbled and fell into worſe circumſtances than it was in before: for beſides other marks of their indignation, the Florentines took away the greater part of their territory from them, and reduced the reſt into a Bailiwick.

Volterra being thus happily recovered, it was hoped a laſting tranquillity would have been eſtabliſhed both abroad and at home. But ambition ſoon kindled a new war. Niccolo Fortebraccio, the Son of a Siſter to Braccio da Perugia, had long ſerved the Florentines in their wars with the Duke of Milan. But after a Peace was concluded betwixt them, this commander was diſcharged from their pay, and had his quarters at Fucecchio: from whence the commiſſaries ſent for him and his troops to employ them in the reduction of Volterra. It was therefore generally believed that whilſt Rinaldo degli Albizi was engaged with him in that enterprize, he perſuaded him to pick a quarrel upon ſome pretence or other with the Luccheſe, by inſinuating to him that if he did, he would ſo order matters, that war ſhould be declared againſt Lucca, by the Florentines; and that he ſhould be appointed their commander in chief. Accordingly, as ſoon as Volterra was retaken, and Niccolo had returned to Fucecchio, (either at the ſollicitation of Rinaldo, or in conſequence of a deſign, which he himſelf had formed) he marched away in November 1429 at the head of three hundred horſe, and the ſame number of foot, and ſurprized Ruoti and Compito, two Caſtles belonging to the Luccheſe; from whence he daily made excurſions into their other territories and there committed great depredations. When the news of theſe proceedings arrived at Florence, the whole city was divided into little meetings and cabals of all ranks of the people; the generality of whom were for commencing hoſtilities againſt the Luccheſe. Amongſt the more conſiderable Citizens that favoured this undertaking, were all the followers of the Medici family, who were joined by Rinaldo degli Albizi, either becauſe he really thought it would be for the good of the Public, or that he ſhould thereby effectually ſerve his own private intereſt and ambition, and become more popular if the expedition proved ſucceſsful, by having been the adviſer and promoter of it. Thoſe that oppoſed it, were chiefly Niccolo da Uzzano and his Party.

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It ſeems almoſt incredible that there ſhould be ſuch a change of opinions in the ſame Citizens, on this occaſion, concerning the expedience of a war. And yet thoſe very perſons who, after a Peace that had laſted ten years, oppoſed a war againſt Duke Philip, which was undertaken in defence of their own liberties, now ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon one againſt Lucca, to invade the rights of others; and at a time too when the city was exhauſted and impoveriſhed to the laſt degree, by the heavy expences of the laſt. And on the contrary, thoſe Citizens who had been the moſt active and forward in promoting that war, were now as vehement in diſſuading this. From hence we may obſerve, what a wonderful alteration time uſually makes in the judgment of mankind; how much more ready they are to uſurp the property of others, than to defend their own; and how much ſtronger the hope of gain is, than the fear of loſing; the latter ſeldom operating except when the danger is imminent; but the former at all times, even when the proſpect of ſucceſs is moſt precarious and at the greateſt diſtance. And it muſt be conſidered likewiſe that the Florentines were at this time exceedingly elated with the hopes of enjoying thoſe acquiſitions, which Fortebraccio had already made and was daily increaſing; and from the Letters they received from the governors of their Fortreſſes that lay near the confines of the Luccheſe: for thoſe of Peſcia and Vico wrote to deſire commiſſions to take ſuch towns as ſurrendered, under their protection; ſince they might aſſure themſelves they would ſoon be maſters of all the territories belonging to the Luccheſe. And theſe expectations were ſtill heightened by an embaſſy ſent from Paolo Guinigi Lord of Lucca to the Signiory of Florence, to complain of the depredations made by Fortebraccio, and to entreat them not to join their enemy in making war upon a neighbouring State, which had always lived in ſtrict amity with them.

The name of this Ambaſſador was Jacopo Viviani, a man, who not long before had been thrown into priſon by Paolo Guinigi for being concerned in a conſpiracy againſt him: and as Guinigi had pardoned him, though he was found guilty, he thought he might reaſonably expect his beſt endeavours to ſerve him. But the remembrance of the danger he had eſcaped, making a deeper impreſſion upon him, than the ſenſe of the favour he had received, when he came to Florence he ſecretly adviſed the Citizens to purſue their deſigns. Flattered by this encouragement and the hopes they had already conceived, the Signiory aſſembled the *Common Council*, where the matter was debated by ſome of the leading men of the Republic, in the preſence of four hundred and ninety eight Citizens. Amongſt the chief of thoſe that promoted the enterprize, was Rinaldo degli Albizi (as was ſaid before) who ſhewed

them the advantages that would reſult from making themſelves maſters of Lucca: that they could never have a fairer opportunity than the preſent, as that State was then abandoned both by the Venetians and the Duke of Milan, and could not be relieved by the Pope, who was ſufficiently embroiled in the affairs of Naples: that the ſucceſs was certain, as the government of Lucca was then uſurped by one of its own Citizens, and had loſt much of its ancient vigour and alacrity in defending its liberties; ſo that it was more than probable it would be delivered up into their hands, either by the people, to get rid of their tyrant, or by the tyrant for fear of the people. He then recited many inſtances of Guinigi's malevolence and of the injuries he had done their Republic; aſſuring them they would find him a thorn in their ſide, and a very dangerous enemy, if they ſhould chance to be engaged in a freſh quarrel with the Duke, or the Pope; and concluded with ſaying, "that no war was ever entered into by the State of Florence with more juſtice on its ſide, or more likely to be attended with ſucceſs and advantage to the public."

In anſwer to this, Niccolo da Uzzano ſaid, "that on the contrary, he could not help being of opinion that they had never engaged in any undertaking that was more unjuſt, or more hazardous, or more likely to be of fatal conſequence to the State. That in the firſt place, they were going to declare war againſt a city of the Guelph party, which at all times had been a friend to the Florentines, and had often received the Guelphs with open arms, and with great peril and prejudice to itſelf, when they were not ſuffered to live at peace and ſafety at home. That there was no inſtance to be found in the annals of the Common-wealth of any offence that the Luccheſe had ever given them: that if thoſe who at different times had uſurped the government of their State, as Caſtruccio formerly, and Guinigi at preſent, had done them any injury, it ought not to be imputed to the Citizens, but to the Tyrant that ruled over them. That if they could make war upon one, without hurting the other, he ſhould not be againſt it: but ſince that was impoſſible, he thought it moſt cruel and unjuſt, that a people with whom they had always lived in amity and alliance, ſhould be plundered and ſtripped of their goods and territories without any cauſe or offence: that however, as they lived in an age when little account was made of juſtice, he ſhould drop that conſideration, and confine himſelf chiefly to what regarded common utility and the welfare of the Republic. Thoſe meaſures, he ſaid, might be eſteemed good and ſafe, and therefore profitable, which were not liable to be attended with loſs or damage: but he did not ſee how any one could call that undertaking profitable, where the loſs was certain, and the gain precarious. The certainty of loſs proceeded from the expence it muſt occaſion; the greatneſs of which was enough

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to alarm even a city that had long lived in tranquillity, but much more their own, which had already been ſufficiently harraſſed and exhauſted by a tedious and devouring war. The profit they might expect to reap was the acquiſition of Lucca, which he confeſſed, was conſiderable: but the difficulties and uncertainty of ſucceeding in that ought likewiſe to be remembered, and appear'd to him ſo great, that he thought it impoſſible. For it was not to be imagined that either the Venetians or the Duke of Milan would ſuffer them to make ſuch a conqueſt, though the former perhaps might conceal their deſigns at preſent, not to ſeem ungrateful to the Florentines, at whoſe expence they had lately enlarged their dominions ſo conſiderably: and the latter would be glad to ſee them entangled in a new war, and impoveriſhed with freſh expences, that ſo he might fall upon them again with greater advantage. That in the mean time, when they vainly thought themſelves ſureſt of ſucceſs, he would find ſome means or other, of ſupplying the Luccheſe with money either publickly or privately; and if that was not ſufficient, he might pretend to diſband his troops and ſend them as ſoldiers of fortune into their ſervice. Upon which account, he would adviſe them to give up the enterprize, and rather endeavour to excite the people of Lucca to riſe againſt their Tyrant; for if nothing elſe would ſatisfy ſome perſons but the acquiſition of that city, he thought there was no way ſo likely to effect it, as to ſuffer them to live under the oppreſſion and inſolence of the uſurper. For if the matter was conducted with prudence, things might ſoon be brought to ſuch a paſs there, that the tyrant would not be able to ſupport himſelf in his government, and the Citizens not knowing how to govern of themſelves, muſt of neceſſity give it up to them. But that he ſaw the Council in a manner already determined, and that his advice was not liſtened to. However, he would take upon him to propheſy, that the war would be attended with a very grievous expence and much danger; that inſtead of making themſelves maſters of Lucca, they would only enable it to ſhake off its preſent yoke; and from a weak and oppreſſed city that was in amity with them, it would become a free State, and an enemy too; which in time might prove no inconſiderable obſtacle to the aggrandizement of their own Republic."

After both ſides of the queſtion had been thoroughly canvaſſed, they proceeded as uſual to [*a*] a ballot; by which it appeared, that out of ſo great a number, there were only ninety eight againſt a war. It was

[*a*] A manner of voting in elections, debates, or criminal cauſes by dropping black or white balls, called *Balotes* by the French, into a box or bag or ſomething of that kind; the white ones ſignifying aſſent, the black ones diſſent: by which every man is at liberty to vote according to his conſcience, not being in awe of any one, or fear of having it known which way he gave his vote: the majority of white balls determining *for* the queſtion, of black balls *againſt* it. This ſeems to be a very equitable manner therefore

therefore reſolved upon; and ten Citizens being appointed to conduct it, they raiſed both horſe and foot, made Aſtorre Gianni and Rinaldo degli Albizi their commiſſaries, and agreed with Niccolo Fortebraccio to be their Commander in chief, on condition that he ſhould be ſuffered to keep poſſeſſion of the towns and fortreſſes he had already taken. When the commiſſaries arrived with their troops in the territories of Lucca they divided their army; Aſtorre marching with one part through the plains towards Camaggiore and Pietra Santa; and Rinaldo towards the mountains with the other; imagining that when all communication was cut off with the Country, the city muſt ſoon fall into their hands. But this expedition proved unfortunate to them both in the end: for though they took ſeveral towns, yet their conduct was highly cenſured by the Public; and Aſtorre's indeed with great reaſon.

There is a Vale near Pietra Santa called Seravezza, which at that time was very rich and full of inhabitants, who hearing of the commiſſary's approach, went out to meet him, and entreated him to receive them into his protection, as faithful ſubjects to the State of Florence. Upon which, Aſtorre ſeeming to accept their ſubmiſſion with pleaſure, ordered his forces to ſeize upon all the paſſes and ſtrong places in the Vale: and having aſſembled them all in their principal Church, he kept them priſoners there, and cauſed his ſoldiers to plunder and ravage the whole Country, with unheard of avarice and barbarity; not ſparing even the conſecrated places, or women of any degree or profeſſion whatſoever. When the news of theſe proceedings arrived at Florence, not only the Magiſtracy but the whole city was exceedingly offended. And ſome of the Seravezzans, who had eſcaped from the commiſſary, flying directly to Florence, made ſuch grievous complaints and lamentations to every one they met in the ſtreets, that many of the Citizens, who either

of proceeding, and is of great antiquity. In the trial of criminal cauſes at Rome, an *A* upon the Balots which the Judges threw into an Urn, ſignified the whole word *Abſolvo*, or, *I abſolve the perſon accuſed:* whence Cicero calls *A*, *Litera ſalutaris*, *a ſaving letter*. They had other Balots with a *C* upon them which ſignified *Condemno*, *I condemn the perſon accuſed:* and others likewiſe marked with the letters *N* and *L*. *Non Liquet*, to order that the matter ſhould be further enquired into: as the Judges hereby declared, that it was not ſufficiently plain, and that they would not decide it whilſt it remained ſo. This was alſo ſometimes expreſſed *viva voce*, by the word *Amplius*, as we may learn from the following paſſage in Cicero: "Cauſam pro Publicanis dixit Cælius. Conſules re auditâ *amplius* de Concilii ſententiâ pronunciârunt. Cælius pleaded for the publicans. The conſuls, after they had heard him, by the advice of the Senate, pronounced, *let this matter be further enquired into.*" The Greeks likewiſe uſed this cuſtom in their criminal cauſes, baniſhments or oſtraciſms, ſo called from writing the ſentence or acquittal upon oyſter-ſhells, or by throwing black or white beans into a covered Urn. It is a pity it is not ſtill continued in all great aſſemblies, as it ſeems ſo well calculated to prevent corruption. Some interpret the ſaying of Pythagoras, *abſtine a fabis*, as an admonition not to meddle in public affairs, eſpecially in ſentences.

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thought Aſtorre deſerved to be ſeverely puniſhed for theſe miſdeeds, or hated him becauſe he was not of their party, adviſed them to apply to *the Council of Ten*, and deſire an audience; which being granted, one of them thus addreſſed himſelf to the Council. "We humbly truſt, Magnificent Lords, that you will give credit to our report, and compaſſionate our unhappy condition, when you ſhall have heard in what manner your commiſſary has ſeized upon our Country, and how we have been ſince treated by him. Our Vale, as the records of your city will amply teſtify, has ever been of the Guelph party, and often afforded a ſecure retreat to ſuch of your Citizens as fled to it from the perſecution of the Ghibelines. Both our anceſtors and ourſelves have at all times ſhewn the higheſt regard for this renowned Common-wealth, as the head and ſupport of our party: and whilſt the Luccheſe continued to avow the ſame principles, we voluntarily ſubmitted to their government: but ſince they are fallen under the dominion of a Tyrant who has forſaken his former allies, and gone over to the Ghibelines, we have obeyed him indeed, but it has been out of conſtraint, and not any good will or inclination of our own. We call God to witneſs how often we have prayed his Divine providence to give us an opportunity of ſhewing our affection to our ancient friends. But how fallacious are the hopes of men! what we thought would have been our redemption, has proved our utter ruin. For when we had intelligence that your Standard was advancing towards our Vale, we came out to meet the commiſſary, not as an enemy, but a ſervant of our ancient maſters, and delivered up our Country, our fortunes, and our perſons into his hands, recommending ourſelves to his protection, upon a preſumption that he had the ſoul, if not of a Florentine, at leaſt of a man. But pardon our freedom, we beſeech you, Magnificent Lords, (ſince the reflection that our misfortunes are already ſo great that they cannot be increaſed, inſpires us with this degree of confidence) your commiſſary has nothing of a man but the ſhape, nor of a Florentine but the name. He is a Peſtilence, a wild Beaſt, and ſuch a monſter of luſt and cruelty, as was never let looſe upon any people before. For having drawn us all together into one of our Churches under the pretence of a conference, he firſt made us priſoners, and then carried fire and ſword through the whole Vale, plundering and murdering the men, violating the chaſtity of the married women, and tearing thoſe that were unmarried from the arms of their mothers, to deliver them up to the brutality of his mercileſs ſoldiers. If we had provoked him to theſe barbarities by any injury done either to himſelf or the Republic of Florence; or if we had ſo much as taken up arms in our own defence, we ſhould have had the leſs reaſon to complain; nay we ſhould have juſtly condemned ourſelves, for bringing them upon our

own heads, and conſidered them as a puniſhment due to our arrogance. But as we delivered up ourſelves, freely and unarmed, into his hands; to be afterwards treated in this inhuman manner, exceeds all patience and juſtifies our bittereſt lamentations. And though we might have made not only Lombardy but every part of Italy ring with a recital of our ſorrows, to the great diſgrace of this city; we did not think ourſelves at liberty to do ſo however, for fear of ſtaining the reputation of ſo beneficent and honourable a Republic with an imputation of crimes committed by the malevolence and villany of a private ſubject; whoſe unexampled avarice (if we had known the man before) we would have endeavoured to ſatiate if poſſible (though indeed it ſeems to have no bounds) by ſacrificing one part of our eſtates, to preſerve the other; that ſo we might have eſcaped irretrievable ruin. But ſince that is now too late, and we have no refuge left to fly to but your compaſſion, we beſeech you, Magnificent Lords, to pity the miſerable condition of your poor and deſtitute ſubjects; leſt others hereafter may be deterred by our example from putting themſelves under your protection. If the greatneſs of our ſufferings is not ſufficient to move pity, let the fear of God's vengeance, however, excite you to puniſh the wretches who have ſo impiouſly dared to rifle and burn his churches, and to maſſacre the people, whom they had ſo baſely betrayed, before his very altars." And having thus ſaid, they threw themſelves at their feet, weeping and imploring them to cauſe their goods and eſtates to be reſtored; and ſince their honour could never be repaired, that they might at leaſt have the conſolation of ſeeing their wives returned to their huſbands, and their daughters to their parents".

The enormity of theſe facts, ſupported not only by common fame, but the teſtimony of the ſufferers themſelves, enflamed the Magiſtracy to ſuch a degree, that Aſtorre was not only recalled immediately, but caſheered, and rendered for ever incapable of being employed again in the ſervice of the Republic. A ſtrict ſearch was likewiſe made after the effects of the Seravezzans, and what could be found was reſtored to the owners; for the reſt they were afterwards indemnified at the expence of the Republic.

Rinaldo degli Albizi was alſo accuſed of carrying on the war in ſuch a manner as tended only to his own private advantage, without any regard to that of the Common-wealth. They ſaid, that after he was appointed commiſſary, he thought no more of the reduction of Lucca, but employed himſelf in plundering the Country to ſtock his own eſtate with the cattle, and furniſh his houſe with the ſpoil of others. That he was not content with the booty he had amaſſed himſelf, but bought up all that had been taken by the common ſoldiers: ſo that inſtead of a com-

miſſary, he was become a Pawn-broker. Theſe calumnies exceedingly mortified his pride, (for he was a haughty, though an honeſt and upright man) and raiſed his paſſions to ſuch a height, as was not conſiſtent with the character of his gravity and wiſdom. He therefore took poſt full of rage and indignation againſt the Magiſtrates, and without waiting for their leave, immediately returned to Florence, and preſented himſelf before the Council of Ten; whom he told without any ceremony or reſerve, "that he well knew, how difficult and dangerous a thing it was, to ſerve an unbridled People, and a divided State; ſince the one was carried away with every rumour; the other, put a malicious interpretation upon actions that were doubtful, and always puniſhed the evil, but never rewarded the good. So that if a commander ſucceeded in an expedition, he had no praiſe at all; if he was guilty of an error, his conduct was cenſured by the generality; but if he miſcarried, he was ſure to be condemned by every one: for in one caſe, his own party would envy his ſucceſs, and his adverſaries not fail to inſult him in the other. That, however, he had never been diſcouraged by the fear of idle ſlander and undeſerved reproach, from purſuing any undertaking, that he was convinced would be of real advantage to his Country. That indeed, the aſperſions ſo unjuſtly thrown upon him at preſent, had overcome his patience and diſcompoſed his uſual temper. That he adviſed them to be more ready to defend the reputation of their ſervants for the future, if they expected to be cheerfully and effectually ſerved by them: and ſince it was not the cuſtom of the Florentines to honour their Citizens with Triumphs, it might be hoped at leaſt they would protect them againſt calumny and unjuſt accuſations. That they ought to remember that they themſelves were likewiſe officers in the ſame Republic, and liable at any time to be traduced in the ſame vile manner, and then they would find how grievous ſuch treatment was to men of honour and integrity."

Upon theſe remonſtrances, the Council endeavoured to appeaſe his reſentment as much as they could at preſent; but gave the further care of conducting that expedition to Neri di Gino and Alamanno Salviati; who inſtead of ravaging the Country, determined to advance directly to Lucca with their forces; which, as it was then very cold weather, had retired into winter quarters at Capannole. But the commiſſaries who deſigned to draw nearer, and inveſt the town without further loſs of time, having ordered them to march out and encamp before it, the ſoldiers flatly refuſed to ſtir in that ſevere ſeaſon of the year; though the Council of Ten had likewiſe ſent them ſtrict orders to advance, and ſaid they would admit of no excuſe.

There was at that time in Florence, one Philip Brunelleſchi, a celebrated Painter and Architect, many of whoſe paintings and buildings are yet to be ſeen in Florence [*b*]: and for which the Citizens thought themſelves ſo much obliged to him, that after his death, they erected a marble Statue to his memory in the principal Church, with an inſcription upon it ſetting forth his great merit and excellency in thoſe arts. This Philip having reconnoitred the courſe of the River Serchio and the ſituation of Lucca, informed the Council of Ten, that he would undertake to lay that city under water; and ſo far convinced them of the practicability of his deſign, that they gave him a Commiſſion to put it in execution. But this project had a very different effect, and occaſioned ſuch diſorder amongſt the Florentine troops that it ſaved the city. For the Luccheſe being aware of it, immediately threw up a ſtrong bank, quite acroſs the meadows through which they were diverting the current of the River upon them. After which, they cut a ſluice one night in the bank of the Channel which the enemy had made; through which the water preſently took its courſe, and being oppoſed by the Dam, began to riſe in ſuch a manner upon the plain above, where the Florentine army had at laſt encamped, that inſtead of advancing any further, they were forced to raiſe their Camp and abandon the enterprize for that time.

This expedition having proved unſucceſsful, the new Council of Ten which had lately been appointed, ſent Giovanni Guicciardini to ſuperſede the late commiſſaries; who ſat down with his army as near the town as he could. The Lord of Lucca therefore, ſeeing himſelf cloſely beſieged, ſent Sylveſtro Trenta and Ludovico Bonviſi to ſollicit relief from the Duke of Milan, by the advice of Antonio del Roſſo, who at that time reſided with him as envoy from the Republic of Siena. But theſe Deputies finding him unwilling to ſend any ſuccour to their maſter,

[*b*] At length (ſays Voltaire) wealth and liberty excited the genius as well as the courage of the nation. In Florence Brunelleſchi began to revive the ancient taſte of Architecture. Giotto was remarkable for his Paintings, and Boccaccio aſcertained the Italian language. Guido of Arezzo invented the new method of muſical notes. In Petrarch and Dante there is a great number of paſſages wherein we admire the vigour of the Ancients joined to the freſhneſs of the moderns. What gave modern Rome ſome ſuperiority over the ancient, was the Cupola of St. Peters. There were only three antique monuments of this kind extant in the world; part of the dome of the temple of Minerva at Athens, the dome of the Pantheon at Rome, and that of the great Moſque at Conſtantinople, formerly St. Sophia's, built by Juſtinian. But theſe Cupolas, though ſufficiently raiſed on the inſide, were too flat without. Brunelleſchi, the reſtorer of Architecture in Italy in the fifteenth century, remedied this defect in the cathedral of Florence, by building two Cupolas one within the other; but thoſe Cupolas had ſomething of the Gothic, and were not in juſt proportion. *Vol.* ii. *part* iii. p. 5. *and Vol.* iii. *part* vi. *p.* 104.

5 aſſured

aſſured him privately in their own name and that of the people of Lucca, that if he would ſend a body of troops to their aſſiſtance, they would ſeize upon the Tyrant, and deliver both him and the town into his hands: but if he did not, the Tyrant would certainly give up the town to the Florentines, who had offered him very advantageous terms. This ſuggeſtion wrought ſo effectually upon the Duke, that he immediately laid aſide all reſerve, and ordered Count Franciſco Sforza, his General, publicly to demand a paſſage for his troops through the territories of Lucca, into the Kingdom of Naples: which being granted, he advanced with them to Lucca; though the Florentines, who ſaw through his deſign, ſent to deſire their common friend Boccacino Alamanni, to diſſuade him from it. But upon the arrival of Sforza at Lucca, they withdrew their forces to Libraſatta, and the other went to lay ſiege to Peſcia, of which Paolo da Diacetto was then Governor; but he baſely abandoned it and fled to Piſtoia; ſo that if it had not been better defended by Giovanni Malavolti, Commander of the Garriſon there, it muſt have fallen into the enemy's hands. The Count, however, not being able to carry it by aſſault, marched away to Buggiano, which he took, and burnt the Caſtle of Stiliano, a neighbouring fortreſs. Upon which, the Florentines not a little chagrined at theſe devaſtations, reſolved to have recourſe to a remedy that had often been of great ſervice to them in times of danger and diſtreſs; knowing by experience, that mercenary ſoldiers might generally be corrupted, when they could not otherwiſe be oppoſed. For this purpoſe, they offered the Count a ſum of money, provided he would give Lucca up to them and quit the Country: and the Count finding he was not likely to ſqueeze any great matter out of the Luccheſe, ſoon began to lend an ear to thoſe that could better feed his avarice. He therefore agreed with the Florentines, not abſolutely to deliver Lucca into their hands, which he could not for ſhame comply with, but to draw his forces from it, upon payment of fifty thouſand Ducats. After which treaty, in order to engage the Luccheſe to excuſe his proceedings to the Duke, he determined to aſſiſt them in depoſing their Tyrant.

Antonio del Roſſo, the Sieneſe envoy, was then in Lucca, as we have ſaid before; and by the Duke's authority began to enter into meaſures with the Citizens for that purpoſe: the principal of whom were Pietro Cennami and Giovanni da Chivizano. And this they did the more freely, as Lanzilao the Tyrant's Son, was then with Sforza, who lay encamped upon the banks of the Serchio, at a little diſtance from the town. The Conſpirators therefore, taking arms, to the number of forty, went directly to Guinigi's houſe in the dead of the night; who being awaked by the noiſe they made, came down to them trembling

and frighted, and desired to know what they wanted. To which Cennami made answer, "that, as they had been so long oppressed by him within the walls, and reduced to such straits by an enemy without, that they were every day in danger of perishing either by famine or the sword, they were now resolved to govern themselves; and therefore demanded the Keys and treasure of the city to be delivered to them." Guinigi replied, "that the treasure was all spent, but the keys and himself were at their service: that he hoped however, as his reign had both begun and been continued till that time without blood, there would be none shed at the conclusion of it." Upon which submission his life was spared for that time: but Sforza took both him and his Son along with him to the Duke at Milan, where they died not long after in prison.

At the departure of the Count, the Luccheſe being freed from the yoke of their Tyrant, and the Florentines from the fear of the Duke's forces; one side began to prepare for their defence, and the other to renew hostilities. The latter having appointed the Count of Urbino their Commander in chief, laid close siege to the town, and reduced the Luccheſe to such extremities, that they were obliged to make fresh application to the Duke, who under the same pretext that he had before sent Count Sforza, now sent Niccolo Piccinino to their succour. But the Florentines resolving to dispute his passage over the Serchio, as he was advancing to relieve the town, came to an engagement with him upon the banks of the River; in which they received so great an overthrow, that only the commissary and a very few of his men escaped the hands of the enemy, and fled to Pisa. This defeat threw the city of Florence into the utmost consternation; and as the expedition had been undertaken almost by general consent, the people not knowing against whom else to turn their rage, began to abuse those that had conducted the war (since they could not well tell how to blame those who by their own instigation had first advised it) and revived their old calumnies against Rinaldo degli Albizi. But the person whom they fell upon with the greatest virulence was Giovanni Guicciardini, who, they said, might easily have put an end to the war after the departure of Count Sforza, if he had not been bribed: nay, they went so far as to charge him with sending a horse load of money to his own house, and particularly mentioned the names both of those that carried, and those that received it. These clamours and accusations made such a noise, that the Captain of the People could not help taking cognizance of so public a charge; especially as he was likewise importunately called upon so to do by Giovanni's enemies. Having cited him therefore to clear himself of this imputation, he made his appearance, but with much seeming indignation, and con-

tempt of their malice: and his relations exerted themſelves ſo ſtrenuouſly for the honour of their family, that the Captain was obliged to ſtop all further proceedings againſt him.

The Luccheſe after their late victory not only recovered the towns they had loſt, but poſſeſſed themſelves of all the territories of Piſa, except Bientina, Calcinaia, Livorno (or Leghorn) and Librafatta: and if a conſpiracy had not been diſcovered, which was formed in Piſa, that city would alſo have been loſt amongſt the reſt. The Florentines however recruited their army, and put it under the Command of Micheletto, [c] who had been bred up under Sforza. The Duke on the other hand, did not fail to purſue his advantage; and in order to defeat all future attempts of the Florentines more effectually, he prevailed upon the Genoeſe, the Sieneſe, and the Lord of Piombino, to enter into a league for the defence of Lucca and to take Piccinino into their pay: which laſt circumſtance ſo plainly diſcovered his deſigns, that the Florentines likewiſe renewed their confederacy with the Venetians. Upon this, open hoſtilities were immediately commenced in Lombardy and Tuſcany, where the war was carried on, and ſeveral ſkirmiſhes enſued with various ſucceſs on each ſide: till at laſt they were both ſo tired, that a general Peace was concluded in the Month of May 1433: by which it was agreed, that whatſoever towns had been taken by the Florentines, Luccheſe and Sieneſe ſhould be mutually reſtored to their former poſſeſſors.

During the courſe of this war abroad, the factious humours began to ferment again at home; and Coſimo de' Medici, after the deceaſe of Giovanni, began to act with greater ſpirit in public affairs, and with more openneſs and zeal for the good of his friends, than ever his father had done: ſo that thoſe that rejoyced at the death of Giovanni, were not a little damped at the proceedings of his Son. Coſimo, was a man of very great prudence, of a ſedate and agreeable countenance, exceeding liberal and humane: never entering into any meaſures that would be pernicious to the State, or even the party that he oppoſed; but taking all opportunities of doing good to every one, and of conciliating to himſelf the affections of his fellow-citizens by his goodneſs and generoſity. So noble an example of benevolence, greatly increaſed the hatred which the public had already conceived againſt the governing party, when they compared their manner of life with his; and at the ſame time was the beſt method he thought he could take, to enable himſelf either to live with reputation and ſecurity in Florence, or to get the better of any perſecution that the malice of his enemies might raiſe againſt him, by

[c] The ſurname is wanting.

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the intereſt he had with the people, and even, if neceſſary, by force of arms. There were two Citizens that contributed more than any of the reſt to promote this intereſt, whoſe names were Averardo de' Medici, and Puccio de' Pucci: the one by his boldneſs and activity, the other by his great wiſdom and experience, which added much reputation to his party. And indeed the judgment and authority of the latter were ſo generally revered, that he gave name to the party, which was not called Coſimo's, but Puccio's party.

In this divided ſtate of the City, the expedition againſt Lucca was undertaken; which inſtead of extinguiſhing the rage of faction, ſtill added fuel to it. For though Puccio's party had promoted and adviſed a war, yet thoſe of the other ſide were chiefly employed in conducting it, as they had greater power in the government. And ſince Averardo de' Medici and his friends could not by any means prevent this, they took every opportunity of defaming them and calumniating their actions: ſo that when they met with any misfortune (as they did with ſeveral) it was not imputed to the ſuperior ſtrength or better management of the enemy, but to the miſconduct and imprudence of the Commiſſary. This was the occaſion that the enormities committed by Aſtorre Gianni, though very great indeed of themſelves, were ſtill exaggerated. It was this ſort of treatment that provoked Rinaldo degli Albizi to ſuch a degree, that he left his command without permiſſion. This was the true cauſe of Giovanni Guicciardini being cited to appear before the Captain of the People. From hence proceeded all the charges and complaints that were exhibited againſt other Magiſtrates and Commiſſaries: and whilſt thoſe that had any foundation were always aggravated, and ſometimes ſupported by downright falſehood, the people greedily ſwallowed all, whether true or falſe, out of the hatred they bore to them. And though Niccolò da Uzzano, and the other heads of that party, were ſufficiently aware of theſe baſe artifices, and had ſeveral private meetings to conſider of proper means to prevent the effect of them, yet they could not fix upon any expedient. It was very dangerous, they knew, to connive at them, and not leſs ſo to proceed to open violence. Uzzano himſelf was averſe to any remedies of that kind. But Niccolò Barbadori, ſeeing they were harraſſed in this manner with war abroad, and faction at home, took an opportunity of going one day to viſit him at his own houſe, where he found him very thoughtful and alone in his ſtudy; and as he himſelf wiſhed to ſee the ruin of Coſimo, he left no method untried to prevail upon Uzzano to join with Rinaldo degli Albizi to drive him out of the City.

After ſome pauſe, Uzzano replied, "It would be much better for yourſelf and your family too, Barbadori, and for the Common-wealth in general,

general, if both you and all others that propoſe ſuch meaſures, had [*d*] beards of ſilver inſtead of gold, as your name imports: for then every one might hope for wiſe and wholeſome counſel from grey hairs and long experience. Common prudence, however, I ſhould think, would be ſufficient to induce thoſe that adviſe the expulſion of Coſimo, in the firſt place, to compare their own ſtrength with his. Our party, it ſeems, is now diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Nobility*, and the other, by that of the *Plebeians*. But ſuppoſing there was any juſt reaſon for that diſtinction at preſent, ſucceſs in ſuch an undertaking would ſtill appear very dubious; and we ought rather to fear the worſt, than hope for any good from it, when we remember the fate of the ancient Nobility of this City, who at laſt were utterly ſuppreſſed in their conteſts with the Plebeians. And we have ſtill fewer advantages on our ſide than they had: for our party is diſmembered, whilſt that of our adverſaries is compact and entire. Neri di Gino and Nerone di Nigi, two of the chief men in the City, have not yet declared themſelves, and it is uncertain what ſide they will take. Several families are divided amongſt themſelves; and many there are that hate us, and favour our adverſaries, merely out of envy or malice to their own brothers, or ſome other near relations. Some of the moſt conſiderable of whom, I ſhall mention; the reſt will naturally occur to your own memory and obſervation. Amongſt the ſons of Maſo degli Albizi, Luca, out of hatred to Rinaldo, is gone over to the other ſide. In the family of the Guicciardini, Pietro, the ſon of Luigi, is a mortal enemy to his brother Giovanni, and joins our adverſaries. Tomaſo and Niccolò Soderini openly oppoſe us out of picque to their uncle Franciſco. So that if we conſider the quality of thoſe that conſtitute their party, and of whom our own conſiſts, I ſee no reaſon why one ſhould be called the *Nobility* in preference to the other. If it is becauſe *they* are followed by the whole body of the Plebeians; that very circumſtance makes them ſo much ſuperior to us, that if ever we come to an open trial of our ſtrength, we ſhall not be able to ſtand before them. And if we ſtill continue in poſſeſſion of the firſt places in the Common-wealth, *that* is entirely owing to the eſtabliſhed credit of an adminiſtration, which has now ſupported itſelf for the ſpace of fifty years. But if things ſhould come to extremities, and our preſent weakneſs be diſcovered, you may depend upon it, we ſhould be forced out of the Magiſtracy, perhaps to our utter deſtruction. If it be ſaid,

[*d*] Barba d'oro, in the Italian, ſignifies *a beard of gold*. This is therefore one of thoſe little puns, or *concetti*, from which the very beſt authors that wrote in Machiavel's time, and long after, are not altogether free. They were not peculiar to Italy; for we find them ſcattered in great plenty (the more is the pity) through the works of the firſt rate Genius's of our own country.

that

that the juſtice of our cauſe will increaſe our reputation, and diminiſh that of our enemies; I anſwer, that it is neceſſary the people ſhould firſt be convinced, that it really is a juſt one: and how can that be done, ſince it muſt plainly appear, that the motives of our proceedings are founded merely upon a jealouſy that Coſimo *may* attempt to uſurp a ſovereignty over this Republic. If we entertain ſuch ſuſpicions of him ourſelves, others are ſo far from doing it, that they accuſe *us* of thoſe very deſigns with which we charge *him*. What reaſon is there for theſe apprehenſions, they will ſay, except that he freely lends money to every one that wants it: not only to private people, but to the public, upon any exigency, and to foreigners as well as Florentines: that he is a friend to ſuch as ſtand in need of protection; or becauſe he ſometimes helps to advance an acquaintance to a reputable employment in the Common-wealth, by the intereſt which his univerſal benevolence has gained him amongſt the people? What then ſhall we be able to plead as an excuſe for endeavouring to expel him the City? Shall we accuſe him of being charitable, friendly, liberal, and beloved by every one? Tell me, I pray you, what law prohibits or condemns charity, liberality, and beneficence. Indeed theſe virtues are ſometimes counterfeited to cajole the vulgar, by ſuch as aſpire to dominion; but they do not appear in that light at preſent, nor is it in our power to make them; we have loſt our reputation by our late miſconduct; and a people naturally prone to faction, and corrupted by continual diviſions, will no longer put any confidence in us, or give credit to ſuch accuſations. But ſuppoſe we ſhould ſucceed ſo far as to get him baniſhed (which indeed might poſſibly be done if the Signiory would concur in it) how ſhould we prevent his return, when he has ſo many powerful friends left in the City, who would never reſt till they had got him recalled? This would be to no purpoſe therefore, whilſt his intereſt is ſo great, and the remembrance of his benevolence ſo freſh upon the minds of the people: and the more we ſhould baniſh of his declared friends, the more we ſhould augment the number of our own ſecret enemies. So that when he returned, as he certainly would do in a ſhort time, we ſhould find, that we had done nothing more, than baniſh a good man, and bring back a bad one, as his diſpoſition would be altered by thoſe that had procured his reſtoration; to whom he would think himſelf under ſuch obligations, that he could not oppoſe them in any thing. But, if it is intended to put him to death in a judicial manner, that can never be effected; for as he is rich, and the magiſtracy corrupt, he will be ſure to eſcape all puniſhment. But let us ſuppoſe he ſhould be condemned, or perhaps never return from exile; I cannot perceive what the Common-wealth would gain by that: for no ſooner will it be free from the apprehenſions it

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was under from Cosimo, but it will be liable to the same from Rinaldo. For my own part, I am one of those that never desire to see one Citizen exceed another in authority. And if one of these two must seize the reins, I know not of any reason that should induce me to prefer Rinaldo to Cosimo. I have nothing further to add, but that I pray God to preserve this City from ever falling under the dominion of any one man; but, if a time should ever come when our sins shall bring that judgment upon us, I pray still more earnestly, that we may not become subject to Rinaldo. Let me exhort you, therefore, not to persist in a design that is every way so full of danger, nor to imagine that you shall be able to get the better of the multitude by the co-operation of so few assistants as you will have: for take my word for it, the far greater part of the Citizens, some out of stupidity, and others out of malice, are thoroughly disposed to sell their country; and fortune has been so favourable to them as to provide a purchaser. Take my advice then for once; endeavour to live quietly; and as to any invasion of our liberties, be assured, that you have as much to apprehend from our own party, as the other. When troubles arise, take no side [e], for by standing neuter,

[e] "It is a man's duty, said a celebrated but unhappy Prelate of our Church, to keep himself always from embarking in parties and factions, and falling with vehemence into all the interests and designs of them. This will necessarily, in time, embitter his spirits, and sour his humour, make him like and dislike men implicitly, and lead him into many resentments which he hath nothing to do with." *Bishop Atterbury's Sermons, published by Dr. Moore*, vol. ii. p. 335. This passage occurs in that upon *Rom.* xii. 18. The author of Dr. Asheton's Life (an eminent Divine, who died at the beginning of this century) says, p. 39. "That he had narrowly observed the conduct of all parties in every reign, during the course of his life: that he saw the madness of the people, and how designing men can seduce them to proclaim Hosannas at one time, and demand crucifixion at another: that he was aware of the mean selfishness, ambition, and violence of the best parties; which gave him the same idea of parties in general; and consequently was sensible of the expedience of those precautions recommended by Archbishop Dawes, in his Sermon upon the 30th of January, "That we ought to take care not to list ourselves as thorough members of any party."—It is no extraordinary thing, says a very celebrated author, to see persons die in that party, which they declared for, at the rise of a faction, or the beginning of a revolution. But if such an undertaking is a long time in carrying on; if it is attended with various consequences and events, sometimes favourable, sometimes disadvantageous: you will find, generally speaking, that the same persons forsake and join again with the same party three or four times: and if they end as they began, it is sometimes owing to mere chance. Death surprizes them perhaps at their return to their first lodgings: a few years more, very likely, might have furnished them with reasons to go over to some other party. Those that have been most constant, have generally been such as have either engaged in rebellion, or by some other way have exasperated the Prince or State to which they were subject, in such a manner, that they could not depend upon a pardon, though promised in the most solemn manner. Solon's maxim was, that in civil wars and troublesome times, an honest man ought to declare himself for the weakest and most dangerous party, like that of Cato,

"Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni."

you will be upon good terms with every one, and advantage yourself, without prejudicing your Country."

These diſtraſions, in ſome meaſure, cooled Barbadori's reſolution: ſo that the City continued tolerably quiet, till the war with Lucca was over. But a peace being concluded, and Uzzano dying ſoon after, there was nobody left of ſufficient authority to ſuppreſs the ill humours that began to ſhew themſelves again without reſerve, when all reſtraint was at an end. Rinaldo degli Albizi in particular, who now looked upon himſelf as the Head of that party, was continually teazing and importuning ſuch Citizens as he thought were likely to be the next Gonfaloniers, to take up arms and deliver their Country out of the hands of a man, who taking the advantage of the ſtupidity of ſome, and the malice of others, would otherwiſe certainly enſlave it. Thus Rinaldo, by endeavouring to ſupplant his adverſaries, and they to ſupport themſelves, kept the whole City in continual alarm and ſuſpicion: ſo that when new magiſtrates were appointed, it was preſently known how many there were on one ſide, and how many on the other: and at the Imborſations for the Signiory, there was nothing to be ſeen but tumult and uproar. Every trifling affair that was brought before the Magiſtracy, created a diviſion amongſt them; all ſecrets were divulged; they had no regard to juſtice; the good and the evil were treated alike; and there was not ſo much as one Magiſtrate that did his duty.

The City being in this confuſion, and Rinaldo impatient to lower the authority of Coſimo; conſidering with himſelf that Bernardo Guadagni (though a man very fit for his purpoſe) could not be admitted to the office of Gonfalonier, even if his name ſhould be drawn, except the arrears he was in to the public were firſt diſcharged, he paid them

A man muſt be much of a Philoſopher to give ſuch advice; but he muſt be much more who follows it. But why did not Solon adviſe us to embrace the party that has right on its ſide? I imagine that all parties pretend to act with public ſpirit for the good of the whole; and that each of them aſſerts its cauſe with ſuch a diſplay of argument, objection, and anſwer, that it is difficult to ſift out the truth, and diſcover who is in the right, and who in the wrong. And therefore, what better courſe can men take than to declare for the weaker party? Nor is it ſo hard a matter to find out which is the weaker, as it is to judge which has the faireſt plea to urge. The weaker then ought to be preferred, both becauſe it is the duty of a generous man to ſupport the weak againſt the powerful, and becauſe a man is much more tempted to commit unjuſt actions in that faction which has the greateſt ſtrength. It may be objected, that the latter would not be more moderate, if it was as powerful as the former. I am apt to believe it; but as long as its weakneſs puts it out of its power to oppreſs, a man ought to join with it, that he may not be concerned in the violent meaſures of the other. If it gets the upper hand, forſake it, leſt it ſhould engage you to act the tyrant in your turn. Let this be obſerved by the way, with regard to Solon's maxim, and with the reſtriction added to it, that it be not known, which ſide is in the right or wrong.

himſelf.

himſelf. And as fortune (the conſtant enemy of our City) would have it, in the Imborſation for a new Signiory, Bernardo was actually drawn Gonfalonier for the two enſuing months of September and October. Upon which, Rinaldo immediately went to congratulate him, and told him, how much the Nobility, and all honeſt men who deſired to live in peace and ſecurity, were rejoiced to ſee him in poſſeſſion of that dignity; and that it was hoped he would behave himſelf in ſuch a manner as would give them no cauſe to repent of it. He then repreſented to him the danger they were in from their diviſions; that the ſureſt way to reſtore union amongſt them, was to rid themſelves of Coſimo, who was the only man that ſtood in their way: that the popularity he had gained by his immenſe riches, had given him ſuch an aſcendancy, that, if timely care was not taken to prevent it, he would certainly make himſelf abſolute Lord over them: and therefore it was his duty, as a good Citizen, to provide againſt the danger, by calling the people together in the Piazza, to reinſtate the adminiſtration in its former power, and ſecure the liberties of his Country. He deſired him to remember the example of Sylveſtro de' Medici, who (even without any appearance of juſtice on his ſide) was able to check the over-grown power of the Guelphs, though they certainly had the faireſt claim to govern the city, as a reward for the blood which their anceſtors had ſo generouſly ſhed for the defence of it: and that what he alone could effect without any juſt pretenſions, and in ſpite of ſo many powerful adverſaries, might ſurely be done again in a juſt cauſe, and when there was but one man to oppoſe them. He exhorted him to act with vigour and reſolution, as all his friends would immediately take arms to ſupport him; to make no account of the mob (though they ſeemed to adore Coſimo at preſent) for in time of need, he would be ſerved by them juſt as Georgio Scali had been formerly: nor to ſtand in awe of his riches; for when once he was in the power of the Signiory, his wealth would fall into their hands. He concluded, with ſaying, that when this was done, the Republic would become united and ſecure, and his own reputation eſtabliſhed for ever." Bernardo made anſwer in a few words, "that he was fully convinced of the expedience and neceſſity of what he had urged; but as it was high time to proceed to execution, he deſired him to prepare their friends to take arms as ſoon as poſſible, ſince he was perſuaded they ſhould be ſo well ſupported."

As ſoon as Bernardo had entered upon his office, their friends being in readineſs, and every thing ſettled betwixt him and Rinaldo, he ſummoned Coſimo to appear before the Signiory; which he did, truſting rather to his own innocence, than to their mercy; though he was diſſuaded from it by many. But he was hardly got into the palace, before

he was arreſted. Upon which, Rinaldo inſtantly ſallied out of his houſe, with a body of armed men, and all the reſt of the party at his heels, and came into the Piazza; where the Signiory aſſembled the people, and appointed a Balia, conſiſting of two hundred Citizens, to reform the State. The firſt thing that was debated, after they met to conſider of a reformation, was, whether Coſimo ſhould be put to death or not. Some argued for it, others thought baniſhment ſufficient, and many ſat ſilent, either out of affection to him, or fear of the other party: ſo that in ſuch a diverſity of opinions, nothing was determined upon.

In the turret of the palace there is an apartment, called Alberghettino, to which Coſimo was committed priſoner, under the cuſtody of Frederigo Malavolti. From this place he could hear the clamours of the armed men that were below in the Piazza, and frequent outcries for a Balia; which made him apprehend that his life was in danger, but much more, that his particular enemies would take ſome extraordinary method to diſpatch him. For that reaſon, he would eat no meat for the ſpace of four days, except a mouthful or two of bread. Of which Malavolti taking notice, addreſſed himſelf to him in this manner: "Whilſt you are afraid of being poiſoned, you will ſtarve yourſelf to death, to my great diſhonour; for certainly you muſt have a vile opinion of me, to ſuſpect I would be concerned in ſo baſe a deed. In my opinion, your life is not in any danger, as you have ſo many friends both within the palace and without it: but if there is any ſuch deſign in agitation, you may aſſure yourſelf I will not be employed as an executioner, nor ever ſtain my hands with the blood of any man, much leſs yours, who never did me any injury. Take courage then, eat your meat, and keep yourſelf alive for the good of your friends and your country: and that you may have no further ſuſpicion of that kind, I will eat with you myſelf." Upon this encouragement, Coſimo embraced him with tears in his eyes, acknowledging his generoſity and gentleman-like behaviour in the moſt thankful manner, and aſſuring him, he would amply recompence his kindneſſes, if ever fortune ſhould put it in his power again to ſhew his gratitude.

Theſe apprehenſions therefore being in ſome meaſure quieted, and his fate yet undetermined by the Balia, it happened that Malavolti, to entertain his priſoner, invited one Farganaccio a friend of the Gonfalonier's, and a man of humour and pleaſantry, to ſup with him. Upon which, after ſupper was almoſt over, Coſimo hoping to make ſome advantage of this viſit (as he himſelf was well acquainted with him), gave a wink to Malavolti to leave the room, who pretty well gueſſing at his intention, immediately went out to order ſomething that was wanting, as he pretended. When they were alone, Coſimo after many fair words

words and promiſes of a greater reward, gave his gueſt a draught upon the Governor of St. Mary's new Hoſpital for eleven hundred ducats; deſiring him to keep an hundred himſelf, and to preſent the other thouſand to the Gonfalonier, from whom, he ſaid, he ſhould be glad to receive the favour of a viſit, if he could find a proper opportunity. This he willingly undertook to perform, and gave the money to Bernardo, who then began to grow cooler and more moderate in the proſecution: ſo that after all, Coſimo was only baniſhed to Padua, though Rinaldo uſed his utmoſt endeavours to have him put to death. Averardo de' Medici and many others of that family were likewiſe baniſhed at the ſame time, and with them Puccio and Giovanni de' Pucci. And to keep theſe in ſtill greater awe that ſeemed diſſatisfied at Coſimo's exile, the Balia was reduced to eight (who were called wardens) and the Captain of the people. After theſe regulations, Coſimo was brought before the Signiory, on the third of October in the year 1433, who pronounced the ſentence of baniſhment upon him, and exhorted him to ſubmit to it with patience, leſt he ſhould provoke them to proceed with greater vigour both againſt his perſon and eſtate. He received the ſentence with a chearful countenance, and aſſured them he would ſtay with content wherever they ſhould be pleaſed to ſend him; praying them however, as they had ſpared his life, that they would protect his perſon, ſince he knew there were ſome in the Palace that thirſted after his blood. He then took his leave of them with ſaying, "that in what part of the world ſoever he ſhould ſojourn, his perſon and fortune ſhould always be at the ſervice of the Republic, the people, and the Signiory." In anſwer to which, the Gonfalonier told him "he would take care his life ſhould be in no danger," and having detained him in the Palace till night, he then conducted him to his own houſe to ſup with him, and afterwards ordered a party of the guards to eſcort him to the confines of the Florentine dominions. Wherever he came he was received with great honour, and publicly viſited by the Venetians, who treated him more like a Prince than a baniſhed man.

Florence being thus deprived of ſo great a man, and ſo univerſally beloved, both parties had their apprehenſions: Rinaldo therefore, who ſaw a ſtorm riſing, reſolved not to be wanting either to himſelf or his friends: and having called ſeveral of them together, he told them, they had now ruined themſelves, as they would ſoon find, beyond all redemption, by giving way to the tears and ſupplications, and bribes of their enemies, not foreſeeing that it would quickly be their own turn to weep and implore compaſſion from thoſe who would be deaf to entreaties and tears: that they would be forced to refund the principal ſum of the bribes they had taken, with the heavy intereſt of tortures, and executions,

tions, and baniſhments. That it would have been much better for them to have remained content in their former circumſtances, than to ſuffer Coſimo to eſcape with life, and leave ſo many of his friends in Florence; as great men ought either never to be provoked, or, if they are, to be entirely cruſhed. That he ſaw no remedy now left but to collect their ſtrength and fortify themſelves; that ſo, when their enemies ſhould riſe upon them (which was daily to be expected) they might be able to clear the city of them by dint of force, ſince, it ſeemed, they could not do it in a judiciary manner. That for this purpoſe, they muſt endeavour to regain the affections of the Grandees by reſtoring them to their honours and authority (as he had often adviſed) and to ſtrengthen themſelves by their aſſiſtance, as the other party had done by that of the Plebeians. That by ſuch a junction they ſhould conſiderably increaſe their ſtrength, and might poſſibly recover their former power and reputation: but if this laſt and only expedient was not made uſe of, he knew of no other, for his part, that could preſerve their party, and indeed the Republic itſelf, from the imminent ruin it was threatened with amidſt ſo many enemies." In anſwer to this, Mariotto Boldoviniſetti ſaid, "that the inſolence and tyranny of the Grandees, always had been, and always would be inſupportable: and that it would be madneſs to run headlong into a certain and ſlaviſh ſubjection to them, when the danger that was apprehended from the Plebeians might only be imaginary." Rinaldo therefore ſeeing his advice rejected, could not help lamenting the misfortunes that he foreſaw were going to fall upon himſelf and his party; but modeſtly imputed them rather to the malevolence of their deſtiny, than to the blindneſs and perverſeneſs of men.

Whilſt things were in this ſituation and no manner of proviſion made for their ſecurity, a letter was intercepted from Agnolo Acciaiuoli to Coſimo, in which he informed him of the good diſpoſition of the Citizens in general towards him, and adviſed him to ſtir up a war from ſome quarter or other, and to make Neri di Gino his friend; as he thought the people would then be in want of money to carry it on, and finding no body elſe that was able to ſupply them, they would naturally turn their thoughts upon him, and be ſo much the more impatient for his return. To which he added, "that if Neri could by any means be detached from Rinaldo, his party would be ſo much weakend that it would not be able to ſupport him." But this letter falling into the hands of the Magiſtrates, Agnolo was taken into cuſtody, and afterwards brought to a trial, and ſent into baniſhment; which in ſome meaſure reſtrained the ardour of thoſe that favoured Coſimo.

It was now almoſt a year ſince Coſimo had been baniſhed; and at the end of Auguſt 1434, Niccolo di Cocco was drawn Gonfalonier for the

two

two next months, and with him eight new Signiors, all friends to Coſimo; at which Rinaldo and his party were not a little alarmed. And as, according to cuſtom, the new Signiory could not enter upon their office till three days after they were drawn, Rinaldo once more applied to the other chiefs of his party, and repreſented to them the certainty and nearneſs of the danger they were in, and that there was no reſource left but to take arms immediately and oblige Donato Velluti, who was then Gonfalonier, to aſſemble the people in the Piazza, to appoint another Balia, and depoſe the new Signiory: after which, they might get others drawn more fit for their purpoſe, by burning the old Imborſation, and making a freſh one, in which the purſes might be filled only with the names of their friends. This reſolution was thought proper and abſolutely neceſſary by many; and by others too violent and odious. Amongſt thoſe that diſapproved it, was Palla Strozzi, a man of a peaceable and humane diſpoſition, and rather given to ſtudy than inclined to concern himſelf in the intrigues of faction. He ſaid, "that all ſchemes that were either too finely ſpun, or too bold, appeared likely to ſucceed at firſt ſight, but generally proved difficult in the management, and pernicious in the end. That he thought the fear of new enemies abroad (as the Duke's army was then in Romagna and near their confines) ſhould make the Signiory turn their attention to them, rather than buſy themſelves in domeſtic feuds: that however, if they ſhould actually ſee any ſteps taken to raiſe a commotion (which could not well be without their notice) it would then be time enough to take arms, and make ſuch regulations as ſhould ſeem neceſſary for the public ſafety, which being done for their own defence, would alſo occaſion leſs wonder and diſguſt amongſt the people." It was therefore reſolved to let the new Signiory enter peaceably upon the Magiſtracy; but to keep a ſtrict watch upon their conduct, and if they ſhould attempt any thing to the prejudice of their party, then to riſe immediately and aſſemble in the Piazza of St. Pulinare (a place near the Palace) from whence they might proceed to act as occaſion ſhould require.

With this reſolution they parted; and the new Signiory having taken poſſeſſion of the Palace, the Gonfalonier, to begin his office with ſome action that would give him reputation and ſtrike a damp into ſuch as might think of oppoſing him, immediately committed his predeceſſor Donato Velluti to priſon, upon a pretence that he had embezzled the public money. After which, he began to ſound the reſt of his aſſociates about Coſimo's return; and finding them well diſpoſed to it, he communicated their deſign to thoſe that were reputed the Heads of the Medici party; who all encouraging him to attempt it, he cited Rinaldo degli Albizi, Ridolpho Peruzzi, and Niccolo Barbadori, as the principals

cipals of the other party, to appear before him. But Rinaldo ſeeing there was no more time now to be loſt, inſtead of obeying the citation, ruſhed out of his houſe with a great number of armed men, and was inſtantly joined by Peruzzi and Barbadori with ſeveral other Citizens and many diſbanded Soldiers that were then in Florence, and drew up in the Piazza of St. Pulinare, as they had before agreed. And though Palla Strozzi and Giovanni Guicciardini had aſſembled a good many men, they did not think proper to ſtir out of their houſes; upon which, Rinaldo ſent to haſten them and upbraid their tardineſs. But Guicciardini ſent him word back again, that he thought he ſhould do his party better ſervice by ſtaying at home and preventing his brother Pietro from going to the relief of the Signiory: and Strozzi after many preſſing meſſages, at laſt came to St. Pulinare on horſeback; but with only two attendants on foot, and all three without any arms. When Rinaldo ſaw him come in that manner, he could not help reproaching him bitterly with his backwardneſs to join his friends; as he ſaid, "it muſt be owing either to perfidy or cowardice, the very appearance of both which ought to be moſt carefully avoided by ſuch a man as he pretended to be. That if he thought to eſcape death or exile, in caſe their enemies ſhould get the upper hand of them, by not fulfilling his engagement with his party, he would find himſelf fatally diſappointed. That for his own part, let what would happen, he ſhould at leaſt have this conſolation, that he had done his duty, not only in warning them of the danger before hand, but in preſcribing remedies to prevent it, and laſtly, by behaving himſelf like a man when it did come: that, on the contrary, he and his truſty companions muſt ſurely reflect with horror, that they had betrayed their country three different times: firſt in letting Coſimo eſcape; next, in not liſtening to his advice; and now, in not ſupporting him in the manner they had promiſed." To this Strozzi muttered ſomething by way of anſwer, but in ſuch a manner that it was not underſtood by the reſt; and turning his horſe about, he rode directly back again to his own houſe.

The Signiory being informed that Rinaldo and his party had taken arms, and ſeeing themſelves unable to make head againſt them, cauſed the doors of the Palace to be barricadoed, as they knew not what other courſe to take in ſo ſudden an emergency. But as Rinaldo ſtaid waiting to be joined by others who never came near him, inſtead of advancing immediately to the Palace, as he ought to have done, he loſt his opportunity, and gave the Signiory time to provide for their defence. Upon which, many of the Citizens reſorted to them, and adviſed them in the firſt place to uſe their endeavours to prevail upon the other party to lay down their arms. They ſent ſuch of their friends therefore, as were leaſt obnoxious, to acquaint Rinaldo and thoſe that were with him,

"that

" that they could not conceive what was the cauſe of ſuch a commotion; eſpecially, as they had never deſigned to do them any injury: that if it was upon Coſimo's account, they could aſſure them they had no thoughts of recalling him; for which they would give them any ſecurity, if they would come into the Palace, where they ſhould be honourably received, and have ſatisfaction in all other reſpects." Theſe promiſes, however, made but little impreſſion on Rinaldo, who ſaid, he would take care to *ſecure himſelf* by turning them all out of their offices, and then the State ſhould be reformed in a manner that would be more for the advantage of every one. But it ſeldom happens that any deſign ſucceeds, where the authority of the conductors is equal, and their opinions different. Ridolpho Peruzzi replied, " that for his part, he deſired nothing more than that Coſimo might not be ſuffered to return: and ſince that had been promiſed, he was very well contented, and inſtead of inſiſting upon any thing further, which might involve the city in blood and confuſion, he would accept of the invitation which the Signiory had given him;" as he immediately did, and went with all thoſe that had followed him, directly into the Palace, where he was joyfully received. So that all hope of ſucceſs being defeated by the delay of Rinaldo at St. Pulinare, the puſillanimity of Strozzi, and the deſertion of Peruzzi, the reſt of the party began to loſe their ſpirits and grew much cooler in the undertaking than they had been at firſt: to which the interpoſition of the Pope's authority did likewiſe very much contribute.

Eugenius IV having been driven out of Rome by the people, was then at Florence; [*f*] and ſeeing theſe tumults, he thought it his duty to

[*f*] Philip, Duke of Milan, having made an incurſion into the Pope's territories, the cavalry which he ſent thither, were commanded by Niccolo Fortebraccio, who had quitted the Pope's ſervice in diſguſt: for when he demanded his pay, Eugenius anſwered, " that he ought to think himſelf amply paid by the booty he had amaſſed in plundering ſeveral towns." Exaſperated at this anſwer, he went into the Duke's ſervice, and being employed by him againſt this Pope, he made ſuch dreadful havock in the places adjacent to Rome, that the whole City was in the utmoſt conſternation, and the Pope himſelf for ſome time in doubt whither to retire. The people reſorted to him in crowds, to complain of the loſſes they had ſuſtained: but, as he was then in an ill ſtate of health, and did not know which way to turn himſelf, he referred them to the Cardinal his Nephew and High-chamberlain, an indolent and voluptuous man, who uſed to ſhuffle off the complaints of the people who had loſt their cattle (as Platina ſays in the life of Eugenius) with this anſwer, " You really ſet too great a value upon your cattle; the Venetians live much more genteely without ſuch encumbrances." " Eos nimiam ſpem in pecoribus collocaſſe: Venetos quidem ſine gregibus & jumentis longe urbaniorem vitam ducere." At which they were ſo enraged, that they cried out, *To arms! Liberty, Liberty!* and not only removed all the magiſtrates from their employments, who had been appointed by Eugenius, but created others in their room, and ſeized upon the Cardinal his Nephew. The Pope being reduced to ſuch extremities, put on the habit of a monk, and went on board a bark, in order to fly to

compoſe them, if poſſible. For this purpoſe, he ſent Giovanni Vitelleſchi, the Patriarch of Alexandria, who was intimately acquainted with Rinaldo, to deſire he might ſpeak with him, as he hoped he had credit and authority enough with the Signiory to procure him all reaſonable ſecurity and ſatisfaction, without effuſion of blood, or prejudice to any of the Citizens. Upon which Rinaldo, at the perſuaſion of his friend, went with all his followers to wait upon his Holineſs at St. Maria Novella, where he at that time reſided. After he was introduced into his preſence, the Pope informed him that the Signiory had given him their word that all differences ſhould be left to his arbitration, and that every thing ſhould be ſettled to his own ſatisfaction, as ſoon as he and his party had laid down their arms. Rinaldo therefore, ſeeing the coldneſs of Strozzi and the levity of Peruzzi, and having no other refuge left, put himſelf under the protection of the Pope, whoſe authority he thought was ſufficient to ſecure and defend him. In conſequence of this, the Pope ordered Niccolo Barbadori, and the others that were waiting for him without doors, to lay down their arms, as Rinaldo would remain with him till he had made terms for them with the Signiory: upon which, they diſperſed, and every man returned to his own houſe.

As ſoon as the Signiory ſaw their adverſaries diſarmed, they began to treat with them through the mediation of the Pope, and, at the ſame time, ſent privately into the mountains of Piſtoia for a body of foot ſoldiers, which, being joined by all the horſe they had in the adjacent territories, were brought into Florence by night; and having taken poſſeſſion of all the paſſes and ſtrong places in the city, they called the people together in the Piazza before the Palace, and appointed a new Balia, which at their firſt meeting recalled Coſimo, and all the other Citizens that had been baniſhed with him. On the other hand, they not only ſent Rinaldo, Peruzzi, Barbadori, and Strozzi into baniſhment, but ſuch numbers of others, that moſt parts of Italy, and ſome abroad abounded with them, to the great impoveriſhment of Florence both in regard to its wealth, its inhabitants, its trade and manufactures. But the Pope ſeeing that party entirely ruined and diſſipated, which had conſented to lay down their arms upon his aſſurances and interceſſion, was exceedingly enraged; lamenting with Rinaldo the grievous misfortune that had befallen him through his means, and in violation of the moſt ſolemn engagements: exhorting him however, to patience under his ſufferings, and to hope

Oſtia, where he arrived ſafe, notwithſtanding the vollies of ſtones and arrows that were diſcharged at the veſſel as it fell down the river. From Oſtia he went to Florence, and reſided there ſome time. But the Romans did not long enjoy this liberty: for the Pope's authority was reſtored at Rome in his abſence by John Vitelleſchi, Patriarch of Alexandria, who proceeded with great ſeverity againſt the mutineers.

for a ſpeedy change in his favour, from the inconſtancy of fortune. Rinaldo made anſwer in a few words, " that the little regard his friends had paid to his advice, and the too great confidence he had put in his Holineſs, had been the ruin both of himſelf and his party: but that indeed, he ought to condemn himſelf rather than any other perſon, for fooliſhly imagining that a man, who had been driven out of his own Country, ſhould have intereſt enough to protect another any where elſe. That he was no ſtranger to the viciſſitudes of fortune, and as he had never been elated with proſperity, he ſhould not be dejected in adverſity; ſince he knew that when it was her humour, ſhe would favour him again with her ſmiles. But if ſhe ſhould not, it would give him no great degree of regret not to live in a city where private men had more authority than the Laws: for any Country was certainly more deſireable, where a man could enjoy his property and truſt to his friends, than that where the one was ſo eaſily taken away, and the other always deſerted him out of fear and mean ſelf-intereſt, in the day of diſtreſs. That all wiſe and good men thought it more grievous to be ſpectators of the calamities of their Country, than to hear of them at a diſtance; and more honourable to be an honeſt exile than an abject ſlave." After which, he turned himſelf about, and leaving the Pope with great contempt and indignation, he went into baniſhment; often bewailing his own credulity, as well as the baſeneſs of his friends, and their blindneſs in rejecting his counſels. Coſimo, on the other hand, having notice that he was at liberty to come home again, immediately repaired to Florence: and it has ſeldom happened that any commander, though returning in triumph from ſome extraordinary Victory, was received with ſuch acclamations and univerſal joy, as Coſimo was at his return from baniſhment by his Fellow-citizens, who ran in multitudes to meet him, and ſaluted him with one voice, *the Benefactor of the People, and the Father of his Country.*

The End of the FOURTH BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF FLORENCE.

BOOK V.

ARGUMENT.

The ſoldiery of Italy divided into two parties, under Count Franciſco Sforza and Niccolo Fortebraccio. The Duke of Milan promiſes his Daughter in marriage to the former. Rome is aſſaulted by Sforza, and la Marca d' Ancona invaded by Fortebraccio. Pope Eugenius IV. *makes an ignominious peace with Sforza, and being driven out of Rome by the inhabitants, flies to Florence. A war in Romagna betwixt the Duke of Milan on one ſide; and the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Pope, on the other; who enter into a league againſt the Duke. Sforza commands the forces of the league; and Piccinino thoſe of the Duke. A new government in Florence. Their ſevere proceedings. Alphonſo of Arragon attempts to make himſelf King of Naples. His fleet is defeated by the Genoeſe, and he himſelf taken priſoner and brought to the Duke of Milan. The authority of the Doge in Genoa. Franciſco Spinola having betrayed that City into the hands of the Duke, repents of it, and is the author of recovering its liberty. Rinaldo degli Albizi's ſpeech to the Duke, perſuading him to make war upon the Florentines, which he does. His General Piccinino commits terrible ravages in their territories, and takes up his quarters at Lucca, to the great offence of the Florentines. Count Sforza gives him battle, defeats his forces, and lays waſte the Country of the*

the Luccheſe. The ſpeech of a Citizen of Luccato animate the inhabitants of that City to defend themſelves againſt the Florentines. Count Sforza is made General of the League. The Venetians are jealous of his proceedings. The diſputes betwixt them about his paſſing the Po. He leaves their ſervice and retires into Tuſcany. A quarrel betwixt the Pope and Count Poppi accommodated by the Florentines. A controverſy betwixt the Greek and Roman Churches, determined at Florence by the ſubmiſſion of the former. The Pope deluded, and his territories invaded by Piccinino, who takes all the towns in Romagna from him. Count Sforza earneſtly perſuaded by the Florentines not to deſert the Venetians, at laſt conſents to paſs the Po. Neri Capponi's ſpeech to the Venetian Senate. Count Sforza makes an unexpected march and relieves Verona, which was beſieged by the Duke's forces. He attempts to relieve Breſcia alſo. Piccinino defeats and takes moſt of the Venetian gallies upon the Lake di Garda. One part of his army is worſted by Count Sforza, and he himſelf eſcapes in a ſtrange manner to the other. He ſurprizes Verona, which is recovered by the Count. The Duke of Milan is encouraged by Piccinino and the Florentine Exiles to invade Tuſcany. The Patriarch of Alexandria, General of the Pope's forces. His character. He is ſuſpected of endeavouring to betray the Pope: is committed to priſon, and dies there. Differences betwixt the Venetians and Count Sforza about relieving Breſcia, adjuſted at laſt to his ſatisfaction. The Duke of Milan's forces invade Tuſcany, under the command of Piccinino, who plunders the territories of the Florentines, and takes ſeveral towns and caſtles from them. The cowardice of Orlandini. Count Poppi revolts from the Florentines. The Duke's army is defeated in Lombardy, and Breſcia relieved by Sforza. A remarkable battle at Anghiari, in which Piccinino is routed by the forces of the Florentines, in conjunction with thoſe of the Pope. Poppi is beſieged and taken. Count Poppi's addreſs to the Florentine Commiſſaries upon that occaſion. Neri Capponi's anſwer. The Count is ſtripped of his dominions for his perfidy.

IN the changes that are incident to all governments, they often degenerate into anarchy and confuſion; and from thence emerge again to good order and regularity. For ſince it is ordained by Providence that there ſhould be a continual ebb and flow in the things of this world; as ſoon as they arrive at their utmoſt perfection, and can aſcend no higher, they muſt of neceſſity decline: and on the other hand, when they have fallen, through any diſorder, to the loweſt degree that is poſſible, and can ſink no lower, they begin to riſe again. And thus there is a conſtant ſucceſſion of proſperity and adverſity in all human affairs. Virtue is the mother of peace; peace produces idleneſs; idle-

neſs, contention and miſrule; and from thence proceed ruin and confuſion. This occaſions reformation and better laws; good laws make men virtuous; and public virtue is always attended with glory and ſucceſs. It has therefore been well remarked, that arms are prior to letters, and that in new States and governments there always have been warriors and ſoldiers, before the riſe of Scholars and Philoſophers. But the former being once ſecurely eſtabliſhed in their dominion by dint of arms, have generally encouraged the ſtudy of Letters, as an honourable relaxation in time of peace, and the moſt likely method to ſoften the ferocity of men inured to war. And it is certain that indolence and effeminacy cannot be introduced into any ſtate in a more ſpecious and dangerous diſguiſe. Of which, Cato the Cenſor ſeemed to be ſo well apprized, that when he ſaw the Roman youth eagerly liſtening to the Lectures and philoſophical diſcourſes of Diogenes and Carneades, (who were ſent Ambaſſadors from Athens to the Senate of Rome) and conſidered the prejudice which the Common-wealth might receive from ſuffering its ſubjects to employ themſelves in thoſe ſpeculative matters, he procured a law to be paſſed, that no Philoſopher ſhould be permitted to come into that city. Theſe and other ſuch cauſes ſometimes bring States to the brink of ruin: but when they are at the loweſt ebb, and grown wiſer by their fall, they frequently recover their ſtrength, as we have already ſaid, by making new laws and inſtitutions; unleſs they are either totally overwhelmed, or prevented by ſome forcible and extraordinary means.

Such were the Viciſſitudes that Italy experienced; firſt, under the dominion of the ancient Tuſcans; and then, under that of the Romans; ſometimes flouriſhing and powerful, and ſometimes reduced to miſery and diſtreſs. And though no fabrick was afterwards erected upon the ruins of the Roman Empire, that could in anywiſe pretend to vie with it in its ancient ſplendor, (which yet might have been effected by a brave and wiſe Prince) there aroſe ſuch a ſpirit, however, in ſome of the new States and cities that were founded upon thoſe ruins, that if no one of them uſurped a Dominion over all the reſt, they nevertheleſs were at firſt ſo well governed and united amongſt themſelves, that they delivered their country from the yoke of Barbarians, and defended it for a while againſt any further invaſions. Amongſt theſe States, the Florentines (notwithſtanding their territory was of leſs extent) were not inferior to any other either in power or authority: on the contrary, as they were ſituated in the middle of Italy, exceeding opulent, and ready to turn their arms to any ſide, they not only bravely ſupported ſuch wars as were waged againſt themſelves, but generally threw the victory into the ſcale of thoſe allies with whom they thought fit to confederate. From the warlike diſpoſition of theſe new States, it was not poſſible indeed

indeed that they ſhould long continue at peace together: but their wars were not attended with much danger. For as thoſe times cannot properly be called peaceable, when they ſtood ready armed and watching all opportunities to attack each other; ſo neither does that deſerve the name of war, in which no men were killed, no towns were ſacked, nor any State was ſubverted: their enterprizes being conducted in ſo feeble a manner, that they were commenced without fear, carried on without peril, and ended, for the moſt part, without any material loſs on either ſide. From whence it came to paſs that all martial ardour, which in other countries is ſometimes damped and abated indeed by a long interval of peace, was at laſt utterly extinguiſhed amongſt the Italians, even in the midſt of wars; by the baſe and ſpiritleſs manner in which they were proſecuted; as will plainly appear in the courſe of thoſe that happened betwixt the years 1434 and 1494: wherein we ſhall ſee a new inlet opened to the incurſions of [*g*] Barbarians, and Italy once more become ſubject to their yoke. And though the actions of our Princes both at home and abroad during this period, may not fill the reader with ſo much admiration of their magnanimity, as the noble exploits that were performed in ancient times; yet it may occaſion no leſs wonder, when he ſees how many brave people were bridled and kept in ſubjection by dint of arms ſo weakly and pitifully conducted. And if in the account of that corrupted age he ſhall find neither valour in the ſoldiers, nor ſkill in the commanders, [*b*] nor any love of their country

[*g*] The Italians are pleaſed to beſtow this name, not only upon the Goths and Vandals, and ſuch other northern nations as are particularly mentioned in the beginning of the firſt book of this hiſtory, but upon all *Tramontanes*, or people that live on the other ſide of the Alps. The French, Spaniards and Germans are here meant.

[*b*] Theſe *Condottieri* or *pitiful Commanders*, as Machiavel juſtly calls them in the latter end of the firſt book of this hiſtory, were commonly either younger brothers and ſoldiers of fortune that had nothing to truſt to but the profeſſion of arms; or rebels and outlaws or traitors, who having collected a parcel of Banditti in as deſperate circumſtances as themſelves, uſed to hire out their ſervice, ſometimes to one State, and ſometimes to another, (as beſt ſuited their own intereſt) to fight their battles. So that their maſters were likely to be finely ſerved; as indeed they often were. For upon any little diſguſt, or offer of higher pay, they always deſerted them and went over to the enemy. They had at that time, as Machiavel ſays, reduced their manner of making war to a ſort of a trade or ſyſtem; and thoſe that employed them were ſure to be loſers in the end, even if they were victorious: whilſt their Condottieri always took care to ſecure ſome part at leaſt of the bone in diſpute for their own ſhare, either by making themſelves arbitrators, or threatning upon one frivolous excuſe or other, to go over to the enemy and leave their maſters diſarmed. Theſe hirelings generally gave themſelves terrible names to inſpire the enemy with fear, one calling himſelf *Havock*, another *Hamſtringer*, and a third *Fortebraccio* or ſtrong-arm, which laſt has been adopted amongſt the French under the name of *Fierbras*, and by the Engliſh under that of *Armſtrong*. They made but little account of Infantry in thoſe times, and ſeldom uſed any artillery in their field engagements. They were afraid of loſing their men. For which reaſon they endeavoured to bear down the left

left in the Citizens, he may obſerve however, what little ſhifts and tricks, and low artifices, both the Princes and Commanders and governors of Common-wealths then made uſe of to maintain a reputation which they did not deſerve. And this, perhaps, may be of equal utility with reading ancient hiſtory: for as the great examples that occur in one will naturally inſpire generous minds with a deſire to imitate them; ſo the other may ſerve to excite their abhorrence and diſdain.

Italy therefore was reduced to ſuch a condition by thoſe who governed it, that a Peace was no ſooner agreed to by the contending Princes, but it was preſently diſturbed again by the ſoldiers who ſtill continued in arms: ſo that they neither gained any glory by their wars, nor tranquillity by a peace. Accordingly, after a Peace was concluded betwixt the Duke of Milan and the League in the year 1433, the ſoldiery being diſcontented at it, reſolved to turn their arms againſt the Church. They were at that time divided into two parties, the Braccеſcan and the Sforceſcan: Count Franciſco Sforza being Head of the one, Niccolo Piccinino and Niccolo Fortebraccio the Chiefs of the other. To theſe two parties all the reſt of the ſoldiers in Italy then joined themſelves. But the Sforceſcan was in the greater credit, both on account of Franciſco's valour, and the promiſe that the Duke of Milan had made of giving him his natural daughter Madonna Bianca in marriage; the proſpect of which alliance gained him very great reputation. Both the parties, however, when they ſaw a peace concluded in Lombardy, immediately fell upon Pope Eugenius, though for different reaſons. Fortebraccio did it in conſequence of the ancient enmity that Braccio da Montone had ever profeſſed againſt the Popes; but the Count out of ambition alone. The former therefore bent his forces immediately againſt Rome; and the latter poſſeſſed himſelf of la Marca d' Ancona: ſo that the Romans in order to avoid a war, were obliged to force Eugenius out of the city, who made his eſcape from the enemy with much difficulty and fled to Florence. Upon his arrival there, ſeeing the danger he was in, and that none of thoſe States which had lately been ſo forward to lay down

enemy by the weight of their gens d' armes or heavy armed horſe, and did not often come to blows. Thoſe that were driven out of the field were ſaid to be vanquiſhed. There was more blood ſhed in private quarrels and conſpiracies than in battles. For as their horſemen were all covered with armour, it ſometimes happened that not ſo much as one man was killed on either ſide, and ſometimes not above two or three at the moſt, in an engagement that laſted ſeveral hours; and thoſe too by being thrown from their horſes and trampled to death. Theſe were not ſuch commanders as old Ennius deſcribes.

" Non cauponantes bellum, ſed belligerantes.

Which an old rough tranſlator has rendered in this manner:

" Not huck'ſtring war, but dealing death and wounds.

their

their arms, now cared to take them up again merely to ſupport his cauſe, he came to an agreement with the Count and ceded the territory of la Marca to him; though the Count had not only ſeized upon it before without any manner of claim, but treated him with the utmoſt inſolence. For in the letters which he wrote to his correſpondents, he dated them in Latin (according to the cuſtom of the Italians) [*i*] *Ex Girifalco noſtro Firmiano, invito Petro & Paulo; from Girifalco near Fermo, where I reſide at preſent in ſpite of St. Peter and St. Paul.* He was not content with this ceſſion however, but inſiſted upon being created [*k*] *Gonfalonier of the Church*, which was likewiſe granted; as the Pope, it ſeems, preferred an ignominious peace to a dangerous war. Upon theſe compliances, the Count took part with his Holineſs and made war upon Fortebraccio with various ſucceſs, for the ſpace of ſeveral months, in the territories of the Church; but always with much prejudice to the Pope and his ſubjects (which ſide ſoever prevailed) and advantage to thoſe that conducted the war. At laſt, by the mediation of the Duke of Milan, a ſort of truce was agreed to betwixt thoſe two Chiefs; by which they both became maſters of ſeveral towns that belonged to the Church.

This war was hardly extinguiſhed at Rome, when another was kindled in Romagna by Battiſta Canneto; who having killed ſome of the family of the Grifoni at Bologna, had driven the Pope's Governor, and ſome others whom he ſuſpected to be his enemies, out of that city. And in order to keep forcible poſſeſſion of it, he applied for aid to Duke Philip; whilſt the Pope on the other hand, ſollicited the aſſiſtance of the Venetians and Florentines to enable him to recover it: and each party being furniſhed with ſupplies, two powerful armies ſoon appeared in Romagna; the Duke's forces being commanded by Niccolo Piccinino, and thoſe of the Venetians and Florentines by Gattamelata and Niccolo da Tolentino. Not far from Imola they came to an engagement, in which the Venetians and Florentines were defeated; and Niccolo da Tolentino being taken priſoner, was ſent to the Duke at Milan, where he died in a few days after his arrival, either by poiſon, or out of mortification at his diſgrace. The Duke however, not purſuing his advantage, either becauſe his finances were too much exhauſted by the late wars, or that he thought the league would remain quiet after ſuch an overthrow, gave the Pope and his confederates time to recover their ſpirits in ſuch a manner, that they appointed Count Sforza their General,

[*i*] *Girifalco* or *Girfalco* in the Italian ſignifies a ſort of a Hawk called a Gerfalcon: but here I ſuppoſe it is the name of a place.

[*k*] The *Gonfalonier* or *Standard-bearer* of the Church was an officer created by the Popes to conduct their forces and protect them againſt the Emperor, after they had uſurped his authority at Rome.

in order to drive Fortebraccio out of the territories of the Church if poſſible, and put an end to a war, which had been commenced in favour of his Holineſs. The Romans therefore ſeeing the Pope once more in the field with freſh recruits, endeavoured to make their peace with him; which being effected, they ſubmitted to receive a commiſſary whom he ſent to Rome. Amongſt other places which Fortebraccio had ſeized upon, were Tivoli, Monteſiaſconi, and the cities of Caſtello and Aſceſi, into the latter of which he had retired when he found he was no longer able to keep the field. But being beſieged there by the Count for a long time, (as he made a brave defence) the Duke began to perceive that it behoved him either to prevent the Allies from making themſelves maſters of that place, or to provide for his own ſecurity, in caſe it ſhould fall into their hands. To make ſuch a diverſion therefore as might oblige the Count to raiſe the ſiege, he ordered Piccinino to force his way, if he could, through Romagna into Tuſcany: and the Allies judging it more neceſſary to defend Tuſcany, than to reduce Aſceſi, ſent inſtructions to the Count to oppoſe his paſſage through that province, though he had then advanced with his army as far as Furli. The Count, on the other hand, having raiſed the ſiege, marched with his forces directly to Ceſena, leaving the management of the war in la Marca, and the defence of his poſſeſſions to the care of his Brother Lione. But whilſt Piccinino was thus endeavouring to force a paſſage into Tuſcany, and the Count to prevent it, Fortebraccio boldly attacked Lione, and not only took him priſoner but diſperſed his army; and, purſuing his victory with the ſame rapidity, took and plundered ſeveral towns in la Marca: at which the Count was not a little chagrined, as he thought he ſhould now loſe all he had ſo lately acquired. Upon which account, he left part of his army to hold Piccinino at bay, and advanced with the reſt againſt Fortebraccio, whom he brought to an engagement; in which the latter being routed and taken priſoner, died not long after of the wounds he had received in the battle. By this Victory the Pope regained all the territories that Fortebraccio had taken from him, and forced the Duke of Milan to ſue for a peace, which was at laſt concluded by the mediation of Niccolo d' Eſti Marquis of Ferrara: and it was agreed that all the towns that had been ſeized upon by the Duke in Romagna, ſhould be reſtored to the Church, and his forces withdrawn into Lombardy. Theſe conditions being complied with, Battiſta da Ganneto, not being able to maintain himſelf in poſſeſſion of Bologna by his own ſtrength (as it generally happens to thoſe that depend upon the power of others to ſupport them in their uſurpations) was forced to fly from thence and leave the city open to Annnio Bentivogli, the former Governor, who immediately returned thither.

These things happened during the exile of Cosimo de' Medici; at whose return, those Citizens that had been his chief friends, and some others who had been injured and oppressed by the late Administration, were determined, at all events, to take the government of the State into their own hands. The Signiory therefore, that was drawn for the two ensuing months of November and December, not content with what their predecessors had already done in favour of their party, prolonged the term, and changed the places of several that had been banished, and sent numbers of others into exile. And this was done, not only out of party rage, but likewise on account of their riches, alliances, and private connections: so that though there was not so much blood shed indeed in this proscription, yet it might in some measure be compared to that under Sylla and Octavius. There were some executions, however; for Antonio the son of Bernardo Guadagni, was beheaded: and four other Citizens, amongst whom were Zanobi Belfratelli and Cosimo Barbadori, having left the place to which they had been banished, and gone to reside at Venice, were secured by the Venetians (who set a greater value it seems upon Cosimo's friendship than their own reputation) and sent prisoners to Florence, where they were put to death in an ignominious manner. These examples greatly increased the strength of Cosimo's party, and struck a terror into that of his enemies, when they saw such a powerful Republic as Venice so meanly prostitute its honour to the Florentines: though some thought this was not done so much to oblige Cosimo, as to revive the spirit of faction, and create more dangerous divisions in Florence by such executions; as the Venetians plainly saw, that peace and union in that city, was the only obstacle to their further aggrandizement. When they had thus pretty well cleared the City of their enemies, and such as they thought disaffected to their government, they began to strengthen their hands, by caressing and heaping favours upon others. For this purpose, they recalled the family of the Alberti, and all the rest of the Exiles that had been formerly banished: they reduced the Grandees (except some very few) to the rank of Commoners: and divided the possessions of those whom they had banished, amongst themselves. After this, they fortified themselves with new laws and ordinances, and made a fresh Imborsation, taking the names of all suspected persons out of the purses, and filling them up again with those of their own friends. But remembering the supineness and neglect that had been so fatal to the late administration, and considering that even such an Imborsation as they had already made, might not be sufficient to establish them firmly in the government, they likewise took care, that such magistrates as had the power of life and death entrusted to them, should always be chosen out of the most eminent of their party; for

which purpoſe, they ordained that the Syndics who inſpected the Imberſations, in conjunction with the old Signiory, ſhould have the power of appointing a new one. They left the cognizance of capital offences, to the eight Wardens, and enacted, that no Exile ſhould return, even after the term of his baniſhment was expired, till he had obtained the conſent of the Signiory, and thirty-four of the Colleges, though the whole number of them amounted to no more than thirty-ſeven. All perſons were prohibited to write to or receive any letters from them; every word, or ſign, or geſture, that diſpleaſed the governors, was puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity: and if there was any ſuſpected perſon left in Florence, who had not fallen under their laſh for ſuch offences, they took care, however, to load him ſoundly with new taxes and impoſitions: ſo that one part of their adverſaries being driven out of the City, and the other depreſſed and over-awed by theſe means, they in a ſhort time ſecured the government to themſelves. And to provide themſelves with foreign aid, and deprive their enemies of all aſſiſtance, if they ſhould offer to diſturb them, they entered into a defenſive league with the Pope, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan.

Whilſt things were in this ſituation at Florence, Giovanna Queen of Naples and Sicily died, and by her laſt will, declared Regnier, Duke of Anjou, her ſucceſſor. Alphonſo, King of Arragon, was at that time in Sicily, and had ſuch an intereſt with the Nobility there, that he was taking meaſures to make himſelf ſovereign of that Iſland. The Neapolitans in general, and many of the Nobles in particular, adhered to Regnier: the Pope, on the other hand, was not willing that either Regnier or Alphonſo ſhould become maſter of it; as he wanted to get poſſeſſion of it himſelf and to govern it by a Lieutenant. But Alphonſo making a ſudden deſcent upon the coaſt of Naples, was received there by the Duke of Seſſa, and took the forces of ſeveral other Princes into his pay; with a deſign (as Capua was already in his poſſeſſion, and governed by the Prince of Taranto, in his name) to compel the Neapolitans to ſubmit to him: for which purpoſe, he ordered his fleet to make an attack upon Gaieta, which was then in their hands. Upon this, the Neapolitans ſent to deſire the aſſiſtance of Duke Philip: but he recommended them to the protection of the Genoeſe, who, (in ſubmiſſion to the commands of the Duke their ſovereign, and in hopes of ſecuring the great quantity of merchandize which they had lodged at that time in Naples and Gaieta) immediately fitted out a powerful ſquadron for their relief. Alphonſo hearing of this armament, thought proper to reinforce his own, and went to Sea with it in perſon, with a reſolution to fight the Genoeſe; and the two fleets happening to meet near the Iſle of Ponzio, came to an engagement, in which the Arra-

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goneſe were not only defeated, but Alphonſo himſelf, and many other Princes that attended him, were taken, and ſent Priſoners by the Genoeſe to the Duke. This victory ſtruck a panick into the Princes of Italy, (who before were under great apprehenſions of the Duke's power) as they thought he had now a very fair opportunity of making himſelf abſolute ſovereign over them all. But, contrary to the expectation of every one, he took a very different reſolution.

Alphonſo was a Prince of great wiſdom and addreſs, and as ſoon as he had an opportunity of a private converſation with Duke Philip, he repreſented to him, "how little he conſulted his own intereſt, in ſupporting his competitor Regnier: for if Regnier ſhould become King of Naples, he would certainly endeavour (he ſaid) to make the Duchy of Milan a Province to the King of France; that ſo he might have a ſpeedy recourſe to him, and a door ready opened for ſuccours upon any emergency; which could not be effected without introducing the French into that Duchy, to the utter deſtruction of it. That for his own part, he thought the caſe would be very different, if he himſelf ſhould ſucceed to the crown of Naples and Sicily: for as he ſhould not be afraid of any enemy but the French, he muſt of neceſſity be obliged to court and careſs, and ſhew the moſt profound obedience to thoſe who only had it in their power to ſuffer his enemies to invade him. That the name and title of King of Naples would then indeed devolve to Alphonſo, but the power and authority to Philip Duke of Milan. So that it behoved the Duke much more than himſelf, to conſider the danger of proceeding in that manner, and the advantages that might reſult from a contrary reſolution; unleſs he choſe rather to give way to his paſſions than to ſecure his State. For in one caſe he would continue free and independant; but in the other, (as his dominions lay betwixt two powerful Princes) he muſt either entirely loſe his Duchy, or live in perpetual apprehenſion and ſlaviſh ſubjection to them both." Theſe remonſtrances made ſuch an impreſſion upon the Duke, that he changed his reſolution, and not only ſet Alphonſo at liberty, but ſent him in an honourable manner to Genoa, and afterwards to Naples; from whence he went to Gaieta, which city had been ſeized upon by ſome Lords of his party, as ſoon as they heard that he was releaſed. But the Genoeſe ſeeing the Duke had thus ſet him at liberty, without any regard to them, and not only reaped all the glory of a war, which had been carried on ſolely at their riſque and expence, but had the merit of releaſing him, and left them to his reſentment for having defeated and taken him priſoner, were exceedingly enraged at it.

In the city of Genoa, when it has the full enjoyment of its liberty, a chief Magiſtrate is choſen by the free ſuffrages of the people, whom they

they call *the Doge*; not inveſted with the power of an abſolute Prince, nor to determine upon any thing himſelf, but only to propoſe ſuch matters as are to be debated and conſidered in council. The Nobility, however, were ſo powerful in this city, that they ſtood in very little awe of the Magiſtrates: and amongſt them, the two families of Fregoſo and Adorna, were at that time the moſt eminent. From hence it came to paſs, that there were frequent diviſions, and but little civil order obſerved amongſt them; and as their conteſts for power were oftner decided by arms than the laws, ſometimes one party was depreſſed, and ſometimes the other. Sometimes it happened, that thoſe who had been excluded from a ſhare in the government, called in foreign Princes to their aſſiſtance, and ſacrificed the State to ſtrangers, when they could not uſurp it themſelves. From hence it likewiſe generally happened, that thoſe who were maſters of Lombardy, had alſo the command of Genoa; as Duke Philip had at the time when Alphonſo of Arragon was taken priſoner. One of the Nobles that were the chief inſtruments in ſubjecting that city to the Duke of Milan, was Franciſco Spinola; who not long after he had been the cauſe of enſlaving his country, became ſuſpected (as it often happens in ſuch caſes) and very odious to Philip [*l*]. Upon which, he was ſo diſguſted, that he retired to Gaieta, as a voluntary exile, where he was when the engagement happened betwixt Alphonſo's fleet and that of the Genoeſe; and having behaved with great bravery in their ſervice upon that occaſion, he thought he had ſo far regained the Duke's favour by it, that he ſhould at leaſt be ſuffered to live quietly at Genoa, as a reward for his merit. But perceiving that the Duke ſtill looked upon him with a ſuſpicious eye, and ſeemed to think that a man who had betrayed his country, could never be faithful to any one elſe,

[*l*] It ſeldom happens that they who raiſe either a uſurper or a lawful Prince to the throne, enjoy his favour long. This, however, is not always owing to the maxim, "that men love treaſon but hate traitors;" nor becauſe men imagine, that they who laboured to dethrone their firſt maſter, will not ſcruple to dethrone their new ſovereign. It is chiefly becauſe theſe men think they are never rewarded as they deſerve; and that a Prince who owes his crown to them, ought to grant them whatever they requeſt of him. But this he neither can nor ought to do. At which they grow ſullen, they complain, and thus fall under the diſpleaſure of their Prince. Cardinal Pompey Colonna having raiſed Clement VII. to the Papal Chair, in oppoſition to Cardinal Franciotto Urſini, obtained ſeveral favours from that Pontif: but imagining he ſhould be indulged in every thing he aſked for, he one day requeſted ſomething which his Holineſs thought unreaſonable, and therefore could not grant. Colonna provoked at the denial, reproached the Pope with ingratitude, and ſaid, "his Holineſs was obliged to him for the Tiara." Clement acknowleged it, but at the ſame time deſired Colonna "to let him continue Pope, and not endeavour to be ſo himſelf; ſince by acting as he did, he endeavoured to diſpoſſeſs him of that to which he had been raiſed by his means." *Mezmier. Reponſes libres aux demandes curieuſes*, p. 279, 280.

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he reſolved to make an attempt to reſtore Genoa to its former liberty, and to retrieve his own reputation, that ſo he might hereafter live in ſecurity at home; as he found there was no other way left to make his peace with his Fellow-citizens, but by healing the wound which he himſelf had given them. Seeing therefore, the univerſal indignation which the releaſe of Alphonſo had excited againſt the Duke, he thought it a very opportune conjuncture to proceed to the execution of his deſigns. For which purpoſe, he communicated the matter to ſome of his friends, who he knew were equally impatient to regain their liberty, and earneſtly exhorted them to aſſiſt him in the attempt. Accordingly, on the Feſtival of St. John the Baptiſt, as ſoon as Ariſmino, their new Governor for the Duke, had made his entry into the city, attended by Opicino the former Governor, and many of the Citizens, Spinola without further delay, ruſhed out of his houſe with his confederates ready armed, and having drawn them up in the ſtreet before his door, cried out, *Liberty, Liberty.* At this ſound, the people ran together with ſuch eagerneſs, that thoſe who adhered to the Duke, either out of ſelf-intereſt or any other motive, were not only unprepared to make any reſiſtance, but hardly had time to run away. Ariſmino and ſome of the Citizens that were of his party, retired into the citadel, which was garriſoned by the Duke's ſoldiers. But Opicino endeavouring to get to the palace, where he thought he ſhould be able to ſecure himſelf, and animate his friends to make a vigorous defence (as there were two thouſand ſoldiers in it under his command) was knocked on the head before he could reach it, and torn limb from limb by the populace, after they had dragged his body through every ſtreet in the city. The citadel and other forts that were in the Duke's poſſeſſion, likewiſe ſurrendering in a few days, the Genoeſe in this manner recovered their liberty and entirely ſhook off his yoke.

The Princes of Italy, who ſometime before had been under great apprehenſions that the Duke would grow too powerful for them all, began to hope they ſhould be able to make a ſtand againſt him which they ſaw things take this turn; and the Florentines and Venetians, notwithſtanding the league they had ſo lately made with him, now entered into a confederacy with the Genoeſe. Rinaldo degli Albizi therefore, and ſeveral others of the greateſt diſtinction amongſt the Florentine Exiles, ſeeing the face of affairs ſo changed, and further diſturbances likely to enſue, did not deſpair of prevailing with the Duke to come to an open rupture with the Florentines; and for that purpoſe, they went to wait upon him at Milan, where Rinaldo addreſſed him in the following manner: "Neither your Highneſs, nor any other perſon, who conſiders the courſe of human affairs and the mutability of fortune, will think it ſtrange that we, who formerly

formerly have been your enemies, ſhould now have the confidence to ſollicit your aſſiſtance to reſtore us to our Country; eſpecially as we truſt we can give a ſatisfactory account of our paſt actions to yourſelf, and preſent conduct to our Fellow-citizens. No reaſonable man will ever reproach another with defending his Country, by any means whatſoever; and in ſo doing, it never was our deſire or intention to do you the leaſt injury, but merely to ſecure ourſelves. For the truth of this, we appeal to yourſelf; as you muſt very well remember, that in our higheſt career of victory and ſucceſs, whenever we found you ſincerely diſpoſed to peace, we have promoted it with ſtill greater ardour than you did: ſo that we cannot accuſe ourſelves of ever having done any thing that might give us reaſon to doubt of your Highneſs's favour and protection; nor can our Country with juſtice complain of us, for now inciting you to take up thoſe arms againſt it, which we have often ſo vigorouſly exerted in its defence. For that State alone can duly claim the reverence and love of its ſubjects, which equally beſtows its favours upon them all: and not that, which ſmiles only upon ſome few minions, and frowns upon all the reſt. Nobody, ſurely, will affirm, that it is unlawful in all caſes to bear arms againſt one's Country: for every State in ſome meaſure reſembles the natural body; and as one is ſubject to ſeveral diſeaſes, which cannot effectually be cured without cauſtics and amputation; ſo, many diſorders and inconveniencies ariſe in the other, which yet if any good and compaſſionate citizen did not endeavour to remedy, even by ſuch means, if neceſſary, he would become highly culpable. What greater miſery then can there be in any Republic, than ſlavery? What remedy more expedient than that which will certainly put an end to it? Thoſe wars are always eſteemed juſt that are neceſſary; and it is but charity to our Country to take up arms, when there is no other hope of redreſs for the injuries it ſuſtains. For my own part, I know not what neceſſity can be more preſſing than ours, nor of any higher degree of charity, than to reſcue our Country out of the jaws of ſlavery. Without doubt, we have a moſt juſt cauſe, and very well worthy of being maturely conſidered and attended to by your Highneſs, as well as ourſelves; as you, likewiſe, will be fully juſtified in making war upon the Florentines, by their ſhameleſs behaviour in confederating with your rebellious ſubjects the Genoeſe, in open violation of the ſolemn engagements into which they have ſo lately entered with your Highneſs. But if our ſufferings are not ſufficiently grievous to move pity, certainly the indignities that have been offered to yourſelf ſhould excite your reſentment, and prompt you to take a juſt revenge; eſpecially, ſince it is ſo eaſy to be effected. Let not the remembrance of paſt times diſcourage you, in which you have ſeen them defend themſelves with ſo much vigour

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and obſtinacy: though indeed, if their courage was now equal to what it was formerly, it would be much to be dreaded. But the caſe is far otherwiſe at preſent; for what ſtrength can you expect in a city that has expelled the richeſt and moſt induſtrious of its inhabitants? What reſolution in a people diſtracted with freſh broils and quarrels amongſt themſelves, which will naturally prevent the little money they have left from being applied as it uſed to be? For men chearfully open their purſes, when they ſee it is for the reputation and ſecurity of their Country, in hopes of regaining that by an honourable peace, which they have expended in ſupporting a neceſſary war: but with great reluctance, when they find themſelves equally oppreſſed, both in war and peace, and are plundered by the outrages of an enemy in one, and the rapacity of their Governors in the other. It is certain, that the avarice of Governors is of much greater prejudice to any State, than the depredations of its enemies: as the latter, it may be hoped, will ceaſe in time; but of the former there ſeldom is any end. You formerly waged war againſt the whole Republic; but now againſt a very inconſiderable remnant of it: you then had great numbers of good and worthy Citizens to oppoſe you; but at preſent very few, and thoſe bad men: you came at that time to deprive our City of its liberties, but now to reſtore them: and ſurely, from ſuch a contrariety of circumſtances, you may well hope for a very different event; nay, you may certainly depend upon ſucceſs. We leave your Highneſs to judge of the advantage you will reap from by it ſtrengthening your hands by a ſtrict alliance with the Tuſcans, whom you will firmly attach to your intereſt, by the merit of ſo great a deliverance; an alliance, from which you may avail yourſelf of more effectual ſupplies in any future undertaking, than even from Milan itſelf: and though ſuch an enterprize, at another time, might have been imputed to injuſtice or ambition, it will now be regarded as equitable and compaſſionate. Permit us, therefore, to exhort your Highneſs, not to let ſo fair an opportunity ſlip away, but to conſider, that although your former attempts againſt that State were attended with great difficulty, expence, and diſhonour, you may eaſily ſucceed in this, and gain infinite reputation and advantage."

The Duke did not require much ſollicitation to induce him to make war upon the Florentines, as he entertained an hereditary hatred to them, and was prompted to it by the blindneſs of his ambition, which governed him in all his actions: beſides, he was not a little provoked at their confederacy with the Genoeſe. But when he conſidered the vaſt expences he had been at, the riſque he had run, the loſſes he had ſo lately ſuſtained, and the vain and ill-grounded hopes of the exiles, his ardour was ſomething abated. However, as ſoon as he heard of the revolt of

Genoa, he ordered Niccolo Piccinino to advance towards that City with all his Cavalry, and what infantry he could raiſe in his own territories, to try if it was poſſible to recover it, before the Citizens had eſtabliſhed any new government, and made neceſſary proviſions for their defence; as he depended much upon the ſtrength of the Citadel, which he thought was ſtill maintained by his garriſon. And though Piccinino not only drove ſome of the Genoeſe up into the mountains, but took the Vale of Ponzeveri from them, where they had fortified themſelves, and forced them into that town, yet they defended it ſo obſtinately, that he could make no further progreſs, and was obliged to draw off again with his forces. Upon which, the Duke, at the inſtigation of the Florentine exiles, ſent him inſtructions to make an incurſion towards the Sea-coaſt near Leghorn, and harraſs the confines of Piſa, as much as poſſible; imagining he ſhould be better able to judge from the ſucceſs of theſe expeditions, what courſe it would be moſt proper to take next. In conſequence of this, Piccinino made an aſſault upon Serezana and took it; and after he had committed great ravages thereabout, in order to alarm the Florentines ſtill more, he proceeded towards Lucca, giving out that he would march into the Kingdom of Naples to the aſſiſtance of the King of Arragon. In the beginning of theſe new commotions Pope Eugenius left Florence and went to Bologna, where he endeavoured to bring about an accommodation betwixt the League and the Duke, to whom he cauſed it to be ſignified, that if he did not conſent to it, he ſhould be obliged to give Count Franciſco Sforza leave to go into their ſervice, who was then his General and Ally. And though his Holineſs took great pains in the matter, it was to no purpoſe: for the Duke would not liſten to any agreement, except Genoa was reſtored to him, and the League inſiſted that it ſhould continue in the enjoyment of its liberties: ſo that all hopes of peace being at an end, both ſides prepared for war. Upon the arrival of Piccinino at Lucca, the Florentines beginning to be apprehenſive of new diſturbances from that quarter, ordered Neri di Gino to march directly with their forces to cover the Country about Piſa, where he was joined by Count Sforza, according to the Pope's directions, and both of them took poſt at Santa Gonda. On the other hand, Piccinino, who lay at Lucca, ſent to demand a paſſage through that Country into the Kingdom of Naples; which being refuſed, he threatened to force one.

The ſtrength of the two armies, and the abilities of the commanders were nearly the ſame: ſo that neither ſide being very deſirous to come to an engagement, eſpecially in the depth of winter, (as it was then December) they lay many days in their quarters, without proceeding to further hoſtilities. The firſt that moved was Piccinino, who being informed,

pained, that if he made an aſſault upon the town of Piſano, he might eaſily carry it. But failing in that, he laid waſte all the adjacent Country, and not only took St. Giovanni alla Vena, but plundered it and burnt it down to the ground. The ſucceſs of this enterprize (though he failed in his main deſign) determined him to attempt ſomething further; eſpecially when he ſaw that neither Gini, nor the Count ſtirred out of their quarters to oppoſe him. He therefore made an attack upon St. Maria in Caſtello and Filetto, and took them both. Yet even this did not provoke the Count to put himſelf in motion; though he was not afraid to face the enemy; but becauſe the Government of Florence had not yet fully reſolved to declare war, out of reverence to the Pope, who was ſtill negociating a peace. But this manner of proceeding, which was the effect of moderation and prudence in the Florentines, being imputed to puſillanimity by the enemy, ſo elated them that they marched forward and ſat down with all their forces before Barga. This new provocation, however, determined the Florentines to lay aſide all reſpect, and not only to relieve Barga if poſſible, but to invade the territories of the Luccheſe. For which purpoſe, the Count advancing directly towards Piccinino, engaged and routed his army, almoſt under the walls of that town, and forced him to raiſe the ſiege. In the mean time, the Venetians perceiving the Duke had broken his engagements with them, ſent Francisco da Gonzaga, their commander in chief, to Ghiaradadda, who made ſuch devaſtation in the Duke's territories, that he was forced to recall Piccinino out of Tuſcany. This retreat, and the advantage which the Florentines had lately gained over him, encouraged them to make an attempt upon Lucca, and not without great hopes of reducing that city; in which expedition they proceeded without either fear or ceremony; as they ſaw the Duke, who was the only perſon that could interrupt their deſigns, was likely to be ſufficiently employed by the Venetians; and the Luccheſe could not with any face complain of hoſtilities being commenced againſt them by a people whoſe enemies they had received into their boſom, and given them an opportunity of invading their dominions. In the beginning of April therefore 1437, the Count put his army in motion again: but being deſirous of recovering what the Florentines had loſt, before he invaded others, he firſt retook St. Maria in Caſtello, and all their other towns which Piccinino had made himſelf maſter of: and then directing his march towards the territories of the Luccheſe, he laid ſiege to Camajore, the inhabitants of which, though very well affected to their maſters, being terrified at the ſudden arrival of the enemy before their gates, forgot their loyalty, and ſurrendered to the Count. With the ſame facility he reduced Maſſa and Serezana, before the end of May; and then carried his arms into the confines of Lucca,

where he laid waſte all their corn-fields, burnt the Villages, cut up their Vines and fruit trees, drove away their Cattle, and ſpared nothing that his ſoldiers could lay their hands on. The Luccheſe on the other hand, ſeeing themſelves abandoned by the Duke, and in no condition to defend their Country, retired into the city, which they fortified with redoubts and other works in ſuch a manner, that they were not without hopes of defending it for ſome time; eſpecially as they had a ſtrong garriſon within the walls, and remembered how often the Florentines had miſcarried in their former attempts upon it. The only thing they had to fear, was the baſeneſs and irreſolution of the common people, who being wearied out with a ſiege, would moſt likely prefer their own private ſafety to the liberty of the public, and force them to ſome ignominious capitulation. To encourage them therefore to make a reſolute defence, one of the oldeſt and moſt experienced of the Citizens, having called them together in the great Piazza, harangued them in the following manner:

"Ye need not be told, fellow Citizens, that whatſoever is the effect of neceſſity, deſerves neither cenſure nor applauſe. So that if ye ſhould accuſe us as the occaſion of a war which the Florentines have now commenced againſt our State, by admitting the Duke's forces into this city, and giving them a more convenient opportunity of invading their dominions, ye certainly do us much wrong; ſince ye muſt all but too well remember the many attempts they have formerly made upon us, which have not been owing to any injuries that we have done them, or any juſt apprehenſions from us on their ſide, but to our weakneſs and their ambition; both which, from time to time, have continually incited them to conſpire our ruin. Let us not flatter ourſelves therefore, that any merit on our part will ever divert them from their purpoſes, or any offence that we may give, can more fully determine them in ſuch a reſolution: and ſince it is their deſire to deprive us of our liberty, let it be our endeavour manfully to defend it. We have ſufficient cauſe indeed to lament, but not to be ſurprized, at their preſent manner of proceeding: for how is it poſſible to ſuppreſs our grief, when we ſee our country invaded, our towns taken from us, our houſes burnt, and our fields laid waſte? but can any man be ſimple enough to wonder at it, when he conſiders that we ſhould treat them in the ſame manner, and perhaps worſe if it was in our power? The arrival of Piccinino amongſt us has furniſhed them with a pretence to begin this war upon us, it is true; but they would certainly have found out ſome other, if he had not come hither: and though the evil might have been deferred for a while, it would in that caſe very likely have fallen ſo much the heavier upon us at laſt. So that we ought not, in reality, to impute theſe misfortunes

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to his coming, but to our own evil deſtiny and the ambition of our enemies: for we could neither refuſe admittance to the Duke's forces, nor reſtrain them from committing hoſtilities when they were here. Every one muſt needs know that we cannot poſſibly ſupport ourſelves without the aid of ſome powerful Prince; and that no one is either more able or more willing to defend us than the Duke. As he reſtored our liberty when it was loſt, we may reaſonably hope he will ſtill maintain us in it; eſpecially againſt enemies ſo implacable, that he himſelf has always looked upon them with abhorrence. If then we had offended him for fear of diſobliging the Florentines, we ſhould have loſt a firm friend, and made our enemy ſtill more powerful and ready to attack us. It is ſurely therefore much more eligible to be at war with them, under his protection, than to incur his diſpleaſure by patching up a peace; as we may depend upon it he will deliver us out of thoſe dangers to which he has expoſed us, provided we are not wanting to ourſelves. Ye very well remember with what a degree of inveteracy the Florentines have often invaded us, and with how much reputation we have always defended ourſelves, even when we had no other hope but in God, and in time; both which have hitherto conſtantly preſerved us. And ſince we were enabled to do ſo in thoſe exigencies, why ſhould we deſpair of it at preſent? At that time we were left to their mercy by all the States of Italy, but now the Duke eſpouſes our cauſe, and we have good reaſon to hope the Venetians will not be very forward to annoy us; as they look with a jealous eye upon the growing power of our enemies. When the Florentines attacked us before, they were not ſo much embarraſſed in their affairs as they are now; they had alſo greater dependance upon foreign aſſiſtance, and were more powerful themſelves: on the contrary, we were every way much weaker than we are at preſent: for we then were obliged to defend a Tyrant; but now we fight for ourſelves: at that time he reaped the glory of defending us; but now the reputation is our own: the enemy was then united and entire, but now ſo divided and diſmembered, that every part of Italy ſwarms with their Exiles. But if we had none of theſe motives to animate us, certainly we ought to exert our utmoſt efforts to defend ourſelves in ſuch a conjuncture as this. Every enemy indeed ought to be juſtly dreaded by us, as they are all ready to take advantage of our weakneſs to aggrandize themſelves with our ſpoils; but the domination of the Florentines is much more to be feared than that of any other people. Tribute and obedience, and the government of our city will not content them; they will ſeize upon our very perſons and houſes, to ſatiate their cruelty with our blood, and their avarice with our poſſeſſions: ſo that it behoves every one of us, of what rank or condition ſoever, to guard againſt them above all others. Let

us not deſpair however, though we ſee our Country laid waſte, our towns reduced to aſhes, and our lands in the hands of the enemy; for if we can ſave our city, thoſe of neceſſity muſt return into our poſſeſſion; but if we loſe that, it will avail us nothing to preſerve the other: if we maintain our liberty, they will hardly be able to continue maſters of our eſtates; but if we are to be ſlaves, it ſignifies but little what becomes of them. Let us take arms then, and in the day of battle, let every man remember that he is fighting not only for his country, but for the preſervation of his wife and children and private fortune."

The latter part of this ſpeech excited ſuch a ſpirit in the people, that they unanimouſly promiſed to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood, rather than fail in the duty they owed to their Country, or liſten to a peace, that ſhould be in any wiſe prejudicial to their liberty; and immediately began to make all neceſſary preparations for the defence of the City.

In the mean time the Florentine army was not inactive: for after they had committed great devaſtation in the adjacent country, they took poſſeſſion of Monte Carlo by capitulation, and then laid ſiege to Uzzano, in order to diſtreſs the Luccheſe on every ſide in ſuch a manner, that when there was no hope of relief from any quarter, they might be compelled by famine to ſubmit to them. The Citadel however, was very ſtrong and had a numerous garriſon in it, ſo that it did not prove ſo eaſy a matter to reduce it as the reſt. The Luccheſe ſeeing they were thus ſtraitened, had recourſe to Duke Philip (as might well be expected) and recommended themſelves to his protection in the moſt preſſing terms; ſometimes reminding him of their paſt ſervices, ſometimes of the inſults he himſelf had received from the Florentines, and ſometimes repreſenting to him "how much it would animate his other allies, when they ſaw him thus ready to interpoſe in their defence: and on the other hand, how greatly it muſt diſcourage them, if they ſhould be left to the mercy of their enemies. That in caſe they ſhould loſe their lives or liberties, he would alſo loſe his friends and his reputation at the ſame time, as well as the confidence of all others who ſhould at any time expoſe themſelves to the like dangers to ſerve him. To theſe remonſtrances they added tears and entreaties, beſeeching him to have compaſſion on them at leaſt, if he had no remembrance of former obligations." The Duke therefore, not only conſidering the late merit of the Luccheſe, and the ancient enmity of the Florentines to him, but being likewiſe very deſirous to prevent them from growing ſtill more powerful by freſh acquiſitions, reſolved either to ſend a conſiderable army into Tuſcany, or to make a vigorous war upon the Venetians; that ſo the former might be neceſſitated to abandon their preſent enterprize, in order to march to their aſſiſtance. As ſoon as the Florentines had intelligence

ligence of this reſolution, they began to grow ſick of their undertaking; and therefore, to find him ſufficient employment at home, they earneſtly ſollicited the Venetians to fall upon him with all their forces in Lombardy. But the Venetians being daunted at the deſertion of the Marquis of Mantua, who had quitted their ſervice and gone into the Duke's; and ſeeing themſelves in a manner diſarmed thereby, made anſwer, "that they were ſo far from being able to become principals in the war, that they could not take any ſhare at all in it, except they would ſpare them Count Sforza to command their army; and upon condition too, that he ſhould be obliged to paſs the Po with it in perſon: otherwiſe, they would not embark in the war (notwithſtanding any former engagements) ſince they could neither carry it on without a General, nor hope for ſucceſs from the conduct of any one but the Count; nor even from his, unleſs he would engage to ſerve them with equal vigour and fidelity in all parts." The Florentines ſaw very plainly that it was neceſſary to make a powerful diverſion in Lombardy; but conſidered that if they parted with the Count, their enterprize againſt Lucca muſt fall to the ground; and they were likewiſe aware that the Venetians made that demand, not out of any real occaſion they had for him, but to prevent them from becoming maſters of that State. On the other hand, the Count did not refuſe to go into Lombardy to ſerve the Confederates there, but was reſolved not to violate the obligation he lay under not to paſs the Po; for fear of forfeiting the advantages he expected from his promiſed alliance with the Duke. So that betwixt the deſire of reducing Lucca, and the apprehenſion of being embroiled in a war with the Duke, the Florentines were in no little perplexity. But fear at laſt prevailing over ambition, as it generally happens, they conſented that the Count, after he had taken Uzzano, ſhould march into Lombardy. There ſtill remained another difficulty however, which ſeemed much harder to be ſurmounted, and gave them more trouble and vexation than the former. For the Count would not be obliged to paſs the Po; and the Venetians would not take him into their pay upon any other conditions. But as there was no way to accommodate theſe differences, without making ſome conceſſions on one ſide or the other, the Florentines prevailed upon the Count to promiſe them in a letter to the Signiory, that he would paſs that river; telling him, that a private promiſe could not diſſolve a public engagement, and that he would be under no neceſſity of obſerving it: from whence they ſhould gain this advantage, that when the Venetians had once begun a war, they would be obliged to proſecute it; which perhaps might divert the ſtorm they were then threatened with themſelves. On the other hand, they repreſented to the Venetians, "that as ſuch a letter was ſufficiently binding, they ought to be ſatisfied with it:

it: that it was but reaſonable to ſkreen the Count, as much as they could, out of regard to the expectations he might have from his future father-in-law: and that it was both their intereſt and his, not to divulge the letter without a manifeſt occaſion." The Venetians appearing ſatisfied with this expedient, it was accordingly determined to ſend the Count into Lombardy; who having taken Uzzano, and thrown up ſome works round Lucca to keep it ſtill blocked up, recommended the ſuperintendance of that war to Commiſſaries, and paſſing the [*l*] Apennines advanced to Reggio. But the Venetians ſuſpecting his ſincerity, and deſirous to diſcover his real intentions, ſent him orders thither to paſs the Po immediately and join their forces: which being peremptorily refuſed by the Count, much ill language paſſed betwixt him and Andrea Mauroceno, who brought him thoſe orders, each upbraiding the other with pride and inſincerity: ſo that after much altercation, one inſiſting that he was not obliged to paſs the River, and the other proteſting he ſhould receive no pay if he did not, the Count returned into Tuſcany, and Mauroceno to Venice.

After this, the Count encamped in the territories of Piſa, by an order from the Florentines, who expected he would ſtill have conducted the war againſt the Luccheſe; but in that they were diſappointed. For the Duke being informed, that he had refuſed to paſs the Po, out of reſpect to him, began to entertain ſome hopes that he might preſerve Lucca by his mediation, and therefore deſired him to uſe his endeavours to make a peace betwixt the Luccheſe and the Florentines, and get him included

[*l*] The original ſays, *paſſo l'Alpi*, *he paſſed the Alps*. But it is plain, the Apennines are here meant. And though the word *Alps* is generally appropriated, by way of eminence, to that vaſt ridge of mountains which divides Italy from France, Germany, and Switzerland, yet the Latin, Greek, and Italian writers (and Machiavel in particular) very often apply it to other mountains, and in both numbers. The French uſe it only in the plural. The ſingular is chiefly found amongſt the poets. And indeed it ſignifies any high mountain. Antonini ſays, "*Alpe* ſignifica in generale ogni altiſſima montagna, come in Greco e in Latino; i Franceſi non l'hanno in queſto ſentimento: particolarmente ſignifica quella che faſcia l'Italia da tramontana. Gl' Italiani l' uſano nel ſingolare e nel plurale; come, *di neve in* Alpe *ſenza vento*; *e*, *già fu l'*Alpi *neve d' ogni intorno*." The Engliſh uſe it in the ſame manner. Milton makes his Sampſon Agoniſtes ſay, l. 628.

"No breath of vernal air from ſnowy *Alp*."

Which muſt be meant of the mountains of Paleſtine; as it could not without great impropriety be ſpoken of any other, eſpecially of thoſe in Italy: For what *breath of vernal air* could he expect from mountains that were at the diſtance of ſo many hundred leagues from him; if indeed he could be ſuppoſed to know there were any ſuch in being? The Appenines run the whole length of Italy, from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt, and may perhaps be deemed a ramification of thoſe mountains that are *particularly* called the Alps. They lay directly in the Count's way from Lucca into Lombardy, whither he could not poſſibly get without paſſing them, and are at a great diſtance from the other.

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as it if poſſible; ſtill keeping him up with the promiſe of his daughter in marriage at a more convenient opportunity: which made no ſlight impreſſion upon the Count, who was in hopes, that by ſuch an alliance, he might likewiſe ſometime or other become Lord of Milan, as the Duke had no ſons. He therefore uſed all means to prevent the Florentines from proſecuting the war, proteſting that, for his own part, he would not give himſelf any further concern about it, except the Venetians would firſt pay him the arrears that were due to him, and fulfil their other engagements: for that the payment of his arrears alone, was not ſufficient to maintain him in the quiet poſſeſſion of his State, without ſome other ſupport beſides that of the Florentines. So that if he was threatened by the Venetians, he muſt do as well as he could for himſelf; hinting, at the ſame time, that he would go over to the Duke.

Theſe cavils and double dealings exceedingly chagrined the Florentines, who ſaw that they muſt not only give up all thoughts of making themſelves maſters of Lucca, but provide for the ſafety of their own dominions, which would be in great danger if the Duke and the Count ſhould join forces againſt them. They ſent Coſimo de' Medici, therefore, to Venice, in hopes that a man of his reputation would be able to prevail upon the Venetians to perform their engagements with the Count. Hereafter the affair had been thoroughly diſcuſſed in the Senate, and he had repreſented to them at large the ſtate of affairs in Italy at that time, the greatneſs of the Duke's power, the reputation of his arms, and ſhewed them, that if he was reinforced by the Count, they would be driven back again to the Sea, and the Florentines in the utmoſt danger of loſing their liberties; the Venetians made anſwer, "That they knew their own ſtrength, and that of the other Italian States, and truſted they ſhould be able to defend themſelves upon occaſion. That it was not the cuſtom of their Republic to pay ſoldiers who fought for others; and therefore, they thought the Florentines ought to pay the Count, as they had employed him. That in order to enjoy their dominions with ſecurity, it was more neceſſary to humble his pride, than to ſupport it by penſions: for as his ambition had no bounds, if they now paid him his demands, when he had done them no ſervice, he would ſoon make others, which perhaps might be more dangerous and diſhonourable to them. That it appeared of the laſt conſequence to them, to curb his inſolence in time, and not ſuffer it to become incorrigible: but if they were deſirous to continue him their friend, either out of fear or any other motive, they would adviſe them to pay him by all means."

With this diſſatisfactory anſwer, Coſimo returned to Florence. The Florentines however, earneſtly ſollicited the Count not to abandon his confederates: which indeed, he was not very deſirous to do: but his impatience to be married to the Duke's daughter, kept him in ſuch ſuſpence, that every little accident ſhook his reſolution. He had left the care of his poſſeſſions in La Marca, to Furlano, one of his principal officers; who being tempted by great offers from the Duke, quitted the Count's ſervice, and went over to him; which ſo alarmed the Count, that he laid aſide all other conſiderations, and entered into a treaty with the Duke; in which, amongſt other articles, it was agreed betwixt them, that the Duke ſhould not, for the future, interfere in the affairs of Tuſcany or Romagna. After this agreement, the Count took great pains to perſuade the Florentines to come to an accommodation with the Luccheſe; and indeed, in a manner compelled them to it: for as they ſaw there was no other hope left, they made a peace with them in the month of April 1438; by which the Luccheſe were left in the enjoyment of their liberties; and the Florentines kept poſſeſſion of Monte Carlo, and ſome other fortreſſes they had taken from them. But not ſatisfied with this, they wrote letters into all parts of Italy, full of murmurs and complaints, that, ſince God and man had not been pleaſed to ſuffer them to reduce the Luccheſe under their dominion, they had been forced to make a peace with them. And it has very ſeldom happened, that any other people had ſhewn ſo much regret at the loſs of their own territories, as the Florentines expreſſed, when they found they were not able to uſurp thoſe of their neighbours.

Notwithſtanding they were ſo buſily employed at this time in their own affairs, yet they found leiſure to attend alſo to thoſe of their friends, and to beautify their City. Niccolo Fortebraccio, who had married a daughter of the Count de' Poppi, being dead, and Poppi having got poſſeſſion of the Bourg and Citadel di San Sepulchro, during the life of his ſon-in-law, ſtill held them in the name of his widow (pretending they had been ſettled upon her) and refuſed to deliver them up to the Pope, who demanded them, as uſurped from the Church. Upon which, his Holineſs ſent the [*m*] Patriarch of Alexandria, with an army, to wreſt them out of his hands: and the Count finding he was not able to maintain them, made an offer of them to the Florentines; which they refuſed to accept; and at the Pope's return to Florence, endeavoured

[*m*] A Patriarch is a great Dignitary in the Church, above an Archbiſhop. A Biſhop preſided only over the territory of the City whereof he was Biſhop. A Metropolitan ſuperintended a Province, and had the Biſhops of it for his Suffragans. A Primate was the chief of a Dioceſe, and had ſeveral Metropolitans under him. A Patriarch had under him ſeveral Dioceſes, the Primates themſelves were ſubject to him.

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to accommodate matters betwixt them." But as the treaty was attended with many difficulties and delays, the Patriarch made an aſſault upon Caſentino, took Prato Vecchio, and Romena, which he likewiſe in his turn offered to the Florentines, who would have nothing to do with them, except the Pope would conſent that they ſhould reſtore them to the Count; to which, after much wrangling, he at laſt agreed, upon condition that the Florentines would uſe their intereſt with the Count, to reſtore the Borgo di San Sepulchro to him. After his Holineſs was thus ſatisfied, the Florentines being deſirous to have Divine Service performed in their Cathedral Church of St. Reparata, (which had been many years in building, but was now finiſhed) entreated him to oblige them ſo far, as to conſecrate it himſelf: to which he willingly conſenting, a gallery was built (to heighten the ſolemnity, and ſhew greater honour to the Pope) from St. Maria Novella, where he reſided, to St. Reparata, eight yards in breadth, and four in height, under a very richly embroidered Canopy, and hung on the ſides with cloth of gold, through which his Holineſs only and his Court was to paſs, with ſuch of the Magiſtrates and principal Citizens, as were deputed to attend him; all the reſt of the people crowding into the ſtreet, the windows of their houſes, and every part of the Church, to entertain themſelves with ſo magnificent a ſpectacle. When the ceremony was over, the Pope, as a further inſtance of his reſpect for the City, conferred the honour of Knighthood upon Giuliano d'Avanzati, then Gonfalonier of Juſtice, and a Citizen of very great and long eſtabliſhed reputation: and the Signiory, out of regard to a man whom his Holineſs had been pleaſed to diſtinguiſh, likewiſe made him governor of Piſa for one year.

About this time, certain diſputes aroſe betwixt the Roman and Greek Churches, concerning their modes of Divine worſhip; in ſome particulars of which, they did not altogether agree. And as much had been ſaid upon that ſubject by the Prelates of the Weſtern Church in the laſt Seſſion of the Council held at Baſil, it was determined to uſe all means to bring the Emperor and the Greek Biſhops thither, to try if matters could be accommodated betwixt the two Churches. And though it ſeemed derogatory to the Majeſty of the Eaſtern Emperor, and mortified the pride of his Prelates to ſubmit to the Roman Pontif: yet as they were diſtreſſed by the Turk, and not able to defend themſelves, they thought it the beſt way to comply; that ſo they might with greater confidence demand the aſſiſtance of the weſtern Chriſtians. The Emperor therefore, together with the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, and ſeveral other Grecian Prelates and Barons, in obedience to the order of the Council, came to Venice with a deſign to proceed to Baſil: but as they were frighted at the news of the plague being there, it was reſolved that their

differences ſhould be diſcuſſed and decided at Florence, where they accordingly aſſembled: and after many long debates, which laſted ſeveral days in the Cathedral Church of that City, the Greeks ſubmitted, and were reunited with the Church and Pontif of Rome [z].

[z] The Council of Baſil, was only a prolongation of ſeveral others, which had been ſummoned by Pope Martin V. ſometimes at Pavia, and ſometimes at Siena; but as ſoon as Eugenius IV. was elected, in 1431, the fathers there aſſembled, began with declaring, that the Pope had neither a right to diſſolve, nor even to transfer their aſſembly; and that he himſelf was ſubject to their juriſdiction. Upon this declaration, Eugenius iſſued out a Bull to diſſolve the Council. The conteſt laſted a long time, and both the Eaſt and Weſt were engaged in it. The Greek Empire was no longer able to ſupport itſelf againſt the Turks, without the aſſiſtance of the Latin Princes; and in order to obtain a weak and very precarious ſupply, the Eaſtern Church muſt ſubmit to that of Rome. The Grecian Clergy were not at all inclined to this ſubmiſſion; nay, as their danger increaſed, they rather grew more ſtubborn. But the Emperor John Paleologus reſolved to comply, that he might ſecure ſome aſſiſtance at leaſt; and addreſſing himſelf at the ſame time, both to the Pope and to the Council, they vied with each other, who ſhould have the honour of converting the Greeks. He ſent Ambaſſadors to Baſil, where the Pope had but few adherents indeed, but they were more artful than the reſt of their brethren. The Council had decreed, that both money and gallies ſhould be ſent to convoy the Emperor into Italy; and that he ſhould afterwards be received at Baſil. But the Pope's friends made a ſurreptitious decree, by which it was ordained, in the name of the Council itſelf, that the Emperor ſhould be received at Florence, whither his Holineſs had transferred the aſſembly: for which purpoſe, they picked the lock of the cheſt, in which the great ſeal of the Council was kept, and ſigned in the name of all the fathers, the very contrary of what had been voted by that body. The fathers at Baſil had no chief of ſufficient authority to keep them united, nor any ſettled plan: they behaved with ſo little prudence, that they talked to the Greek Ambaſſadors of *thoroughly extirpating the errors of the Eaſtern Church*, after they had ſuppreſſed the hereſy of the Huſſites. The Pope acted with greater cunning; he ſpoke to the Greeks of nothing but union and brotherly love. And as his gallies were ready before thoſe of the Council, the Emperor being furniſhed with money to defray his expences by the Pope, embarked with his Patriarch, and a few ſelect Biſhops, who were ready to abjure the opinions of the Greek Church, to ſave their Country. His Holineſs received them at Ferrara, where, after ſome conteſts about the word *filioque*, which the Romans had long before inſerted in their Creed; as alſo about unleavened bread, and purgatory, they reconciled themſelves in every reſpect to the Church of Rome. From Ferrara they removed to Florence, where it was decided, *That the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father and the Son, by the production of inſpiration: that the Father communicates every thing to the Son, excepting his paternity: and that the Son has had a productive virtue from all Eternity.* The Emperor likewiſe, with his Patriarch, and almoſt all his Prelates, at laſt acknowledged the Supremacy of the Roman Church.—But this union was of ſhort duration; for the whole Greek Church ſoon after diſclaimed it: and whilſt Pope Eugenius was rendering this ſervice to the Latins, and had extinguiſhed the Schiſm betwixt the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches, as much as lay in his power, the Council of Baſil depoſed him from the Pontificate, declaring him guilty of rebellion, ſimony, ſchiſm, hereſy, and perjury.—After the Council of Baſil had thus vainly depoſed a very prudent Pope, whoſe authority all Europe ſtill continued to acknowledge, they ſet up Amadeus VIII. Duke of Savoy, who had turned Hermit, but could not reſiſt the ambition of being made Pope, though he was a Layman, and had no pretenſions to St. Peter's Chair. Upon

After a peace was concluded betwixt the Lucchese and the Florentines, and betwixt Count Sforza and the Duke of Milan, it was thought all disturbances would have subsided in Italy, especially in Lombardy and Tuscany: for as to the war which was still carried on betwixt Regnier of Anjou, and Alphonso of Arragon, there was no likelyhood of its being ended, but with the ruin of either one or the other of those two competitors. And though the Pope was not a little exasperated at the loss of so many towns as had been taken from him; and the ambition of the Duke and the Venetians were sufficiently known to every one; yet it was imagined his Holiness would be forced to be quiet out of necessity, and the others, out of downright weariness. But it happened quite otherwise: for neither the Duke, nor the Venetians could rest in peace; but soon took up arms again, and raised fresh wars in Lombardy and Tuscany. The Duke's pride was picqued that the Venetians should still keep possession of Bergamo and Brescia, and so much the more, as he saw them continue armed and making excursions every day to harrass and ravage his other dominions; and at a time too, when he thought himself able, not only to curb their insolence, but recover the towns they had stripped him of; especially, when they were deserted by the Pope, the Florentines, and the Count. He therefore resolved, if possible, to take Romagna from the Pope, imagining, it would not be in his power to molest him, when he was once in possession of that; and that the Florentines seeing the fire so near them, would not dare to move, for fear of being burnt themselves: or, that if they should, they could not easily do him any mischief. He likewise was no stranger to the resentment which the Florentines harboured against the Venetians, for their late behaviour to them in the affair of Lucca, and thought they would upon that account be less inclined to take up arms in their favour. As for Count Sforza, he concluded that the treaty he had so lately made with him, and the hopes of marrying his daughter, would keep him still attached to his interests. And to avoid the imputation of perfidy, and give others the less occasion to arm against him, he contrived matters so, that Niccolò Piccinino should invade Romagna, (as if it was solely to gratify his own ambition) since he could not openly embark in

this, the two parties began to pelt each other with bulls, censures, reciprocal excommunications, and all manner of contumelies: the Council called Eugenius a Heretic, a Simoniac, a Perjurer; the other side treated those Fathers as fools, madmen, barbarians, and to Amadeus, they gave the Names of *Cerberus* and *Antichrist*. In short, under Pope Nicholas V. the Council insensibly dwindled away of itself; and this Duke of Savoy, Hermit and Pope, at last contenting himself with a Cardinal's Hat, the Church was restored to its former tranquillity.

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that enterprize himſelf, without being accuſed of violating the engagement he had entered into with Sforza.

At the time when that treaty was concluded, Piccinino was in Romagna, and pretended (as it had been concerted betwixt him and the Duke) to be ſo highly diſguſted at the alliance he had entered into with his profeſſed enemy the Count, that he retired with his forces to Camurata, a town betwixt Furli and Ravenna; where he fortified himſelf, as if he intended to ſtay there till he could be employed by ſome other State. The report of his diſguſt being induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, he took an opportunity of repreſenting to the Pope, how ungratefully the Duke had requited him for his long and faithful ſervices: that he knew it was his deſign to make himſelf maſter of all Italy, and that he thought he ſhould be able to accompliſh it; as he had got two of the moſt experienced Commanders, and conſequently all the beſt forces of it in his ſervice. But that, if his Holineſs pleaſed, he would point out means to him, by which he could make one of thoſe Commanders, upon whom the Duke ſo much depended, become his utter enemy, and the other entirely unſerviceable: for if his Holineſs would furniſh him with money to pay his troops, he would fall upon the territories which the Count had taken from the Church, and find him ſuch employment there, that he would have no leiſure to aſſiſt the Duke in his ambitious deſigns. Theſe propoſals ſeeming feaſible enough, the Pope eagerly liſtened to them, and not only ſent him five thouſand ducats, but promiſed to provide largely both for him and his Children. And though his Holineſs was warned by ſeveral to beware of Piccinino, yet he gave no credit to them, nor would bear to hear any thing ſaid againſt him.

Oſtaſio da Polenta was Governor of Ravenna for the Church; and Piccinino now thinking it high time to proceed to the execution of his deſigns (as his ſon Franciſco had taken and plundered Spoleto, to the great diſhonour of the Pope) reſolved to make an attempt upon Ravenna; either becauſe he thought he was more likely to ſucceed in that enterprize than any other, or had a private correſpondence with the Governor: whatever might be his motive, it ſurrendered upon terms, after a ſiege that laſted but a few days. After which, he ſeized upon Bologna, Imola, and Furli, and which was ſtill more unexpected, out of twenty fortreſſes that were garriſoned with the Pope's troops in thoſe parts, there was not one that did not fall into the hands of Piccinino; who, not content with baſely robbing him of thoſe poſſeſſions, added inſolence to his perfidy, and told his Holineſs in a letter which he wrote to him, "that he thought he had ſerved him very right for attempting, in ſo ſhameleſs a manner, to break the friendſhip that had ſo long ſubſiſted

fisted betwixt the Duke and him; and for writing letters into all parts of Italy to make people believe he had abandoned that Prince, and was gone over to the Venetians.

After Piccinino had thus made himself master of Romagna, he left the defence of it to his son Francisco, and marched himself with the greater part of his forces into Lombardy, where he joined the rest of the Duke's army, and falling into the territories of Brescia, soon reduced all that part of the Country, and then sat down before the city itself. But the Duke, who earnestly wished to see the Venetians deserted by their Allies, and left alone to his mercy, took great pains to clear himself to the Pope, the Florentines, and Count Sforza from the suspicion of being in any wise accessary to Piccinino's proceedings in Romagna; and said that what he had done there was exceedingly displeasing to him, as it was so contrary to his engagements: secretly assuring them, that at a proper time and opportunity, he would not fail to make him smart for his disobedience. The Florentines and the Count, however, paid little regard to these protestations; and thought (which indeed was the case) that the late outrage had been committed upon the Pope with a view to check and over-awe them, whilst he himself fell upon the Venetians; who thinking they were sufficiently able of themselves to cope with him, were so lofty that they disdained to ask assistance from any other State, and trusted solely to their General Gattamelata to conduct the war. Count Sforza was desirous to have gone to the relief of Regnier of Anjou in the Kingdom of Naples, if he had not been prevented by the disturbances which happened in Lombardy and Romagna; and the Florentines were well inclined to have assisted him in that enterprize, out of the amity which had always subsisted betwixt their Republic and the Crown of France. The Duke, on the contrary, would willingly have protected Alphonso of Arragon, as he had contracted a friendship with him whilst he was his prisoner. But they all had such employment at home, as would not suffer them to concern themselves in foreign affairs.

The Florentines, therefore, seeing Romagna in the hands of the Duke, and the Venetians hard pressed by him, began to apprehend that the depression of their neighbours might perhaps conduce to their own ruin. Upon which, they sollicited Sforza to come into Tuscany, that they might concert measures to prevent the Duke from making any further progress; since he was now become much more powerful than ever he had been before: adding, that if his ambition was not effectually curbed by some means or other, all the States in Italy would soon feel the effects of it. The Count was sensible that the Florentines had sufficient reason for these apprehensions: but the earnest desire he had to

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conclude the match with the Duke's daughter, ſtill kept him in ſuſpence. And the Duke, who was well aware of it, continually flattered him from time to time that it ſhould ſpeedily be conſummated, provided he did not take up arms againſt him, as the lady was now of a marriageable age. Nay the farce was carried on ſo far, that ſometimes great preparations were made for the wedding; when all on a ſudden, ſome freſh excuſe or other was found out to protract it. However, to keep him quiet and prevent all ſuſpicion, he ſent him the ſum of twenty thouſand Florins, which was to be her dower by the articles of marriage. In the mean time, the war began to wax hot in Lombardy, and the Venetians every day loſt ſome town or other; the Veſſels which they fitted out to cruiſe upon their Rivers and coaſts, were continually taken; the country about Breſcia and Verona, entirely in the enemy's hands; and thoſe two Cities ſo cloſely inveſted by the Duke's forces, that it was generally thought they could not hold out long. The Marquis of Mantua, who commanded their forces for many years, had unexpectedly left their ſervice, and gone into the Duke's: ſo that in the progreſs of the war, fear at laſt compelled them to do that, which their pride would not ſtoop to in the beginning of it. For when they began to perceive there was no other hope left but from the ſuccour of the Florentines, and Count Sforza, they condeſcended to aſk it, though not without much diffidence and ſuſpicion that the Florentines would return them ſome ſuch anſwer, as they had given the Florentines in the affair of Lucca and the Count's arrears. But they found them much readier to comply with their demands than they expected, or indeed deſerved, conſidering their late behaviour to them: ſo much more powerful was the enmity of the Florentines againſt an inveterate enemy, than the reſentment of a ſlight they had received from an old Ally! for having long foreſeen the extremities to which the Venetians muſt of courſe be reduced, they had repreſented to the Count "that his ruin was inſeparable from theirs; that he would find himſelf deceived if he thought the Duke would treat him with ſtill greater regard, if he ſucceeded in his deſigns, than he did at preſent: that he had promiſed him his daughter, only becauſe he ſtood in fear of him; and ſince neceſſity compelled people to make promiſes, *that* alone could enforce the performance of them: for which reaſon, it behoved him to keep the Duke low: and that could not be effected without ſupporting the power of the Venetians. That he ought to conſider therefore, that if the Venetians ſhould be driven out of their poſſeſſions upon the [o] Terra firma,

[o] So they call their dominions that lie upon the Continent, which formerly were conſiderable; but at preſent they are very much reduced, as well as their commerce and naval power. They have particular magiſtrates to ſuperintend the affairs of what poſſeſſions they have ſtill left upon the Terra firma, who are called *i ſavii della terra*: and he

he would not only be deprived of all the conveniencies which might accrue from their alliance, but of thoſe alſo that he might hope for from others, out of reſpect to them. That if he would reflect upon the condition of the reſt of the Italian States, he would find ſome of them very poor, and others ill affected to him. That the Florentines alone, as they had often given him to underſtand, were not able to maintain him: ſo that he was obliged, by every motive, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours that the Venetians ſhould retain their territories upon the Continent.

Theſe arguments, joined to the reſentment which the Count had now conceived againſt the Duke for duping him, as he thought, in the match with his Daughter, at laſt determined him to enter into a confederacy with them (though he would not be obliged to paſs the Po) and the articles were accordingly ſigned in February 1438: by which the Venetians were to bear two thirds, and the Florentines one third of the expences of the war; both of them engaging to defend the Count's poſſeſſions in la Marca, at their own charges. But the League thinking they had not yet ſufficient ſtrength, likewiſe brought the Lord of Faenza, the ſons of Pandolpho Malateſta da Rimini, and Pietro-gian-paolo Urſini into the confederacy: and though they tempted the Marqui of Mantua with large offers, they could not detach him from the Duke. The Lord of Faenza alſo (whoſe ſtipend they had retrenched) finding he could have better terms, ſoon deſerted them, and went into the Duke's ſervice; which made them deſpair of putting ſo ſpeedy an end to the troubles in Romagna as they had vainly promiſed themſelves.

Their affairs in Lombardy alſo, were in a bad ſituation; for Breſcia was blocked up in ſuch a manner by the Duke's forces, that it was daily expected it muſt be obliged to ſurrender for want of proviſions. They were under the ſame apprehenſions for Verona: and if either of thoſe Cities ſhould be taken, they thought any further preparations for war, would be to no purpoſe, and all the expences they had hitherto been at, entirely thrown away. But there ſeemed to be no remedy, except

there are yet ſeveral orders of Nobility, as Counts, Marquiſes &c. in that part of their dominions; but they are not treated with any great regard at Venice. Theſe are the heirs and deſcendants of ſuch Noblemen as were created by foreign Princes before thoſe Provinces were conquered by the Republic; who have loſt their privileges, and now enjoy little more than the titles of their Anceſtors. For the Venetians endeavour to humble and diſtreſs them by all poſſible means, in order to prevent them from carrying on any deſign againſt their government. They create other Noblemen with the like titles, of whoſe fidelity they are well aſſured, to balance the power of the ancient Nobility; and are perpetually fomenting and encouraging private quarrels betwixt them to divert them from any practices againſt the State.

the Count would march into Lombardy; and in this, there were three obſtacles to be ſurmounted. The firſt was, to prevail upon him to paſs the Po, and carry the war whitherſoever they commanded him. In the next place, they thought they ſhould be left too much expoſed when the Count was gone: as the Duke might eaſily retire into ſome of his ſtrong places, and whilſt he kept the Count at bay there with one part of his forces, he might ſend the other, in conjunction with the exiles, into Tuſcany; of which the Government of Florence was in very great apprehenſion. And laſtly, to find a ſecure route by which the Count might march with his forces into the territories of Padua, where the Venetians had aſſembled theirs. Of theſe three difficulties, the ſecond, which chiefly concerned the Florentines, ſeemed to be the moſt important. However, as the neceſſity was preſſing, and they were tired with the importunities of the Venetians, who earneſtly ſollicited them to put the Count and his forces in motion, without whoſe aid they could not pretend to do any thing, they poſtponed their own danger to the neceſſity of their Allies. As for the choice of the Route, they left that to be ſettled by the Venetians. And ſince it was judged convenient by the Signiory to ſend Neri, the ſon of Gini Capponi, to concert meaſures with the Count and perſuade him to paſs the Po: they likewiſe determined that he ſhould go on to Venice, to make all the favour appear ſtill greater to the Senate, and to expedite neceſſary proviſions there for the ſecurity of the Count's march. Neri accordingly embarked at Ceſena, and went by Sea to Venice, where no Prince was ever received with greater honour by the Senate, and as they thought the preſervation of their dominions entirely owing to his arrival and the reſolutions that would be taken upon it, he was immediately introduced into the Council, when he addreſſed himſelf to the Doge in the following manner: "Our maſters have always been of opinion, Moſt Serene Prince, that the ambition of the Duke of Milan, would ſometime or other be the ruin both of your Republic and our own, except it was prevented by their mutual defence and ſupport of each other: and if this Senate had likewiſe been of the ſame opinion, our affairs would have been in a better ſituation, and yourſelves ſecure from the danger which now hangs over your heads. But ſince you have neither been pleaſed to put any confidence in us, nor to lend us the aid you ought to have done in our neceſſities, we could not run with ſo much eagerneſs to your aſſiſtance, nor you ſo well tell how to demand it, as both ſides might have done, if you had dealt with us either in your proſperity or adverſity, like the men we really are, or known that whom we once love we always love, and thoſe that we hate we hate for ever. Our ancient affection for this illuſtrious Senate, yourſelves can witneſs, who have ſeen Lombardy ſo often filled with our forces

forces, and what loſſes we have ſuſtained there to ſerve you: and all the world knows the hatred we bear to Philip; which we likewiſe ſhall continue to his family; for with us, the remembrance of former friendſhip is not extinguiſhed by recent injuries, nor that of ancient enmity, by modern favours. We are very certain that if we had ſtood neuter in this war, the Duke would have thought himſelf much obliged to us, and that it could not have been of any great prejudice to ourſelves: for if he ſhould drive you out of Lombardy, and become ſole Lord of it himſelf, there would ſtill be ſuch reſources left in Italy, that we ſhould have no occaſion to deſpair of our own preſervation: ſince the more any Prince increaſes his power and dominions, the more envy and hatred he draws upon himſelf; which give birth to wars that generally end to his diſadvantage. We likewiſe know very well, what heavy expences and what dangers we might have avoided, by not taking part with you in the war, and that by acting otherwiſe, we may probably remove the ſeat of it out of Lombardy into our own Country. All theſe conſiderations however, weighty as they are, cannot make us forget the affection we have ſo long borne to your State; and we have reſolved to ſupport it with the ſame vigour that we ſhould defend ourſelves if we were invaded. My maſters therefore judging it highly neceſſary, in the firſt place, to relieve Breſcia and Verona, which cannot well be effected without the aſſiſtance of Count Sforza, ſent me to perſuade him to march into Lombardy, and carry the war into what part ſoever he ſhall be directed, though ye need not be informed, illuſtrious Senators, under what obligations he is not to paſs the Po: and yet I have prevailed upon him to do it by the ſame motives that influence our own conduct. And as he is invincible in arms, he is unwilling to be outdone in point of courteſy; nay, he has even endeavoured to exceed us, if poſſible, in that frankneſs and generoſity which he ſaw were the rules of our behaviour to you. For though he was ſenſible to what dangers, not only his own poſſeſſions, but all Tuſcany would be expoſed in his abſence, yet when he ſaw that we had poſtponed all private intereſt and conſiderations to your ſafety, he freely did the ſame. I come therefore, illuſtrious Senators, to make you an offer of the Count's ſervice at the head of ſeven thouſand horſe, and two thouſand foot, all ready to march whitherſoever they ſhall be commanded. But it is the expectation of my Maſters, and indeed of the Count himſelf, that, as they have ſent a greater number of forces to your aſſiſtance than they were obliged to do by treaty, you will not be wanting on your part, to make him a liberal proviſion; that ſo, neither he may have any cauſe to repent of entering into your ſervice, nor our Republic, of having perſuaded him to it."

This ſpeech was liſtened to by the Senate with as much attention as if it had been dictated by an Oracle, and made ſuch an impreſſion, that without waiting for the Doge to make an anſwer to it (as it had always been cuſtomary) the whole aſſembly roſe from their ſeats, and with hands lifted up and tears in their eyes, returned thanks to the Republic of Florence for their affectionate regard to them; and to Neri for having executed his Commiſſion with ſo much addreſs and diſpatch. They vowed that the ſenſe of ſuch an obligation, ſhould be for ever engraved, not only upon their own hearts, but upon the hearts of their poſterity; and that for the future, they would always look upon the intereſts of the Florentines and their own to be the ſame.

When theſe emotions began to ſubſide, they proceeded to deliberate upon the route which the Count ſhould take; and upon the number of pontoons and pioneers and other proviſions that would be neceſſary to facilitate and ſecure his march. There were four different routes. One from Ravenna along the ſhore: but that being for the moſt part ſtraitened by the Sea on one hand, and Moraſſes on the other, was not approved of. The next, was the direct high road; but obſtructed by a fortreſs belonging to the Duke, called Uccellino, which muſt be reduced before they could proceed any further, and that would take up more time than they could poſſibly ſpare, as the neceſſity was urgent, and the utmoſt expedition required. The third was through the foreſt of Lugo: but as there was then a great flood upon the Po, it made the paſſage that way altogether impoſſible. There was, therefore, only one road left, which was through the plains of Bologna, and over the bridges at Puledrano, Cento and Pieve, and ſo betwixt Finale and Bondeno to Ferrara; from whence they might tranſport themſelves, partly by water and partly by land, into the territories of Padua, and join the forces of the Venetians there. This way had likewiſe its difficulties, and they were liable to be attacked by the enemy in ſeveral places. However, as it was thought the beſt upon the whole, the Count had orders to take that route: upon which, he inſtantly began his march, and proceeded with ſuch expedition, that he arrived near Padua on the 20th of June.

The arrival of this commander in Lombardy revived the drooping ſpirits of the Venetians in ſuch a manner, that they, who but a little before ſeemed almoſt to deſpair of their own preſervation, now began to think of invading others. But the firſt thing which the Count attempted was the relief of Verona: to prevent which, Piccinino moved with his army to Soave, a fortreſs ſituated betwixt the territories of Vicenza and that City, where he intrenched himſelf, and threw up a Foſſe that reached from Soave to the Marſhes formed by the river Adige. But when

when the Count ſaw his paſſage obſtructed through the plain, he reſolved to march over the Mountains, and to puſh on that way to Verona; imagining the other would not at all ſuſpect his attempting any paſſage that way, becauſe it was exceeding rough and difficult; or if he ſhould, that he would not have time to prevent it. Having provided his army therefore with victuals for eight days march, he paſſed the Mountains and arrived in the plains beyond Soave. And though Piccinino had raiſed ſome forts to cut off his paſſage even this way, yet they were not ſtrong enough to ſtop it. So that when he found the Count had actually paſſed the mountains, contrary to all expectation, he retired beyond the Adige, that he might avoid being forced to an engagement with him upon diſadvantageous terms: and the Count ſtill advancing, entered Verona without any oppoſition.

The firſt difficulty being thus ſurmounted, Breſcia was in the next place to be relieved. That City ſtands near the Lake di Garda, and though it was blocked up by land, it might at all times be ſupplied with proviſions whilſt the Lake continued open. But the Duke being aware of this, had poſted troops along the banks of it, in the firſt career of his ſucceſs, and ſecured all thoſe towns that might ſend any aſſiſtance thither by water. The Venetians had alſo ſome Gallies upon the Lake, but they were not of ſufficient ſtrength to drive off the Duke's forces. Upon which account, Sforza reſolved to act in concert with thoſe Veſſels, in order to make himſelf maſter of ſuch towns, as kept the City blocked up in that ſtarving condition: and for that purpoſe, ſat down before Bandolino, a Caſtle ſituated upon the Lake; hoping, when he had taken that, the reſt would ſoon ſurrender. Fortune however was not propitious to him in this undertaking: for great numbers of his men falling ſick, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege and retire to Zeno, a fortreſs belonging to the Veroneſe, where there was a better air and greater abundance of proviſions for them. No ſooner had the Count retired, but Piccinino, reſolving not to loſe ſo fair an opportunity of making himſelf maſter of the Lake, left his Camp at Vegaſio, and proceeded with ſome of his choiceſt troops to the banks of it, where he made ſo furious an attack upon the Venetian Veſſels which lay there, that he took the greater part of them, and got poſſeſſion of moſt of the neighbouring Caſtles. At this misfortune the Venetians were in great conſternation; and fearing Breſcia muſt now likewiſe of courſe fall into his hands, they ſent very preſſing and repeated meſſages to deſire the Count would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to prevent it. Seeing, therefore, all hopes of ſuccouring it by water were now at an end, and that it was impracticable to do it by land on that ſide, conſidering the ditches, redoubts, and other obſtacles that Piccinino had thrown in the way, which

would ſo embarraſs his forces, if he ſhould engage the enemy there, that they muſt inevitably be defeated, he determined to try whether it was not poſſible to paſs the Mountains and relieve the town that way, as he had done Verona. With this deſign he quitted Zeno, and marching through the Vale of Acri to the Lake of St. Andrew, he proceeded to Torboli and Penda upon the Lake di Garda; from whence he advanced to Tenna, which he laid ſiege to, as it was neceſſary to reduce that fortreſs before he could get to Breſcia. But Piccinino having intelligence of his march, moved with his army to Peſchiera, where he joined the Marquis of Mantua, and having picked out a body of his very beſt troops, he advanced to give the Count battle, and the Count not declining it, Piccinino's forces were entirely routed, ſome of them being taken priſoners, others flying to the main body of their army, and the reſt to the Gallies upon the Lake. Piccinino himſelf retired to Tenna the ſame night, and conſidering with himſelf that if he ſtaid there till morning, he muſt certainly fall into the hands of the enemy, he reſolved to run the laſt riſque to avoid ſo imminent a danger. Of all his followers he had only one German ſervant left with him, who was a very luſty ſtrong fellow, and had always been exceeding faithful to him. This man, he perſuaded to put him into a Sack, and carry him away if poſſible to ſome place of ſecurity. And as the enemy's army lay round Tenna after the Victory they had gained, in a careleſs and ſecure manner, without poſting any guards, or obſerving the leaſt order, the German found no great difficulty in effecting it. For having put on a ſutler's coat, he took his maſter upon his ſhoulders, as if he had got a ſack full of baggage or plunder, and carried him through the whole camp ſafe to his own army, without any moleſtation or interruption.

If this Victory had been improved with the ſame good conduct that it was obtained, Breſcia might have been effectually relieved, and the Venetians have reaped greater advantages from it. But for want of that, the rejoycings of the one were very ſhort, and the other was left in the ſame diſtreſsful circumſtances. For as ſoon as Piccinino had got ſafe back again to his forces, he reſolved to go upon ſome new enterprize; the ſucceſs of which, might wipe off the diſgrace of his late defeat, and prevent the Venetians from throwing any ſuccours into Breſcia. He was well acquainted himſelf with the ſituation of the Citadel of Verona, and had been informed, by ſome priſoners whom he had taken in the beginning of the war, it was ſo careleſsly guarded that he might eaſily make himſelf maſter of it. He therefore determined not to neglect an opportunity, which fortune ſeemed purpoſely to have thrown in his way, of retrieving his own honour, and putting an end to the exultations of the

the enemy upon their Victory, by a ſtroke that might give them occaſion to alter their note. Verona is in Lombardy, and ſituated at the foot of thoſe Mountains that ſeparate Italy from Germany, in ſuch a manner, that one part of it ſtands upon the ſkirts of the Hills, and the other upon the Plain. To the North of this, in the Valley of Trent, the river Adige has its ſource, and at its entrance into Italy does not immediately take a ſtrait courſe along the plains, but turning to the left and winding about the bottom of the Mountains, paſſes through that City; which it divides, but not into equal parts; for that next the plain is much larger than the other. Above the latter are the two Forts of St. Pietro and St. Felice, which ſeem better fortified by nature than art, and ſtanding upon the heights command the whole town. On the other ſide of the River, in the part next the plain, there are alſo two Caſtles joined by the wall of the town, and at the diſtance of about a thouſand paces from each other; one of them called the *Old*, and the other the *New Citadel*. From the former, there runs a wall in a ſtrait line to the latter, that may be reſembled to the ſtring of a bow which the wall of the town forms in its range betwixt the two fortreſſes: and the ſpace betwixt one wall and the other, commonly called the Bourg of St. Zeno, is full of houſes and inhabitants. Theſe two fortreſſes and the Bourg, it was Piccinino's deſign to ſurprize; and he thought it would be no difficult matter to effect it, conſidering the negligence and ſecurity of the Garriſon, which in all probability would be ſtill increaſed by the late Victory; and becauſe he knew by late experience that no enterprize was more likely to ſucceed than one that was judged impracticable by the enemy. Having, therefore, drawn out a picked body of men for this purpoſe, he advanced with the Marquis of Mantua in the dead of the night to the walls of Verona, and making a ſudden Scalado upon the new Citadel, he carried it almoſt before the enemy knew any thing of the matter. From thence he deſcended with his men into the town, and broke open St. Anthony's Gate, through which he let in all his Cavalry. But the Centinels of the old Citadel hearing the out-cries of thoſe that had been ſurprized and knocked on the head in the new one, and the noiſe that was made at the breaking down of St. Anthony's Gate, at laſt perceived the enemy was upon them, and immediately began to beat their drums and ring the alarm bells, to raiſe the people. Upon which, thoſe of the Citizens that were moſt courageous took up arms, and ran in great confuſion to the Piazza before the Palace of the Magiſtrates. In the mean time, Piccinino's forces had taken poſſeſſion of the Bourg of St. Zeno, and were puſhing forward into the town, when the Citizens finding they were the Duke's troops, and that there was no poſſibility of defending themſelves againſt them, adviſed the Magiſtrates to retire into the Forts, to

ſave

ſave their own lives, and the City from being plundered; as it would be much better to do that, and wait for a change of fortune, than to be murdered themſelves, and provoke the enemy to ſhew no mercy to the City.

The Magiſtrates therefore, and all the reſt of the Venetians, took ſhelter in the fort of St. Felice; and ſome of the principal Citizens going to wait upon Piccinino, and the Marquis of Mantua, intreated them to receive the City into their hands, rich and flouriſhing as it then was, which would very much increaſe their reputation; rather than ſuffer it to be rifled and ſacked, to their great infamy and diſgrace: eſpecially as they had not taken much pains to oblige their former Maſters, nor deſerved to incur the diſpleaſure of their new ones by an obſtinate reſiſtance. Upon this ſubmiſſion, they were favourably received by Piccinino and the Marquis, who endeavoured to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of their ſoldiers as much as they could, and to prevent the City from being plundered: but as they were certain Count Sforza would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to recover it, they took all poſſible means to get the reſt of the ſtrong places into their hands; and ſuch as they could not make themſelves maſters of, they ſeparated from the town, and ſurrounded with foſſes and other works, to prevent the enemy from throwing ſuccours into them, and thoſe that were already there from annoying the town.

Upon the firſt rumour of this loſs, Count Sforza, who then lay with his army at Tenna, could not give credit to it: but when he was convinced of the truth of it, from more certain intelligence, he determined to make ſpeedy amends for his paſt negligence. And though it was the opinion of all his principal officers, that he ought to poſtpone the relief of Verona and Breſcia, and march directly to Vicenza, for fear of being ſurrounded by the enemy, where he was; yet he would not liſten to their advice, but reſolved to uſe all means for the recovery of Verona: and addreſſing himſelf, in the concluſion of the debate (which had been occaſioned by ſuch a difference in their judgment) to the Venetian [p] Proveditores, and Bernardetto de' Medici, the Florentine Commiſſary, he aſſured them, that he would certainly retake that town, if any one of the fortreſſes there ſtill held out for him. For this purpoſe, having put his army in good order, he marched with all expedition towards Verona. At the ſight of his vanguard, Piccinino imagined he had been going to Vicenza, as his officers had adviſed him: however, when he perceived that he ſtill advanced and bent his courſe towards the fort of St. Felice, he began to prepare for his defence. But it was too

[p] A *Proveditore* is the ſame in the Venetian armies, as a *Commiſſary* in the Florentine.

late;

late; for he had not yet finiſhed the barricadoes and entrenchments: and his ſoldiers being diſperſed, and buſy in plundering, could not be got together to oppoſe the Count's forces before they entered the fort. So that having gained a paſſage into the town, they ſoon retook it, to the great diſhonour of Piccinino; who, after moſt of his men were cut to pieces, retired with the reſt into the citadel he had taken, and from thence made his eſcape, in company with the Marquis, to Mantua; where he collected the remains of his army, and joined the other part of it that lay before Breſcia. In this manner Verona was taken and loſt again in the ſpace of four days, by the Duke's forces: and the Count ſeeing the winter now approaching, and the ſeaſon very cold, after he had with much difficulty thrown ſome ſupplies of proviſions into Breſcia, took up his quarters at Verona; where he gave orders for the building ſeveral Gallies at Torboli, during the winter, that ſo he might be ſtrong enough to relieve Breſcia more effectually, both by land and water, when the ſpring came on.

The winter having thus put an end to hoſtilities for a while, the Duke, who was aware that he had been defeated in his hopes of making himſelf Maſter of Breſcia and Verona, chiefly by the aſſiſtance which the enemy had received from the Florentines, whom neither the ill uſage they had met with from the Venetians could detach from their alliance, nor the offers he had tempted them with could gain over to himſelf, reſolved to invade Tuſcany, in order to make them more ſenſible of the miſchiefs they were drawing upon themſelves. In this deſign he was likewiſe abetted by the inſtigations of Piccinino, and the Florentine Exiles; the former of whom, much wanted to get poſſeſſion of the ſtates that were held by Braccio, and to drive Count Sforza out of la Marca; and the latter to return to their own Country: both of them urging ſuch motives to prevail upon the Duke, as ſeemed moſt ſpecious, and beſt flattered his own ambition. Piccinino repreſented to him, "that he might ſend him with an army into Tuſcany, and ſtill keep Breſcia blocked up; as he was maſter of the Lake, had ſo many ſtrong and well garriſoned towns round about it, and would have both Commanders and ſoldiers enough to face the Count, if he ſhould make any further attempts in thoſe parts; which yet it could hardly be ſuppoſed he would do before he had relieved Breſcia, and *that* he thought was impoſſible: ſo that he might ſafely venture to carry the war into Tuſcany, without being obliged to diſcontinue it in Lombardy. For the Florentines, he ſaid, muſt either recall the Count when they ſaw their own Country invaded, or ſuffer it to be totally ruined: in either of which caſes his advantage would be certain." The Exiles aſſured him for their parts, "that if he would ſend Piccinino with an army to Florence, the people

there, who at laſt were become deſperate under the oppreſſion and inſolence of their Governors, would inſtantly take up arms againſt them and revolt. That nothing was more eaſy than to march up to the very gates of the City; as Rinaldo degli Albizi had ſufficient intereſt with the Count of Caſentino to procure him a free paſſage through his territories." So that as the Duke was at firſt inclinable enough of himſelf to engage in ſuch an undertaking, he became thoroughly determined upon it by theſe perſuaſions.

The Venetians, on the other hand, were very importunate with the Count to attempt the relief of Breſcia with all his forces, though the winter was uncommonly ſevere: but the Count ſaid, "it was not poſſible at that time, and that he muſt wait for a milder ſeaſon; that however in the mean while, he would be getting his Fleet in readineſs to ſuccour it both by land and water." At which anſwer, the Venetians were much diſſatisfied, and afterwards proceeded ſo ſlowly in making the neceſſary proviſions for their forces, that they began to dwindle away very faſt. The Florentines alſo, when they had intelligence of their enemy's deſigns and the tardineſs of their friends, were not a little alarmed; eſpecially as they ſaw the war upon the point of being carried into their own dominions, and that their arms had met with ſo little ſucceſs in Lombardy. Nor were they leſs perplexed with the ſuſpicion they entertained of the Pope's forces; not that they thought his Holineſs himſelf was ill affected to them, but becauſe they ſaw his troops under the Command and direction of the Patriarch, who was their declared enemy, and that they ſhewed much greater deference to him than to the Pope.

Giovanni Vitelleſchi da Corneto, having firſt been [q] Apoſtolic Notary, then Biſhop of Ricanati, and next, Patriarch of Alexandria, was at laſt created Cardinal, with the title of *Cardinal of Florence*. He was a ſubtile enterprizing man, and had found means to inſinuate himſelf into the Pope's confidence to ſuch a degree, that he made him Commander in chief of his forces, and entruſted him with the ſole management of all his affairs and undertakings in Tuſcany, Romagna, the Kingdom of Naples, and even at Rome: ſo that he had gained ſuch an aſcendant both over the army and the Pope himſelf, that the one was afraid to Command him, and the other to obey any one elſe. This Cardinal, happened to be at Rome with his forces, when the report was ſpread that Piccinino was meditating an invaſion upon Tuſcany. A circumſtance that redoubled the apprehenſions of the Florentines, as he had ever been their enemy ſince the baniſhment of Rinaldo degli Albizi; becauſe they had not only

[q] An officer whoſe buſineſs it is to expedite beneficiary matters at the court of Rome.

abuſed *him* in not obſerving the agreement which had been promoted betwixt them at Florence by his mediation, but deceived Rinaldo, who had laid down his arms at his perſuaſion, and furniſhed his enemies with the means of ſending him into exile: ſo that the government began to be afraid that Rinaldo and his friends would certainly be reſtored and indemnified for all their ſufferings if they ſhould join Piccinino in his expedition into Tuſcany. And ſo much the more, as that Commander had ſuddenly departed out of Lombardy, and left one undertaking that ſeemed almoſt ſure to be attended with ſucceſs, to go upon another, the event of which muſt be very precarious: which they thought he would not have done, if he had not had ſome ſecret deſign or invitation. Theſe ſuſpicions they communicated to the Pope, who at laſt began to be ſenſible of the error he had been guilty of intruſting too much authority in the hands of another perſon. But whilſt they were under theſe apprehenſions, an accident happened that put an end to them.

The government had Spies in all parts that kept a ſtrict watch upon ſuch as carried Letters, in order to detect any conſpiracy that might be formed againſt them: and it chanced that one of theſe intercepted a Packet at Monte Pulciano, ſent from the Patriarch to Piccinino without the knowledge of the Pope, which was immediately carried to his Holineſs by the Magiſtrate, who had the charge of conducting the war. And though the letters were written in an unuſual character, and the ſenſe of them ſo obſcure that they were difficult to be interpreted with any certainty; yet thoſe very circumſtances, and the holding a correſpondence with his enemy, made the Pope ſo jealous that he determined to ſecure him, and gave a ſtrict charge for that purpoſe to Antonio Rido (a Paduan lately made Governor of the Caſtle of St. Angelo at Rome) who readily undertook to execute his orders as ſoon as he had a convenient opportunity, which preſently occurred. For the Patriarch intending to have gone into Tuſcany the next day, ſent word to the Governor of the Caſtle, that he deſired he would meet him in the morning at a certain hour upon the Bridge, for he had ſomething to ſay to him before he left the City: and as Antonio thought this was too favourable an opportunity to be neglected, (after he had made a proper diſpoſition for the execution of his deſign) he went at the hour appointed to the bridge, which being near the caſtle, was ſo contrived, that it might eaſily be drawn up or let down, as occaſion required, for its greater ſecurity. He had not waited long there, before the Patriarch came; and having led him by degrees in the courſe of their converſation to the other end of the bridge, he made a ſignal to have it drawn up: which being inſtantly done, he, who but the moment before had been General of the Pope's forces, now became Antonio Rido's priſoner in the caſtle of St.

Angelo. His attendants, indeed, at firſt began to raiſe an out-cry; but when they were informed, that what had been done was by the Pope's orders, they were ſoon quieted; and the governor, to comfort his priſoner in the beſt manner he could, told him, "he hoped he would come to no further harm." To which the Patriarch made anſwer, "that perſons of his rank were ſeldom arreſted, only to be diſcharged again; and that thoſe who deſerved to be impriſoned, did not deſerve to be releaſed." Not long after his confinement, he died in the caſtle; and the Pope appointed Ludovico, the Patriarch of Aquileia [r], Commander in chief of his forces. For though his Holineſs had been always unwilling before to embroil himſelf in the wars betwixt the Duke of Milan and the Confederates, he now promiſed to aſſiſt the latter, if Tuſcany ſhould be invaded, with four thouſand horſe and two thouſand foot.

The Florentines, though now delivered from the fear of the Patriarch, were yet very ſuſpicious of Piccinino's deſigns, and ſo uneaſy at the confuſion in which they ſaw their affairs in Lombardy (occaſioned by the difference of opinion betwixt Count Sforza and the Venetians) that they ſent Neri, the Son of Gini Capponi, and Giuliano d'Avanzati to Venice, in order to reconcile them, if poſſible, and to ſettle the operations of the next campaign; inſtructing Neri in particular, to ſound the reſolution of the Venetians: after which, he was to go to the Count, and perſuade him to comply with ſuch meaſures as ſhould appear moſt neceſſary for the ſecurity of the League. Theſe Deputies had not got ſo far on the road as Ferrara, when they heard that Piccinino had paſſed the Po with ſix thouſand horſe, which made them haſten their journey; and when they arrived at Venice, they found the Senate there fully determined to have the relief of Breſcia attempted without further delay; ſince that City, they ſaid, could not otherwiſe hold out, for want of proviſions, till the return of the ſpring, nor till the gallies were built, but ſeeing no hope of ſuccour, muſt of neceſſity be obliged to ſurrender to the enemy; which would entirely anſwer the Duke's purpoſes, and occaſion the loſs of all their dominions upon the Terra Firma. Upon which, Neri proceeded to Verona, to hear what the Count had to ſay, in anſwer to this; who made it ſufficiently appear to him, that any endeavour to relieve Breſcia, muſt not only be ineffectual at that juncture, but of great prejudice to their future undertakings: for conſidering

[r] This Lewis (ſays Volaterran, lib. xxii.) who was a native of Padua, having been promoted firſt to the ſenatorial dignity, for ſervices done in the field, and afterwards to the Purple, grew ſo proud, that, forgetful of his birth, he was the firſt Cardinal who preſumed to keep horſes and hounds, and to introduce a greater degree of magnificence, in feaſting, furniture, and equipage, than became that Order.

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the time of the year, and the ſituation of that town, no ſucceſs could be expected, and he ſhould only harraſs and fatigue his troops in ſuch a manner, that when a proper ſeaſon for action came, he muſt be forced to return with his army to Verona, to ſupply himſelf with ſuch proviſions as the winter had conſumed to no purpoſe, and other neceſſaries for the ſervice of the enſuing ſummer: ſo that all the time that ought to be employed in action, would be thrown away in fruitleſs marches and countermarches betwixt the two towns.

To obviate theſe objections, Orſatto Juſtiniani and Giovanni Piſani, were ſent to wait upon the Count at Verona; and after long debate, it was at laſt agreed amongſt them, that the Venetians ſhould increaſe the Count's ſtipend for the next year to eighty thouſand Ducats, beſides an allowance of forty Ducats for every private ſoldier: and that he ſhould not only take the field as ſoon as poſſible, with his whole army, but endeavour to penetrate into the Duke's dominions, that ſo he might be obliged to recall Piccinino into Lombardy to defend himſelf: after which agreement, the deputies all returned to Venice. But the Venetians finding ſome difficulty in raiſing ſo large a ſubſidy, proceeded very ſlowly in making the neceſſary proviſions: whilſt Piccinino, on the other hand, diligently purſued his march, and had already got into Romagna; where he tampered ſo effectually with the ſons of Pandolpho Malateſta, [s] that they deſerted the Venetians, and went over to the Duke. This was very unwelcome news at Venice, and much more ſo at Florence, as they had chiefly depended upon the Malateſti, to obſtruct the progreſs of Piccinino; but when it came to be known that they had revolted, it occaſioned great conſternation in the City; eſpecially as it was likewiſe apprehended, that Pietro-gian-paolo Urſini, their commander in chief, who was then in the territories of the Malateſti, muſt certainly be betrayed and defeated; by which they would be in a manner diſarmed, and deprived of all means of making any defence.

The Count himſelf likewiſe was not a little alarmed at this event. He was afraid of loſing his poſſeſſions in la Marca, if Piccinino advanced into Tuſcany: and being reſolved to attend more particularly to that point, he took poſt and went to Venice where he immediately demanded an audience of the Senate; which being granted, he repreſented to them how neceſſary it was for the ſervice of the League, that he ſhould march with his forces into Tuſcany. "That the main ſtrength of their arms ought to be directed againſt the enemy's Commander in chief and the place where he had collected his principal force; and not to be diſ-

[s] They were Lords of Rimini, a town upon the Gulph of Venice, which now belongs to the Pope.

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ſipated in fruitleſs ſkirmiſhes with Garriſons and attacks upon particular towns. That if the Duke's army could once be broken, there muſt be an end of the war; but if that was ſuffered to remain entire, the war would ſtill be carried on with greater vigour, even after his fortreſſes were reduced, as it almoſt always happened in ſuch caſes. That if Piccinino was not reſolutely oppoſed, both la Marca and Tuſcany, muſt inevitably be loſt; after which, their affairs in Lombardy would become deſperate. But if there ſhould be any hopes left of retrieving them, he thought it could not reaſonably be expected that he ſhould abandon the care of his own ſubjects and friends; for as he was a Prince when he came into Lombardy, he did not deſign to ſtay there till he had nothing left but the title of a private Commander." To which the Doge made anſwer, "that if he left Lombardy, nay, if he ſhould only repaſs the Po with his army, all their dominions upon the Terra firma would moſt certainly be loſt, and therefore, they ſhould not throw away any more money to defend them; as it would be ſimple to uſe any endeavours to ſave what could not poſſibly be maintained, and leſs prejudicial and diſhonourable too to loſe thoſe territories only, than to loſe both them and their money together. And if that ſhould be the caſe, it would then plainly appear, though perhaps too late, of what importance the preſervation of the Venetian dominions in thoſe parts, would have been for the protection of Tuſcany and Romagna. Upon which account, they could not by any means approve of the meaſures he recommended, ſince they very well knew whoſoever was maſter in Lombardy would be maſter every where elſe: and in that there could not be much difficulty; for now Picinino had withdrawn his forces out of it, the Duke's dominions were left ſo expoſed that they might be wholly over-run before that Commander could poſſibly return, or any other remedy be provided. That if any one would maturely conſider the matter, he would find that the Duke had ſent Piccinino into Tuſcany with no other view but to divert the Count from his preſent undertaking, and to remove the war out of his own Country into another. So that if the Count ſhould follow him, before there was any abſolute neceſſity for it, he would fall into the ſnare, and ſuffer him to gain his ends: but if they ſtill kept their forces in Lombardy, and made the beſt proviſion they could in Tuſcany, he muſt ſoon be aware of his error, and find that he had entirely loſt every thing in one, and gained nothing in the other." After the matter had been thoroughly diſcuſſed and every one had given his opinion, it was concluded to wait a little while to ſee what effects the new alliance betwixt Piccinino and the Malateſti would produce; what Pietro-gian-Paolo Urſini, the Florentine General, would be able to do; and whether the Pope really deſigned to perform the promiſes he had made to the

the League. A few days after this reſolution, they had intelligence that the Malateſti had entered into that alliance by downright compulſion, and not out of any diſaffection or ill will to the Florentines; that Urſini was gone with his forces towards Tuſcany; and that the Pope was better inclined to aſſiſt the confederates than ever he had been before. Upon which, the Count was ſo well ſatisfied, that he conſented to ſtay in Lombardy, and that Neri Capponi ſhould return to Florence with a thouſand of his horſe and five hundred others. That if affairs ſhould take ſuch a turn as to make his preſence neceſſary in Tuſcany, they ſhould let him know, and he would immediately repair thither. Neri therefore proceeded with thoſe forces towards Florence, and arrived there in April, on the ſame day that Urſini likewiſe returned to that City.

In the mean time, Piccinino having made all neceſſary diſpoſitions in Romagna, deſigned to have proceeded in his march to Tuſcany over the Mountains of St. Benedetto and through the Vale of Montone, but he found thoſe defiles ſo well guarded by Niccolo da Piſa, that any attempt to force a paſſage that way muſt be to no purpoſe. And ſince this invaſion was ſo ſudden, and the Florentines were but ill provided with Officers and Soldiers, they had ſent only a few companies of new raiſed foot to defend the other paſſes in thoſe Mountains, under the command of ſome of their own Citizens: amongſt whom was Meſſer Bartolomeo Orlandini, who had the charge of defending a Fort at Marradi, which ſecured the paſſage that way. The paſs at St. Benedetto therefore, being ſo bravely maintained that Piccinino had no hopes of ſucceeding there, he determined to try what might be done at Marradi, where he knew the Commander was not a man of any great courage. Marradi is a Fort ſituated at the foot of thoſe Mountains that ſeparate Tuſcany from Romagna, but on that ſide of them which lies next to the latter, and at the entrance of the Vale of Lamona. And though it has no walls, it is otherwiſe pretty well fortified by a river that runs cloſe to it, as well as by the Mountains, and the valour of the inhabitants, who are very courageous and faithful: for the banks of the river are ſo high above the water, that it is impoſſible to get that way into the Vale, provided a little Bridge that ſtands over the river be well defended: and on the other ſide, the rocks are ſo ſteep and craggy that it is inacceſſible. But the cowardice of Orlandini ſtruck a panic into his men and made the ſituation of no ſignificance: for he no ſooner heard of the enemy's approach but he quitted the place and ran away as faſt as he could with all his men, and never ſtopped till he came to the Bourg of St. Lorenzo. Piccinino at his arrival was not a little ſurprized to find a paſs of ſuch importance ſo meanly abandoned, and overjoyed that he had got poſſeſ-

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ſion of it. For he immediately marched down into the Vale of Mugello, where he ſeied upon ſeveral Caſtles, and at laſt took up his quarters at Puliciano; from whence he made incurſions into the neighbouring territories, as far as the Mountains of Fieſole; and grew ſo bold at laſt, that he paſſed the Arno, plundering and ravaging all the Country till he came within three miles of Florence.

The Florentines however were not at all diſmaid at theſe proceedings, but in the firſt place began to ſtrengthen the hands of the Government, which yet ſtood upon a pretty good bottom, conſidering the popularity that Coſimo de' Medici had gained by his benevolence, and that the ſupreme Magiſtracy was veſted in a very few of the principal Citizens, who kept a ſtrict hand upon ſuch as they thought diſaffected or deſirous of a change. They knew that Neri Capponi was bringing back with him a good body of horſe, and depended upon the Pope's aſſiſtance; the hopes of which kept up their Spirits till the return of Neri: who at his arrival, finding the City under ſome apprehenſion, reſolved to take the field, in order to check Piccinino's career and prevent him from making ſuch terrible devaſtation in the Country. For this purpoſe, having raiſed what number of foot he could in the City to join his horſe, he marched out and retook Remole, which the Duke's forces had got poſſeſſion of: after which, he encamped near that place, and ſent the Citizens word, that he had already put an end to the enemy's depredations, and hoped in a ſhort time to drive him entirely out of their territories. But Piccinino finding that every thing was quiet at Florence, and nobody offered to raiſe any commotion there, (as he expected) though there were now no forces left in the city to over-awe them, determined not to throw away his time to no purpoſe, but to go upon ſome other undertaking that might provoke the Florentine troops to follow him, and give him an opportunity of coming to an engagement with them, in which he made no doubt of routing them, and then he thought he ſhould be able to carry every thing before him.

Franciſco Count of Poppi (though he entered into the League with the Florentines) had revolted from them when the enemy penetrated into the vale of Mugello, and was at that time with Piccinino's army. And as the Florentines had always ſome ſuſpicion of his ſincerity from the firſt, they endeavoured to attach him more firmly to their intereſt by augmenting his ſtipend, and making him intendant over all their towns that lay near him. Yet (ſuch is the prevalence of party ſpirit in ſome men) neither the ſenſe of paſt favours nor the appprehenſion of future danger, could make him forget his connexions with Rinaldo degli Albizi, and thoſe that had formerly been his aſſociates in the government of Florence. So that as ſoon as he heard of Piccinino's approach, he

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not only went and joined him immediately, but adviſed him to leave the neighbourhood of Florence, and march towards Caſentino; acquainting him with the ſaſtneſſes of that Country, and repreſenting to him, with how much eaſe and ſecurity to himſelf, he might from thence more effectually harraſs and diſtreſs the enemy. Piccinino followed this advice, and advancing into the territory of Caſentino, firſt took Romena and Bibiena, and then laid ſiege to the Caſtle of St. Niccolo. This Caſtle ſtands upon the ſkirts of the Mountains that divide the State of Caſentino from the Vale of Arno; and as it was ſituated upon an eminence and well garriſoned, it was not eaſily reduced, though he battered it day and night with ſuch engines and [t] artillery as he had. This Siege had laſted twenty days; during which time, the Florentines aſſembled more forces, having got together about three thouſand horſe at Fegghine and taken ſeveral other Officers into their pay under the Command of Urſini their General, Neri Capponi, and [u] Bernardo de' Medici their Commiſſaries. At that place they received intelligence of the diſtreſs to which the Caſtle was reduced, by four different Meſſengers who were ſent from thence to deſire immediate relief. But the Commiſſaries having reconnoitred the Country, found it impoſſible to ſend the Beſieged relief any other way than over the Mountains that extend themſelves from the Vale of Arno; the heights of which, perhaps, might be occupied by the enemy before the ſuccours could get thither, as they were ſo much further from them, and could not conceal their march: ſo that there was no hope of ſucceeding in ſuch an attempt, and their army muſt otherwiſe be entirely ruined by it. They ſent the Meſſengers back again therefore to the beſieged with high commen-

[t] The original ſays, *ancora che Niccolo continuamente con briccole e ſimile artiglierie lo combatteſſe.* Machiavel ſays, in the latter end of the firſt book of this hiſtory, that great guns were firſt uſed in the wars that happened betwixt the Venetians and the Genoeſe, about the iſland of Tenedos, in the year 1376, or thereabout. But we don't find the leaſt notice taken of them in any of the field engagements or ſieges that have hitherto been mentioned in this hiſtory, and it is much to be queſtioned, whether they were uſed in the ſiege of this caſtle. For *Briccole*, which is a very old word, does not ſignify *cannon*, but other warlike engines, or *tormenta bellica*; the *arbalaſtra*, the *catapulta*, the *baliſta*, and other machines of that kind, to batter and throw great ſtones and darts. Nor is the the word *artillery* confined to great guns alone, but is often uſed to ſignify other machines and weapons of war. Thus, 1 *Sam.* xx. 40. *Jonathan gave his artillery to the lad, and ſaid unto him, go carry them into the city*; where *arrows* are plainly meant. The ſame *(calaju)* occurs again, 2 *Sam.* i. 27. but is differently tranſlated. *How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war periſhed!* or *loſt*. That is, the arms and armour, which had been taken from Saul and his ſons, and placed as trophies in the temple of *Aſhtaroth*, after they were ſlain by the Philiſtines. The Septuagint in both places ſays, τεκτονη πολεμικα, *military apparatus*.

[u] The author ſometimes calls him Bernardo, and ſometimes Bernardetto de' Medici.

dations of their fidelity, and inſtructions to capitulate when they found they could defend themſelves no longer.

After a ſiege of two and thirty days, Piccinino at laſt took the Caſtle; but he loſt ſo much time in making ſuch a trifling acquiſition that it was in a great meaſure the ruin of his main deſign: for if he had continued nearer Florence with his army, the Governors of the City would have found much greater difficulty in raiſing money and forces and making other neceſſary proviſions, whilſt the enemy was in a manner at their gates, than they did after he had retired: and many of the diſaffected party would have inclined to ſome accommodation with Piccinino, to prevent the expences of a war, which they ſaw was not likely to be ſoon ended, and to make him their friend. But the impatience of Count Poppi to be revenged of the governors of thoſe fortreſſes, with whom he had long been at enmity, induced him to adviſe thoſe meaſures; and Piccinino took them to gratify him; which proved the deſtruction of them both in the end. And indeed it generally happens that private intereſts and paſſions are highly prejudicial to public undertakings.

Piccinino purſuing his ſucceſs, took Raſſina and Chiuſi; in the neighbourhood of which, Count Poppi perſuaded him to fix his quarters, as he might extend his forces from thence to Capreſe, and from Capreſe to Pieve; by which he would become maſter of all the paſſes in the mountains, and might then make incurſions at his pleaſure into the territories of Caſentino, the vales of Arno, Chiana, and Tevere, and be ready to attack the enemy, if they ſhould offer to move. But Piccinino conſidering the roughneſs and barrenneſs of thoſe parts, told him, *his horſes could not eat ſtones*; and proceeding to the Bourg of St. Sepulchro, where he was received as a friend, he then began to treat at a diſtance with the people of Caſtello, to ſee if he could corrupt them; but they were too firmly attached to the Florentines to be moved by his offers. However, as he was deſirous to engage the Perugians in his intereſts, he went to Perugia with forty horſe, where he was honourably received on account of his being their fellow citizen. But they ſoon began to look upon him with a ſuſpicious eye, when they ſaw him tampering with the legate there, and ſome other citizens, to whom he made ſeveral propoſals; all which being rejected, he returned to his army with a preſent of eight thouſand ducats, which they had made him. After this, he formed a deſign of taking Cortona from the Florentines, by a conſpiracy, in which he had engaged ſome of the inhabitants: but this alſo miſcarried, as it was diſcovered in good time. For the evening before it was to have been put in execution, Bartolomeo di Senſo, one of the principal Citizens, going to mount guard by the Governor's order, at

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one of the gates of the town, was warned by a friend not to go thither, except he had a mind to be knocked on the head: and upon aſking what his friend meant by that advice, he was informed of the whole affair, and immediately communicated it to the governor. But the Governor having ſecured the chief conſpirators, and doubled the guards at that gate, waited there for the arrival of Piccinino: who, according to agreement, came at a certain hour in the night: but finding his deſign was blown, he returned to his former quarters.

Whilſt things were thus circumſtanced in Tuſcany, where the Duke's arms made but a feeble progreſs, his affairs in Lombardy were in a ſtill worſe ſituation. For Count Sforza had begun the Campaign there as ſoon as ever the ſeaſon permitted him: and the Venetians having got a new fleet in readineſs, he determined in the firſt place to make himſelf maſter of the Lake di Garda, and to drive the Duke's forces entirely away from it; imagining when he had done that, he ſhould eaſily ſucceed in his other deſigns. For this purpoſe, he attacked them with his gallies, and not only defeated them, but took the caſtles they had got poſſeſſion of: and the reſt of the Duke's army, which inveſted Breſcia by land, hearing of this overthrow, immediately raiſed the ſiege, and left that City at large, after it had been blocked up three years. Upon this ſucceſs, the Count marched after the enemy, who had retreated to Soncino, a caſtle upon the river Oglio; from whence he diſlodged them, and obliged them to retire to Cremona, where they made a ſtand, and reſolved to defend that part of the Country. But as the Count now diſtreſſed the Duke more and more every day, he began to be afraid of loſing ſome part of his dominions at leaſt, if not all: and being ſenſible of the error he had committed in ſending Piccinino into Tuſcany, he reſolved to remedy it if he could, as ſoon as poſſible; for which purpoſe, he wrote to acquaint him in what condition his affairs were; ordering him to quit Tuſcany immediately, and return into Lombardy, whatever progreſs he might have made there.

The Florentines in the mean time having collected all their forces under their Commiſſaries, were joined by thoſe of the Pope at Anghiari, a Caſtle at the foot of the mountains which part the Vale of Tevere from that of Chiana, about four miles from the Bourg of St. Sepulchro. The Country round about was plain and even, and the fields large and fit for horſe to act in, if they ſhould come to an engagement. But as the Commiſſaries had heard of the advantages which Count Sforza had gained, and that Piccinino was recalled, they were in hopes of putting an end to the war without drawing the ſword or any further trouble; and therefore ſent them orders to avoid an engagement by all means, ſince that Commander could not ſtay many days longer in Tuſcany.

Piccinino having intelligence of theſe orders, and finding himſelf obliged to leave the Country, reſolved to make his utmoſt efforts at the laſt, and to give them battle; hoping to take them unprepared, as it was not their intention to fight him. To this, he was likewiſe earneſtly perſuaded by Rinaldo degli Albizi, Count Poppi, and the reſt of the Florentine exiles, who ſaw they ſhould have no hopes after Piccinino abandoned them; but that if they came to an action, they probably might gain a Victory and ſucceed in their wiſhes; and if they loſt the day, they ſhould not be in worſe circumſtances than they were before.

With this reſolution, he moved with his forces from the place where he then lay, which was betwixt Caſtello and the Bourg, and arriving at the latter before the enemy had any notice of it, he drew two thouſand men out of that town, who, confiding in the valour of their General, and allured by the promiſes he made them, followed him in hopes of enriching themſelves with plunder. From thence he proceeded with his army in order of battle directly towards Anghiari, and had advanced within leſs than two miles of that place: when Micheletto Attendulo perceiving a great cloud of duſt raiſed at a diſtance, ſuſpected the enemy was approaching, and immediately gave the alarm. Great was the confuſion in the Florentine Camp upon this occaſion. For though indeed very little order or diſcipline was ever obſerved by armies in their encampments in thoſe days, yet the ſupineneſs of the Florentines was at this time greater than ordinary: and as they thought the enemy had been not only at a much greater diſtance, but rather inclined to retreat than hazard an engagement, moſt of them had laid aſide their arms and ſtraggled away to places at a diſtance from the Camp, either to enjoy the ſhade (as the weather was then very hot) or indulge themſelves in ſome other pleaſure. Yet ſuch was the diligence of the Commiſſaries and the General in getting them together, that they were all mounted and ready drawn up to receive the enemy before they arrived. And as Attendulo was the firſt that diſcovered them, he likewiſe ſuſtained their firſt ſhock; having poſted himſelf with the men under his Command on a Bridge that lay upon the road at a little diſtance from Anghiari. Upon the approach of the enemy, Urſini had cauſed the banks and ditches to be levelled, which lay on each ſide of the way betwixt Anghiari and the Bridge; and Attendulo having taken poſſeſſion of the Bridge itſelf, the Cavalry were placed to the right of him, under Simoncino Commander of the Forces of the Church, and the Pope's Legate; and to the left, under the Florentine Commiſſaries and their General Urſini; the Infantry extending themſelves on each hand along the banks of the River. The enemy therefore, had no way to come at them but over the Bridge; nor could the Florentines be forced to engage in any other place. Upon which

which account, they ordered their foot to ply that of the enemy briſkly with their Croſs-bows, if they ſhould quit the high road and fall to the right and left of their own gens d' armes; that ſo they might be prevented from taking their horſe in flank, as they paſſed or repaſſed the Bridge. Thoſe that made the firſt attack were bravely received and repulſed by Attendulo: but Aſtorre and Franciſco Piccinino [*] advancing to their relief with a picked body of men, charged him ſo furiouſly, that they obliged him to quit the Bridge, and purſued him to the bottom of the hill upon which Anghiari ſtands, from whence they were driven back and forced over the Bridge again by the Infantry that attacked them in flank. The diſpute laſted in this manner for the ſpace of two hours; during which, ſometimes Piccinino's forces, and ſometimes the Florentines were Maſters of the Bridge. And though the ſucceſs of each party was nearly the ſame upon the Bridge, yet Piccinino had much the worſt of it on both ſides of the River. For whenever his forces poſſeſſed the Bridge, they found thoſe of the enemy well drawn up and ready to act as occaſion required; (an advantage that was gained by the precaution they had taken to level the banks and ditches on their ſide) ſo that when any of their men were hard puſhed and began to faint, they were immediately relieved by a freſh party. On the other hand, when the Florentines paſſed it, Piccinino was ſo embarraſſed with the banks and ditches on his ſide, that he found it very difficult to relieve his troops: and though they often gained the Bridge, they were conſtantly driven back again by the enemy. The Florentines therefore having once more got poſſeſſion of it, and puſhing forward into the road on the other ſide with great fury, Piccinino found himſelf ſtraitened in ſuch a manner by his ſituation, that he had neither time nor room to ſuccour his men that were giving way: ſo that thoſe who were in the front recoiling upon the rear, his whole army was thrown into ſuch confuſion, that they at laſt turned their backs and fled with the utmoſt precipitation towards the Bourg of St. Sepulchro. Upon which, the Florentine Soldiers, inſtead of purſuing them, began to plunder and ſtrip the priſoners they had taken, of their horſes, arms and accoutrements, and what elſe they had: and indeed the booty was not inconſiderable: for there were not quite a thouſand horſe that eſcaped with Piccinino. And the inhabitants of St. Sepulchro who had followed him for the ſake of plunder, being all taken, with the loſs of their baggage and colours, were not only ſtripped themſelves, but afterwards forced to pay a ranſom for their liberty. This Victory was of great conſequence to the Florentines, though not very prejudicial to the Duke's affairs: for if *they* had loſt the day, all

[*] He was ſon to the General, Niccolo Piccinino.

Tuſcany

Tuſcany muſt have fallen into his hands. But as *his* forces were routed, he loſt nothing but their arms and horſes; a damage that might be repaired at no conſiderable expence. Indeed it never happened that invaſions were made with leſs danger and ſlaughter on the ſide of the Invaders, than in theſe times: for in a battle that laſted four hours, and in ſo total an overthrow, there was but one man killed; and he too, not by the edge of the ſword, or in any honourable attempt, but by a fall from his horſe to the ground, where he was trampled to death in the rout. With ſo much ſecurity did they make war in thoſe days! for moſt of the ſoldiers being mounted on horſeback and covered with armour, had but little occaſion to fear death in any engagement: and if they were defeated and ſurrendered, they commonly had their lives ſpared.

This battle, and what immediately happened after it, may ſerve to ſhew the weak and pitiful manner in which they made war in thoſe times. For as ſoon as Piccinino was routed and had fled to St. Sepulchro, the Commiſſaries, to make their Victory complete, intended to have purſued and ſhut him up there: but there was not ſo much as one of their officers, nor even a private ſoldier that would follow them, till they had laid up their plunder in ſome place of ſecurity, and got cured of the wounds they pretended to have received. And, which was ſtill more remarkable and audacious, they went off the next day, openly in a body, and without aſking any leave either from their Commiſſaries or General, to Arezzo; from whence, after they had ſecured their booty, they returned to Anghiari. A manner of proceeding ſo contrary to all military rule and order, that the ſmalleſt remnant of a well diſciplined army, would eaſily and deſervedly have recovered a Victory out of their hands which they ſo little merited. Nay they preſently releaſed all the gens d' armes or heavy armed horſe they had taken priſoners, in ſpite of the Commiſſaries who would have had them detained in order to deprive Piccinino of their ſervice. Certainly it muſt ſeem aſtoniſhing that ſuch an army ſhould ever gain a Victory; and ſtill more ſo that another ſhould be found vile and daſtardly enough to be beaten by ſo contemptible an enemy.

Whilſt they were thus taken up in going to Arezzo and back again, Piccinino marched away with the remainder of his forces from St. Sepulchro towards Romagna and took the Florentine exiles along with him, who now falling into deſpair of ever returning to their own Country, diſperſed themſelves into different parts of Italy and other States, every man providing for himſelf as well as he could. Rinaldo degli Albizi retired to Ancona; and having loſt all hopes in this world, he went a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, in order to prepare himſelf

ſelf for a better. Soon after his return from thence he died ſuddenly at dinner, whilſt he was celebrating the marriage of one of his daughters: fortune ſeeming favourable to him in this at leaſt, that he was taken away in one of the happieſt days of his exile. He was a man truly reſpectable in all the different conditions of his life, and would have been ſtill more ſo, if he had been born in an united City: for many of his good qualities which excited envy and jealouſy amongſt his fellow-Citizens in a factious Common-wealth, would have been admired and rewarded any where elſe.

After the departure of Piccinino and the return of the Florentine forces from Arezzo, the Commiſſaries advanced with them to St. Sepulchro, the inhabitants of which place offered to ſurrender to them, but upon terms that they did not think fit to grant. And whilſt they were yet in treaty, the Pope's Legate [y] beginning to grow ſuſpicious that the Florentines were not willing that town ſhould revert into the hands of the Church, was ſo enraged, that very high words paſſed betwixt him and the Commiſſaries; and the troops commanded by each would certainly have come to blows if the treaty had continued much longer: but that being ended at laſt to the ſatisfaction of the Legate, their differences were compoſed. Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, they had intelligence from ſome quarters that Piccinino was marching towards Rome, and from others that he was gone into la Marca d' Ancona. Upon which, the Legate determined that Count Sforza's troops ſhould advance towards Perugia, in order to relieve either la Marca, or Rome, to which ſoever of the two he had bent his courſe, and that Bernardo de' Medici ſhould go along with them; whilſt Neri Capponi went with the Florentine forces to reduce Caſentino. Upon this reſolution, Neri marched away for Raſſina, which he preſently took; and ſoon after, Bibiena, Prato Vecchio, and Romena: after which, he ſat down before Poppi, and made proper diſpoſitions for two different aſſaults upon that town at the ſame time; one on the ſide that looks towards the plain of Certomondo; and the other from the hill that extends itſelf from thence to Fronzoli. Count Poppi ſeeing himſelf now abandoned and deſtitute of all ſuccour, had ſhut himſelf up there; not in hopes of any relief, but to gain time and make the beſt terms he could for himſelf. So that when Neri drew cloſe to the town to make an aſſault, he demanded a parley, and had as good terms granted him as he could poſſibly expect in his circumſtances; which were, that he ſhould be ſuffered to depart himſelf with his children and what effects they could carry with them, and immediately deliver up the poſſeſſion of the town and all his other

[y] Piccinino Aquileia before mentioned.

dominions to the Florentines. During the capitulation he came out upon the bridge over the Arno which runs close by the town, and with tears in his eyes thus addreſſed himſelf to Neri. "If I had rightly conſidered my own ſituation and the power of your Maſters, I ſhould now have come out as a friend to congratulate you upon your late Victory, and not as a vanquiſhed enemy to implore your pity in theſe unhappy circumſtances. Fortune indeed has given you ſufficient reaſon to rejoyce, and me to weep and lament my wretchedneſs. I lately had horſes, and arms, ſubjects and dominions and riches; and who can wonder that it grieves me to loſe them? But ſince your Republic ſeems determined, and now has it in its power, to reduce all Tuſcany into ſubjection, we for our parts ſhall obey you: and it is ſome conſolation to me, that if I had not been guilty of this error, neither your generoſity nor my future gratitude might perhaps have appeared in ſo fair a light to the world. For if you ſhall be pleaſed to leave me ſtill in poſſeſſion of my dominions, it will be an illuſtrious and indelible inſtance of your clemency. My imprudence indeed has been great, but I ſubmit to your mercy and compaſſion, not without hopes that you will ſtill ſuffer me to enjoy this place of reſidence at leaſt, which has deſcended to me from Anceſtors to whom your Republic has formerly lain under many and great obligations [z]." To this Neri made anſwer, "that unfortunately for himſelf he had put his confidence in people that were never likely to do him any ſervice, and had been the occaſion of his provoking the Republic of Florence in ſuch a manner, that the circumſtances of the times neceſſarily obliged them to deprive him of his dominions, and to turn him out of thoſe places as an enemy, which he might ſtill have enjoyed if he had behaved himſelf like a friend. That his conduct had been ſuch as would not allow them to let him continue any longer in poſſeſſion of a territory that gave him an opportunity of inſulting a Republic upon any little change of fortune, which indeed had no occaſion to ſtand in fear of his perſon, though his dominions were ſo ſituated that he might open a way at any time through them for an enemy to annoy it. But that if he thought he could by any means obtain another Principality in Germany, he was at liberty to withdraw thither, and the Republic deſired he would do it; where they ſhould not fail to ſhew him all manner of reſpect, in conſideration of the favours which he ſaid the Florentines had received from his Anceſtors." The Count replied with great indignation, "that he would endeavour to get as far as poſſible from them;" and finding there was no good to be done by entreaties and ſupplications, immediately broke off all further treaty, and giving up the town and his other poſſeſſions,

[z] This ſpeech is almoſt wholly taken from that of Caractacus in the 12th book of Tacitus's Annals.

except

except his perſonal effects, he quitted it with his wife and children, bitterly lamenting his folly and the loſs of a State which his family had governed above four hundred years. When the news of this ſucceſs arrived at Florence, it occaſioned very great rejoycings both amongſt the people and the Magiſtrates there. And as Bernardo de' Medici found that Piccinino had neither advanced towards Rome nor la Marca, as had been falſely reported, he marched back again with his forces to rejoin thoſe under the command of Neri Capponi; and both of them returning together to Florence, it was decreed that they ſhould be received with the higheſt demonſtrations of honour and reſpect that had ever been ſhewn to any of their victorious Generals: and they accordingly made their entrance into the City amidſt the public acclamations of the Signiory, the Captains of the Companies, and all their fellow Citizens.

The End of the FIFTH BOOK.

IT always has been, and indeed ought to be, the main end and deſign of thoſe that wage war, to enrich themſelves and impoveriſh their enemies: nor is there any other reaſonable motive to contend for victory and conqueſt, but the aggrandizement of one nation, and the depreſſion of another. From hence it neceſſarily follows, that whenever any State is impoveriſhed by its victories, or debilitated by its conqueſts, it has either proceeded too far, or fallen ſhort of thoſe purpoſes for which the war was undertaken. A Kingdom, or Common-wealth, may properly be ſaid to be enriched by victory, when it extirpates its enemies, and becomes maſter of their poſſeſſions and revenues. On the contrary, they are weakened by their victories, when they cannot utterly extinguiſh the enemy (though perhaps they may in ſome meaſure have ſubdued him) and his poſſeſſions fall into the hands, not of the State itſelf, but its ſoldiery. Such a Government ſuffers much more from a victory than a defeat: for in one caſe, it is only expoſed to the outrage of an enemy, but in the other, it is injured and oppreſſed by its own friends; which ſeeming more unnatural, is likewiſe the more inſupportable, eſpecially when it is thereby neceſſitated to lay freſh taxes, and other heavy burdens upon its ſubjects. And if the Governors have any humanity in them, they cannot, ſurely, much rejoice at a victory which fills all the reſt of the community with murmurs and dejection. The beſt governed Republics that we read of in ancient hiſtory, after they had obtained a victory, always uſed to throw the ſpoil they had taken from the enemy into the common Treaſury, to diſtribute largeſſes amongſt the people, to remit their taxes, and entertain them with magnificent ſpectacles. But the victories gained by thoſe States, of whom we are now writing, not only exhauſted their public treaſure, but drained the purſe of every private man, and after all, did not effectually ſecure them againſt any further attempts from their enemies. All which was owing to the abſurd and ridiculous manner in which they carried on their wars: for after a battle, the conquerors generally contented themſelves with ſtripping the enemy, and ſeldom put any of them to death, or ſo much as made them priſoners: ſo that the vanquiſhed always renewed the war, as ſoon as ever they were provided again with horſes and arms by thoſe that had taken them into their pay. And as the booty and ranſom-money were claimed by the ſoldiery, the State, receiving no advantage from thence, was forced to tear the ſupplies it ſtood in need of, out of the bowels of its own ſubjects [*a*], who had the mortification of ſeeing that inſtead

[*a*] Does not this ſeem to be our own caſe, with regard to the captures made by our Ships of war?

of reaping any ſort of benefit from a victory, it only ſerved to make their Governors proceed with leſs regard and compaſſion in laying new burdens upon them.

Theſe ſoldiers conducting the war in ſuch a manner, reduced both the conqueror and the conquered, to the neceſſity of raiſing continual ſupplies at home, if they intended to maintain any authority or command over their forces; as one ſide expected to be new clothed and accoutred, and the other to be rewarded for their ſervices: and ſince thoſe that had been defeated could not take the field again till they were remounted, and thoſe that beat them, would fight no more till they had been ſo rewarded, it generally happened, that the former did not ſuſtain much loſs, nor the latter gain any conſiderable advantage by their victory; for the conquered had, for the moſt part, put themſelves in a condition to make head afreſh againſt the conqueror, before he was in readineſs to purſue his blow. From this perverſe and diſorderly behaviour in the ſoldiery, it happened that Piccinino had remounted his troops before the news of his defeat had reached many Parts of Italy, and renewed the war with greater vigour than ever he had done before. To the ſame cauſe it was owing that he was able to ſurprize Verona: that after his forces had been diſperſed when Sforza retook that town, he was in a condition to invade Tuſcany with a powerful army: and that after his misfortune at Anghiari, he was grown ſtronger, even before he got into Romagna, than he was at the beginning of the action that happened there: ſo that the Duke of Milan now began to conceive ſome hopes of being able to defend Lombardy, which he had in a manner given up for loſt, during the abſence of that General. For whilſt Piccinino was making ſuch havock as he had done in Tuſcany, his maſter was in danger of being ſtripp'd of his own dominions; and being apprehenſive that he ſhould be totally ruined before the other could come to his relief, though he had ſent to recall him, he reſolved to try if he could not in ſome meaſure check Count Sforza's career, and divert the fury of a ſtorm by artifice and addreſs, which he was not in a capacity to reſiſt. For this purpoſe, he had recourſe to ſuch expedients as he had often availed himſelf of before in the like conjunctures, and diſpatched Niccolo da Eſti, Prince of Ferrara, to Peſchiera, where Sforza then lay, who earneſtly exhorted him to peace, and repreſented to him how prejudicial a continuation of the war was likely to prove to himſelf; ſince if the Duke was reduced to ſuch circumſtances that he could not ſupport his preſent power and reputation, the Count muſt be the firſt man that would ſuffer by it, as neither the Venetians nor Florentines would have any further occaſion for his ſervice, nor of courſe

courſe any longer the ſame eſteem for his perſon. And to convince him of the Duke's ſincerity in deſiring a peace, he ſolemnly aſſured him in his name, that as ſoon as one was concluded, the marriage ſhould be immediately conſummated with his daughter, whom he would ſend to Ferrara for that purpoſe, and there in perſon deliver her into his own hands. To this the Count made anſwer, "that if the Duke was really deſirous of a peace, he might eaſily obtain one, as the Venetians and Florentines were no leſs inclinable to it: but that for his own part, he could put very little confidence in him, ſince he well knew he would never make any peace, except he was compelled to it by downright neceſſity, and that as ſoon as the danger was over he would inſtantly renew the war: that he could not give much more credit to what he promiſed concerning the marriage, as he had been ſo often deceived by him before; but if other things could be amicably adjuſted, he would proceed in that matter as he ſhould be adviſed by his friends."

The Venetians, naturally apt to ſuſpect their Generals, even when they have no reaſon, had ſufficient cauſe to look with great jealouſy upon theſe negotiations, as indeed they did: and the Count being aware of it, endeavoured in ſome meaſure to recover their confidence by a vigorous proſecution of the war. But the uſual alacrity of the one was at laſt ſo abated by his ambitious views; and the minds of the other ſo enflamed with ſuſpicion, that no other enterpriſe worth notice was undertaken during the reſt of that Summer: ſo that when Piccinino returned into Lombardy, the winter being come on, the reſpective armies went into quarters, the Count retiring to Verona, the Duke's forces to Cremona, the Florentines into Tuſcany, and thoſe of the Pope into Romagna. The laſt, after the battle of Anghiari, made an aſſault upon Forli and Bologna, in hopes of wreſting them out of the hands of Franciſco Piccinino, who held them in his father's name: but they were ſo well defended by Franciſco, that the attempt did not ſucceed. Their march into thoſe parts, however, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the people of Ravenna, that, to avoid falling into the hands of the Church, they (with the conſent of Oſtaſio da Polenta their Lord) put themſelves under the dominion of the Venetians; who, as a recompence for that favour, and to prevent Oſtaſio from ever recovering by force what he had ſo ſimply given away, ſent him and his only Son to ſpend the reſt of their days in Candia. Theſe different enterprizes had ſo drained the Pope of money, that notwithſtanding the Victory gained at Anghiari, his Holineſs was obliged to ſell the Caſtle of Borgo di San Sepulchro to the Florentines for the ſum of twenty five thouſand ducats.

Things

Things being in this ſituation, and both ſides thinking themſelves ſafe from any attack during the winter, all further thoughts of peace were laid aſide, eſpecially by the Duke; who now looking upon himſelf as ſufficiently ſecured, in the firſt place by the ſeaſon of the year, and in the next by the arrival of Piccinino, had broke off his treaty with the Count, and applied himſelf with great diligence to furniſh his General with Cavalry and all other proviſions that were neceſſary to continue the war. The Count, on the other hand, having intelligence of theſe preparations, immediately repaired to Venice to concert meaſures with the Senate there, for opening the next campaign. As ſoon as Piccinino was in readineſs to take the field, and perceived the enemy was yet in no capacity to oppoſe him, he did not wait for the approach of the Spring, but paſſed the Adda in the depth of winter, entered the territories of Breſcia, and making himſelf maſter of all that Country, except Adula and Acri, ſurprized above two thouſand of Sforza's Cavalry, who, not expecting any ſuch viſit, were all taken priſoners and ſtripped. But what moſt chagrined the Count and alarmed the Venetians, was the defection of Ciarpellone, one of his principal Officers, who had mutinied and quitted their ſervice. Upon the news of which, he poſted away from Venice to Breſcia, and finding at his arrival there, that Piccinino, after he had committed the above mentioned hoſtilities, was returned to his former quarters and lay quiet there, he did not care to provoke him to ſtir out of them again at that time; but thought it more prudent to make uſe of the opportunity which the enemy gave him, to put his forces in good order, that ſo he might be able to take any advantage that offered and wipe off his late diſgrace at a proper ſeaſon. He therefore prevailed upon the Venetians to recall the Forces they had in the ſervice of the Florentines, and perſuaded them to take Michelotto Attendoli into their pay, in the room of Gattamelata who was now dead.

At the return of the ſpring, Piccinino appearing firſt in the field, laid ſiege to Cignano a Caſtle about twelve miles from Breſcia; to the relief of which the Count likewiſe marched out with his forces; and the war was once more begun and conducted in the uſual manner betwixt thoſe two Generals. The Count on one ſide, being apprehenſive that Bergamo would fall into the enemy's hand, ſat down before Martinengho, a Caſtle ſo ſituated, that whoever was maſter of it might eaſily throw ſuccours into Bergamo, which City was very much ſtraitened by Piccinino; who, on the other hand, being ſenſible that he could not be annoyed from any other quarter, had taken care to furniſh it with all manner of proviſions for its defence; ſo that the Count was forced

forced to bring his whole army before it. Piccinino therefore poſted himſelf with all his forces likewiſe in ſuch a ſituation, that he entirely cut off all ſupplies from Sforza's camp, and fortified his own ſo ſtrongly with ditches and breaſt-works, that the Count could not attack him without manifeſt diſadvantage: ſo that the beſiegers were in much greater danger than thoſe that were beſieged. In theſe circumſtances, as the Count could neither continue the ſiege for want of proviſions, nor raiſe it for fear of Piccinino falling upon him, every body concluded the Duke muſt certainly gain a complete Victory, and that Sforza and the Venetians would be utterly undone. But by the caprice of Fortune, who takes delight in ſhewing her power to exalt her minions, and ruin ſuch as are not in her good graces, things took a very different turn: for Piccinino grew ſo intolerably inſolent and ambitious, in full confidence of Victory, that forgetting himſelf and laying aſide all due reſpect to his Prince, he ſent him word, "that as he had fought his battles ſo many years without being requited with ſo much ground as would bury him when he died, he deſired to know what reward he might expect for his ſervices: for ſince it was now in his power to make him abſolute Lord of Lombardy and deliver up all his enemies into his hands, he thought a certain Victory deſerved a certain recompence; and therefore demanded that the city of Placentia ſhould be aſſigned to him, whither he might retire to enjoy a little repoſe at laſt, after ſo long a courſe of labour and fatigue." Nay he proceeded ſo far in the end as to threaten the Duke that he would abandon the enterprize if his demands were not complied with.

But the Duke was exaſperated at this audacious behaviour to ſuch a degree, that he choſe rather to give up ſo great an advantage, than meanly to ſubmit to his inſolence; ſo that what neither the menaces of his enemies, nor the many imminent dangers he had been in, could ever move him to conſent to, he was at laſt induced to comply with by the arrogance of his friends; and immediately reſolved to come to an accommodation with the Count. For which purpoſe he ſent Antonio Guido Buono da Tortona to him, with an offer of his daughter, and ſuch overtures for a peace, as were eagerly accepted both by him and the reſt of the confederates.

As ſoon as the articles were privately ſigned, by all parties, the Duke ſent orders to Piccinino to make a truce with the Count for one year, pretending, "that he was ſo tired of the expences of war, that he could not help preferring a certain peace, to a victory that was ſtill doubtful." Piccinino was thunderſtruck at this reſolution,

not

not being able to comprehend what motives could induce the Duke to let ſo glorious a victory ſlip out of his hands; little imagining that the reaſon of ſuffering his enemies to eſcape, was only to avoid recompenſing his friends. He oppoſed it, however, as much as lay in his power, and behaved in ſo refractory a manner, that in order to force him to a compliance, the Duke threatened to give him up, to be treated by the ſoldiers of both armies, as they pleaſed, if he did not inſtantly obey his orders. Upon which he was obliged to ſubmit, but with the ſame reluctance that a man may be ſuppoſed to do, who is compelled to leave his friends and country; lamenting his evil deſtiny, and complaining with much bitterneſs both of fortune and the Duke, who had conſpired together to ſnatch the victory out of his hands. After the truce was concluded, the nuptials were celebrated betwixt Madam Bianca and the Count, who received the City of Cremona with her in dower: and in November 1441, a peace was agreed upon; at the ſigning of which, Franciſco Barbadico and Paolo Tróno aſſiſted as Plenipotentiaries for the Venetians, and Agnolo Acciaiuoli for the Florentines. By this treaty, the fortreſſes of Peſchiera, Aſola, and Leonato, in the Marquiſate of Mantua, were ceded to the Venetians.

Though the war in Lombardy was now at an end, the kingdom of Naples was ſtill far from being in peace: and as no means could be found of quieting the diſtractions there, they proved at laſt the occaſion of raiſing freſh combuſtions in Lombardy. For during the laſt, King Regnier had been ſtripped of every town that he had got poſſeſſion of in that Kingdom, except the city of Naples itſelf, by Alphonſo of Arragon; who now thinking himſelf ſure of the whole, determined, at the ſame time that he laid ſiege to that City, to ſeize upon Benevento [*b*], and ſome other towns belonging to Count Sforza, in the adjacent territory, which he thought might eaſily be effected, whilſt the Count himſelf was ſo fully employed in Lombardy. And he actually ſucceeded in his deſign, making himſelf Maſter of all thoſe places with little or no difficulty. But, upon the news of a peace being concluded in Lombardy, Alphonſo grew apprehenſive, that the Count would ſoon march to join Regnier, in or-

[*b*] Benevento is ſituated at the confluence of the rivers Solato and Colore, which here form the Volturno, 130 miles ſouth-eaſt of Rome, and 34 north-eaſt of Naples. It is an Archbiſhoprick, ſubject to the Pope, who is ſovereign of this City. The greater part of it was demoliſhed by an earthquake, in the year 1688, and the Archbiſhop of it dug out of the ruins; who, being afterwards advanced to the Papal Chair, by the Name of Benedict XIII. rebuilt this City.

der to recover his own poſſeſſions; and Regnier not being without ſome expectations of the ſame kind, ſent to entreat the Count to come to the aſſiſtance of a friend, eſpecially as he might, at the ſame time, revenge himſelf upon an enemy. Alphonſo, on the other hand, earneſtly ſollicited Duke Philip, that out of regard to the friendſhip which had ſo long ſubſiſted betwixt them, he would cut out ſome work of greater conſequence to the Count, in order to divert him from any ſuch an undertaking. With this the Duke readily complied, not conſidering, that it would be a direct violation of the treaty he had ſo lately concluded. He, therefore, in the firſt place, ſuggeſted to Pope Eugenius, that he now had a fair opportunity of recovering the territories which Sforza had taken from the Church; and for that purpoſe, recommended Piccinino to him (who after the concluſion of a peace, had retired with his forces into Romagna) and ſaid, he would pay him out of his own purſe, as long as the war continued. Eugenius, out of the ancient hatred which he bore to the Count, and the deſire he had of recovering the poſſeſſions he uſurped from him, liſtened with great eagerneſs to this propoſal, and though he had formerly been duped by Piccinino, in the very ſame manner, he thought, now the Duke of Milan was on his ſide, he had no occaſion to miſtruſt him; and therefore immediately joining his forces with thoſe of Piccinino, he made an incurſion into la Marca d'Ancona. The count, on the other hand, though not a little ſurprized at ſo ſudden an invaſion, having aſſembled what troops he could raiſe, marched out to face the enemy.

In the mean time Alphonſo had taken Naples; ſo that all the kingdom was now in his poſſeſſion, except Caſtel Nuovo, in which Regnier had left a ſtrong garriſon, and was gone himſelf to Florence, where he was received with much honour: but after he had ſtaid a few days there, and found he could no longer continue the war, he went to Marſeilles. During this ſhort interval, Caſtel Nuovo had likewiſe fallen into the hands of Alphonſo; and Count Sforza perceiving he was not able to cope with Piccinino and the Pope in la Marca, had recourſe to the Venetians and Florentines for ſupplies both of men and money; repreſenting to them, that if they did not take proper meaſures to check the ambition of the Pope and King Alphonſo, whilſt he was in a capacity to aſſiſt them, it would ſoon behove them to look to themſelves, as they would afterwards certainly join with the Duke of Milan, and divide Italy amongſt them. To theſe ſollicitations the Florentines and Venetians were for ſome time in doubt what anſwer to return, as they did not care to break with the

the Pope and Alphonſo, and their attention was likewiſe at that time wholly turned upon affairs at Bologna [c].

Annibal Bentivoglio had lately driven Franciſco Piccinino out of that city, and to defend himſelf againſt the Duke of Milan, (who ſupported Franciſco) demanded the aid of the Venetians and Florentines, who readily granted it: ſo that whilſt their forces were employed in that ſervice, they were doubtful whether they ſhould be able to aſſiſt Sforza. But afterwards, when Annibal had entirely got the better of his adverſary and that affair was over, the Florentines determined to ſend him relief. However, in order to ſecure themſelves againſt the Duke, they, in the firſt place, renewed the League with him, to which the Duke himſelf was not averſe: for though he had in ſome meaſure contributed to bring that war upon the Count at a time when Regnier had got footing in the Kingdom of Naples; yet, when he ſaw him vanquiſhed and utterly driven out of it, he did not care to have the Count alſo deprived of his dominions, and therefore not only gave his conſent that others ſhould ſend him ſuccours, but wrote himſelf to deſire Alphonſo would return with his forces to Naples and give the Count no further diſturbance; which he ſeemed very unwilling to comply with: but conſidering his obligations to the Duke, he at laſt acquieſced, and withdrew with his troops to the other ſide of the Trenta.

Whilſt things were thus circumſtanced in Romagna, the Florentines had ſome diſturbances at home. Amongſt thoſe that had the chief authority in the Government there, Neri the Son of Gino Capponi was one of whoſe reputation Coſimo de' Medici was more jealous than of that of any other perſon; as he had not only very great credit in the City, but was exceedingly beloved by the ſoldiery, whoſe affections he had gained by his bravery, humanity, and good conduct when he commanded the troops of the Republic, as he had done upon ſeveral occaſions. Beſides which, the remembrance of the victories that had been gained by him and his father (one of whom had taken Piſa, and the other defeated Niccolo Piccinino at the Battle of Anghiari) made him reſpected by many, and feared by others who did

[c] Bologna, or Bononia, lies about 50 miles north of Florence, and 200 miles north-weſt of Rome, on ſeveral little rivulets, and a navigable canal, in one of the moſt fruitful plains of Italy, and is therefore called *Bologna the Fat*. The city is about five miles in circumference, remarkable for its magnificent Churches and monaſteries, and the riches and fine paintings in them. The inhabitants are computed to amount to about 70,000. It is the See of an Archbiſhop, and one of the moſt conſiderable Univerſities in Europe, ſubject to the Pope, and governed by his Legate. There is an Academy of Literati here, who ſtile themſelves *Gli Otioſi*, from their retirement and tranquillity.

not deſire any more aſſociates in the Government. But of all their Generals Baldaccio de Anghiari was certainly the moſt eminent; nor was there any man in Italy at that time who ſurpaſſed him either in courage, or military ſkill, or bodily accompliſhments: and having always commanded the Infantry, they had ſuch an opinion of him, that it was generally believed he could influence them to execute any purpoſe, and that they would follow him in any undertaking whatſoever. This Baldaccio was very intimate with Neri, for whom he had the higheſt eſteem on account of his valour and other good qualities, of which he had long been a witneſs: but it was a connexion that excited infinite jealouſy amongſt the reſt of the principal Citizens, who thinking it dangerous to let him enjoy his liberty, and ſtill more ſo to impriſon him, reſolved to have him diſpatched; in which, fortune ſeemed to ſecond their deſign. Bartolomeo Orlandini was then Gonfalonier of Juſtice; who having been ſent to defend the paſs of Marradi, when Niccolo Piccinino invaded Tuſcany, had ſhamefully deſerted it, (as we have before related) and abandoned all that Country to the fury of the enemy, which, from the nature of its ſituation, was of itſelf almoſt inacceſſible. So flagrant a piece of cowardice, provoked Baldaccio to ſuch a degree, that he could not help expreſſing his contempt of him, both in public converſation, and the letters which he wrote to his friends, in terms that not only excited Orlandini's reſentment, but determined him to take ſome ſuch revenge as ſhould expiate his guilt; and if poſſible, to extinguiſh the infamy of the fact, by the death of his accuſer. To this reſolution [*d*] ſome other Citizens were privy, who encouraged him in it, and ſaid by ſo doing he would ſufficiently revenge the injuries which he had ſuffered himſelf, and at the ſame time deliver the government from the fear of a man whom it was dangerous to employ, and might be their ruin to diſmiſs. Orlandini therefore, being confirmed in his purpoſe to aſſaſſinate him, ſhut up ſeveral armed men in his apartment; and the next day when Baldaccio came to attend at the Palace (as he did moſt days) to confer with the Magiſtracy concerning the Pay of his ſoldiers, he was ordered to wait upon the Gonfalonier immediately; which he did, without ſuſpecting any danger. As ſoon as they met and had taken a turn or two in the gallery which is before the chambers of the Signiory, they began to talk about their affairs, and at laſt coming near the door of the apartment where the

[*d*] This vague and indiſcriminate manner of ſpeaking, ſeems rather a ſtroke of partiality in the author; as it is well known, that theſe *other Citizens* were the Medici, on whoſe family Machiavel was dependent when he wrote this hiſtory. Compare this with what he ſays of his impartiality in the Dedication to Clement VII.

armed

armed men were concealed, the Gonfalonier gave them a ſignal: upon which, they inſtantly ruſhed out, and as Baldaccio had neither arms nor attendants, they ſoon diſpatched him, and threw him out of the Palace window that looks towards the Dogana, or Cuſtom-houſe, to the ground; from whence he was carried into the Piazza, and after they had cut off his head, his body was expoſed there all that day as a ſpectacle to the People. He left only one Son, who was but a boy, and did not long ſurvive his father. His Widow Annalena, being thus deprived both of her huſband and Child, reſolved to have no further commerce with the World, and having converted her houſe into a ſort of Convent, ſhe ſhut herſelf up in it with ſeveral other Ladies of Noble families, and there ſpent the reſt of her days, in acts of Piety and devotion, immortalizing her memory by endowing and calling the Convent after her own name.

This tragical event gave a conſiderable check to Capponi's intereſt, and diminiſhed the number of his partiſans. The governors however did not ſtop here: for as they had now been ten years in the adminiſtration, and the authority of the Balia was expired, many began both to talk and act with much greater freedom than they thought was conſiſtent with the ſecurity of the State. In order therefore to eſtabliſh themſelves in their power, they judged it neceſſary to revive that Court; by which they would have an opportunity of ſtrengthening the hands of their friends, and more effectually depreſſing their enemies. With this view, the Councils inſtituted a new Balia in the year 1444, which confirmed the preſent Magiſtrates in their reſpective departments, veſted the privilege of chuſing the Signiory in a few hands, and new modelled the *Chancery of Reformation*, depoſing the Preſident Philip Peruzzi, and ſetting another perſon at the head of it, who they were well aſſured would conform himſelf to their inſtructions. They likewiſe prolonged the baniſhment of ſuch as they had before ſent into exile, impriſoned Giovanni the Son of Simone Veſpucci, and deprived all thoſe of their honours and employments, that adhered to their enemies; amongſt whom, were the Sons of Pietro Baroncelli, the whole family of the Seragli, Bartolomeo Fortini, Franciſco Caſtellani, and many others. By ſuch means they at the ſame time regained their former authority and reputation, and quaſhed all oppoſition: and having thus got entire poſſeſſion of the Government at home, they now began to turn themſelves with more attention to foreign affairs.

Niccolo Piccinino, as we have already ſaid, was abandoned by King Alphonſo, and Count Sforza grown ſo powerful by the aſſiſtance of the Florentines that he attacked him near Fermo, and gave him

ſo

ſo total an overthrow, that he eſcaped with but very few of his men to Montecechio; where however he fortified himſelf in ſuch a manner, that being ſoon rejoined by almoſt all his forces, he was able to defend himſelf againſt the Count; eſpecially, as he was favoured by the approach of the Winter, which obliged them both to ſend their troops into quarters.

During the courſe of the Winter, Piccinino's chief care was to recruit his army, which was alſo not a little reinforced by other ſupplies from the Pope and King Alphonſo: ſo that as ſoon as the ſpring came on, both Generals took the field again: but Piccinino's forces being much ſuperior, reduced the Count to ſuch extremities that he would have been utterly ruined, if the Duke of Milan had not interfered, and once more ſnatched the Victory out of his adverſary's hand, by ſending him word that he muſt inſtantly repair to his Court, for he wanted to confer perſonally with him about ſome affairs of the utmoſt importance to himſelf. Upon this, Piccinino, eager to know what thoſe affairs were, immediately poſted away to Milan, and left his Son Franciſco to command the army, relinquiſhing a certain Victory for vain and fallacious hopes. For the Count being aware of this, reſolved not to neglect ſo great an advantage, but to draw the enemy to an engagement if poſſible in the abſence of their General; in which he ſucceeded according to his wiſh, and not only routed Franciſco's forces, but took him priſoner near Monte Loro. Niccolo on the other hand, finding himſelf decoyed by the Duke, and hearing of his Son's misfortune ſoon after his arrival at Milan, was ſo affected with it, that he died of grief in the year 1445, at the age of 64, a more valiant than fortunate commander. He left two Sons, Franciſco and Giacopo, whoſe valour was by no means equal to that of their father, and their fortune ſtill more unfavourable; ſo that the glory of the Bracceſcan party was now in a manner totally eclipſed, whilſt the arms of the Sforza's, being more ſucceſsful, daily increaſed their intereſt and reputation. The Pope therefore, now Piccinino was dead and his army diſſipated, not expecting much aſſiſtance from Alphonſo, reſolved to come to an accommodation with Count Sforza, which at laſt was brought about by the mediation of the Florentines; it being agreed betwixt them, that Oſimo, Fabriano, and Recanati, towns in la Marca de Ancona, ſhould be reſtored to his Holineſs, and that the Count ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of the reſt of that territory.

After this peace, all Italy would have been in tranquillity, if it had not been prevented by the diſturbances that happened at Bologna. There were then two very powerful families in that City, the Canneſchi and the Bentivogli: Annibal was head of the latter, Battiſta

of

of the former. To create a mutual confidence betwixt theſe two families, and to avail themſelves of each other's aſſiſtance, there had been ſeveral intermarriages betwixt them: but amongſt people that aſpire to the ſame degree of grandeur, it is much eaſier to contract an alliance, than a friendſhip. Bologna was in league with the Venetians and Florentines, a treaty having been made with them for that purpoſe by Annibal Bentivoglio, after the expulſion of Franciſco Piccinino: but Battiſta Canneſchi knowing how deſirous the Duke of Milan was to have an intereſt there, had engaged in a conſpiracy with that Prince, to diſpatch Annibal, and deliver up the City into his hands. Accordingly, when they had concerted proper meaſures for the execution of their deſign, on the 24th of June, 1445, Battiſta and his accomplices fell upon Annibal, and killed him: after which, they ran about the Streets, crying out, *Long live the Duke of Milan.* The Venetian and Florentine Commiſſaries happening to be in the Town at that time, immediately retired to their houſes upon the firſt rumour of the fact; but afterwards, when they ſaw the people run together in arms againſt the murderers, and bitterly lamenting the death of Annibal, they took courage, and having joined them with their domeſtics, attacked the Canneſchi and their followers, whom they ſoon got the better of, killing ſome, and driving the reſt out of the Town. Battiſta himſelf not being able to make his eſcape, nor his enemies to lay hold on him, hid himſelf in a vault, in his own houſe, where he uſed to keep his grain: but the people, after they had ſought for him in vain all day, though they knew he had not got out of the City, at laſt came back to his houſe, and ſo terrified the ſervants with their threats, that one of them diſcovered where he had concealed himſelf; from whence they pulled him out, covered with armour as he ſtill was; and after they had put him to death, they firſt dragged his body through the ſtreets, and then burnt it to aſhes. Thus having vainly depended upon the Duke's victorious arms to ſupport him, he periſhed in the attempt, for want of proper ſuccour.

The death of Battiſta, and the expulſion of his whole family, put an end to that inſurrection indeed, but the City ſtill continued in great confuſion; for there was nobody left of the houſe of Bentivoglio that was capable of governing it, as Annibal had left but one ſon, a boy of only ſix years of age, whoſe name was John: ſo that it was apprehended ſome diviſions would ariſe amongſt the friends of the Bentivogli, which might open a door for the return of the Canneſchi, to the utter ruin, not only of their party, but of the whole City. Whilſt they were in this perplexity, Franciſco, who had formerly

merly been Count of Poppi, happening to be then at Bologna, ſignified to the principal Citizens, "that if they had a mind to be governed by a perſon that was of Annibal's blood, he knew where to find ſuch a one: for about twenty years before, one Hercules Bentivoglio, a Couſin of Annibal, being at Poppi, had enjoyed a young woman of that place, who afterwards was brought to bed of a ſon, whoſe name was Santi; and that he had often heard him acknowledge the child as his own: which ſeemed the more probable, as there was a very ſtrong reſemblance betwixt them." This ſuggeſtion was liſtened to with much eagerneſs by the Citizens, who not only gave credit to the ſtory, but immediately ſent deputies to Florence to ſee the young man, and endeavour to prevail upon Neri Capponi, and Coſimo de' Medici, to deliver him to them.

Agnolo da Caſteſe, the reputed father, was dead, and Santi himſelf at that time under the care of an uncle, whoſe name was Antonio da Caſceſe. This Antonio was a rich man, had no children of his own, and lived in great friendſhip with Neri, who being informed of theſe circumſtances, thought it was an offer not to be deſpiſed, nor yet to be raſhly accepted; and therefore determined that Santi ſhould be introduced to Coſimo, together with the deputies that came from Bologna, where they might hear what each party had to ſay for themſelves. This being done, the deputies not only acknowledged Santi, and treated him with the higheſt reſpect, but were almoſt ready to proſtrate themſelves before him, out of the ancient love they bore to his family and friends. Nothing, however, was concluded upon at that time: but Coſimo taking Santi aſide, ſaid to him, "Young man, there is nobody that is capable of adviſing you ſo well in ſuch a caſe as yourſelf; and I would have you follow the dictates of your own genius: for if you are really the ſon of Hercules Bentivoglio, you will naturally aſpire to ſuch actions as will be worthy of your father and his family: but if you are the ſon of Agnolo Caſceſe, you will of courſe incline to continue in Florence, and ſpend the reſt of your life in combing wool, or ſome other ſuch vile occupation." The young man, who before ſeemed indifferent about the matter, or rather unwilling to accept the offer, being ſtung with the ſarcaſm, made anſwer, "that he would leave himſelf wholly to the direction of Coſimo and Neri; and as they thought proper to comply with the requeſt of the Bologneſe, he was ſoon provided with rich cloths, horſes, and equipage, and a few days afterwards conducted, in the midſt of a numerous attendance to Bologna, where he was appointed Governor, not only of Annibal Bentivoglio's children, but of the City, and behaved himſelf

ſelf with ſo much prudence in thoſe charges, that, though moſt of his predeceſſors had been murdered by their enemies, he, on the contrary, lived all his days in great honour, and died a natural death.

After Niccolo Piccinino was dead, and a peace concluded in la Marca, the Duke of Milan ſtanding in need of another General to command his forces, made ſome ſecret overtures for that purpoſe to Ciarpellone, who had returned into Count Sforza's ſervice, and was one of his moſt experienced officers; and Ciarpellone having accepted the offer, demanded leave of the Count to go to Milan, that he might take poſſeſſion of ſome Caſtles, which the Duke had given him in the late wars. But the Count ſuſpecting his deſign, cauſed him, in the firſt place, to be arreſted, and ſoon after, to be put to death, that the Duke might not avail himſelf of his ſervice, if any future difference ſhould happen betwixt them; pretending, that he had diſcovered a conſpiracy, in which he was engaged againſt him. The Duke, indeed, was thoroughly exaſperated at the diſappointment; but it was matter of joy to the Florentines and Venetians, who were always jealous of any connexion that might make the arms of the Count ſubſervient to the power and ambition of the Duke. It ſerved, however, to excite freſh troubles, and kindle new wars in la Marca.

Giſmondo Malateſta [*c*] was at that time Lord of Rimini, and as he had married the Count's daughter, expected to have obtained the government of Peſaro from him: but the Count, ſoon after he had got poſſeſſion of that place, gave it to his own brother Alexander,

[*c*] Sigiſmund Malateſta, or Giſmondo, as Machiavel calls him, was a Philoſopher, an Hiſtorian, a great Soldier, and one of the moſt renowned Commanders of the fifteenth Century. But theſe accompliſhments were obſcured by many very bad qualities. For he was exceeding profligate and prophane, ridiculed all Religion, denied the immortality of the Soul, and ſtuck at nothing to ſerve his private intereſt and ambition: by which behaviour he ſo offended Pius II. that he excommunicated him in the year 1462. This Commander, in conjunction with Count Sforza, routed Antonio Ordelaffi, Lord of Furli; and afterwards making war upon his other neighbours, almoſt always with good ſucceſs, the Venetians made him their General. He then paſſed into the Morea, and took Sparta, and ſeveral other places from the Turks. At his return, the Florentines and Sieneſe appointed him Commander in Chief of their forces, to make war upon Pius; but he was not ſucceſsful in that. He died October 6, 1467, at the age of fifty-one, leaving many children; amongſt whom was Robert Malateſta, a famous warrior in his day, who was a General in the Venetian ſervice, and afterwards commanded the army of Sixtus IV. againſt Alphonſo, King of Naples, and the reſt of his allies, whom he routed in 1482. The Pope ordered an Equeſtrian Statue to be erected for him in St. Peter's Church. The Malateſti were a very powerful family, and governed both Peſaro and Rimini a long time; in the latter they maintained themſelves above two hundred years. Clement VII. at laſt took it from Pandolpho Malateſta, who died in poverty at Ferrara. *Marcheſelli & Sanſovino Orig. di famig. Ital.*

which was highly reſented by Giſmondo; and what exaſperated him ſtill more, was, that Frederic di Montefeltro, his declared enemy, had taken Urbino from him, chiefly by the aſſiſtance of the Count. Upon theſe provocations, he went over to the Duke, and earneſtly ſollicited the Pope, and the King of Naples, to make war upon his father-in-law; who, in order to give Giſmondo a taſte of the war he ſeemed ſo fond of, reſolved to be before-hand with them, and attack him in the firſt place. This preſently filled all Romagna, and la Marca with tumult and confuſion: for the Duke, the King of Naples, and the Pope, all ſent powerful ſuccours to the aid of Malateſta: and on the other hand, both the Florentines and the Venetians ſupplied the Count with what Money he wanted, though they did not ſend him any men. Nor was the Duke content with carrying his arms into Romagna; for he deſigned likewiſe, if poſſible, to ſtrip the Count of Pontremoli and Cremona [*f*]: but the former was defended by the Florentines, and the latter by the Venetians. From theſe ſparks a freſh war was kindled up in Lombardy, where, after ſome ſkirmiſhes in the Cremoneſe, Franciſco Piccinino, the Duke's General, was totally defeated by Micheletto Attenduli, who commanded the Venetian forces, in an engagement that happened near Caſal. This victory ſo elated the Venetians, that they began to conceive hopes of making themſelves maſters of all the Duke's dominions: for which purpoſe, they ſent a commiſſary with an army towards Cremona, who took Ghiaradadda by aſſault, reduced the whole country round about it, except Cremona itſelf, and then paſſing the Adda, made incurſions up to the very gates of Milan. In this exigency, the Duke had recourſe to King Alphonſo, for ſuccours; repreſenting to him the danger his own dominions would be in, if Lombardy ſhould fall into the hands of the Venetians: upon which conſideration, Alphonſo promiſed to ſend him the ſuccours he requeſted, though it would be a very difficult matter, he ſaid, to find any paſſage into Lombardy, if the Count ſhould endeavour to prevent it. He therefore likewiſe applied to the Count himſelf, whom he earneſtly entreated not to abandon his father-in-law, now he was weighed down with years, and had loſt his ſight. The Count, indeed,

[*f*] Cremona is the capital of the Cremoneſe, in the Duchy of Milan, ſituated upon the Po, 45 Miles ſouth-eaſt of that City. Here Prince Eugene, the Imperial General, ſurprized the French General Marſhal Villeroy, in his bed, and carried him off in the year 1702, and would infallibly have taken the City, if the troops, appointed to ſupport him, had not loſt their way. The Prince entered the town in the night by a ſubterraneous paſſage, which had been an aqueduct, and returned the ſame way, with very little loſs.

was

was not a little enraged at the Duke, for taking part in that war againſt him; and on the other hand, he could help looking not without ſome jealouſy on the power of the Venetians. But his purſe failed him, and the league began to grow very tardy in furniſhing him with ſupplies: for the Florentines were now freed from thoſe apprehenſions of the Duke, which had formerly made them ſo much careſs the Count; and the Venetians wiſhed to ſee him ruined, as he was the only man that could prevent them from becoming maſters of all Lombardy. Nevertheleſs, whilſt the Duke was thus endeavouring to draw him over to his intereſts, and offered him the command of all his forces, provided he would leave the Venetians, and reſtore what he poſſeſſed in la Marca to the Pope, they alſo thought proper to ſend Ambaſſadors to him, with a promiſe of Milan, if they took it, and the command of their troops for life, upon condition that he would continue the war in la Marca, and obſtruct the paſſage of the ſuccours which Alphonſo was going to ſend into Lombardy.

The offers of the Venetians were very tempting, and the favours he had received from them conſiderable, as they had entered into the war merely to ſecure Cremona to the Count: on the contrary, the injuries the Duke had done him were freſh upon his mind, and he knew his promiſes were always inſincere, and not to be depended upon. He therefore was in doubt what reſolution to take: for on one ſide he conſidered his engagements with the league, the forfeiture of his honour, the late good offices they had done him, and the promiſes of further reward: on the other, he could not help being moved by the entreaties of his father-in-law, nor ſuſpecting there was ſome latent poiſon in the magnificent promiſes that were made him by the Venetians; eſpecially as he was ſenſible, that if ever they gained their ends, he ſhould then have nothing to truſt to but their mercy and honour for the performance of them, and even for his own preſervation, and that of his dominions; a condition to which no wiſe Prince would ever ſubmit, except compelled by downright neceſſity. But the ambition of the Venetians, at laſt, put an end to the Count's ſuſpenſe; for as they had formed a deſign of ſeizing upon Cremona, by the aſſiſtance of ſome of the Citizens there, with whom they held a coreſpondence, they cauſed their forces to march that way, though upon a different pretence; but their intention being diſcovered by thoſe that governed the City for the Count, they not only failed in that attempt, but entirely loſt the Count by it, who, without any further conſideration, or regard, immediately went over to the Duke.

Pope Eugenius being now dead, [g] was ſucceeded by Nicholas V. and the Count had already advanced with all his forces as far as Cotignola, in order to paſs into Lombardy, when he received an account of the Duke of Milan's death. This event, which happened on the laſt day of Auguſt, in the Year 1447, exceedingly embarraſſed

[g] The name of this Pontif, before his exaltation, was Gabrieli Condelmerio. He was born of a Plebeian family at Venice, and ſucceeded Martin V. in the year 1431. His Pontificate was an unquiet one, as he was involved in wars, and diſturbed with ſchiſms, and eccleſiaſtical ſedition, during the greater part of it. Being forced from Rome by the arms and intrigues of the Duke of Milan, he fled to Florence; and refuſing to go to the Council which he had ſummoned to meet at Baſil, he was depoſed for contempt (as has been ſaid before, in a note, towards the latter end of the fourth Book of this Hiſtory) and the Antipope, Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, or Felix V. ſet up in his room. At laſt, however, after ten years abſence, he returned to Rome, made a vigorous oppoſition to his enemies, who were making great havock in the eccleſiaſtical State; and at the ſame time ſent a fleet by ſea, and an army by land, againſt the Turk, under the command of his Legate Juliano Ceſarini. He was very inconſtant and deſultory in his actions at the beginning of his reign, and led away by evil Counſels; but afterwards, acted with prudence and reſolution. But an indifferent ſcholar, though pretty well verſed in hiſtory; very liberal, eſpecially to men of learning, whom he favoured and preferred; a great benefactor to the Religious Orders, to ſome of which he granted ſeveral privileges and revenues, and increaſed the foundations of others. But he delighted ſo much in war, that beſides thoſe that he was embroiled in himſelf in Italy, he inſtigated the Dauphin of France to march with a great body of horſe againſt his enemies at Baſil: and afterwards ſent Ladiſlaus, King of Poland, with his Legate Ceſarini, againſt the Turks, of whom they cut off thirty thouſand, in a battle betwixt Adrianople and the banks of the Danube; but the King and the Legate were alſo killed at the ſame time. Platina adds, that he was accounted very ſtrict to his word, *except when he had made a promiſe which it was better to revoke than perform.* Qu. Does he mean *better* for himſelf or others? He died in the 63d year of his age, after he had reigned almoſt 16 years. *See Platina. Spondan. Annal.*

The Reflection he made juſt before he expired, is remarkable, and a proof that thoſe that poſſeſs the higheſt dignities find them to be mere vanity. When he was going to breathe his laſt, he turned towards ſome friers who ſtood by his bed-ſide, and ſaid with a deep ſigh, that it would have conduced much more to his ſalvation, if he had never been either Pope or Cardinal. "Hic (Eugenius) cum eſſet morti proximus, apud Raynaldum anno 1447 aliquid dixiſſe memoriæ proditur, quod niſi pœnitentiam oſtendat, certè mihi terrorem injicit. Verba ſunt: Cumque a religioſis viris cinctus eſſet, interpuncta ſuſpiriis voce verſoque ad eos vultu dixiſſe fertur; "O Gabriel, quanto magis conduxiſſet animæ tuæ ſaluti, ut nunquam Cardinalatum nec Pontificatum obtinuiſſes, ſed in tuo monaſterio religioſam diſciplinam coluiſſes!"—Hæc ex vitæ Eugenii auctore, qui tunc claruit & a Raynaldo laudatur. *Launoius. Epiſt. ult.* Part i. p. 82. *Edit. Cantabrig.*—That is, "This Eugenius being at the point of death, is reported by Raynaldus, in the year 1447, to have made uſe of an ejulation, which if it did not ſhew his repentance, is certainly enough to fill one with horror. His words are theſe; being ſurrounded by a parcel of monks, he turned his face towards them, and ſaid, in a voice interrupted with ſighs, O Gabriel, how much better would it have been for thy Soul's health, if thou hadſt never been raiſed to the Purple or Pontificate, but continued to lead a religious life in thy Convent!"—Theſe particulars are cited from the author of Eugenius's life, who flouriſhed at that time, and is commended by Raynaldus.

the Count; for in the firſt place he began to be apprehenſive his men would grow mutinous for want of the arrears which were due to them: and in the next, he was afraid of the Venetians, who were already armed, and he knew would reſent his abandoning them and joining the late Duke. Alphonſo was his ancient enemy; and he could put no confidence either in the Pope or the Florentines; as he had taken many towns from the one, and the other were in league with the Veneſetians. He reſolved however to face them all, and avail himſelf of ſuch expedients as might afterwards occur; well knowing that fortune uſually favours ſuch as are bold and active, and turns her back upon thoſe that give themſelves up to indolence and deſpair: beſides, he was not without ſome hopes, that the Milaneſe would be obliged to have recourſe to him for protection againſt the ambition of the Venetians. Taking courage therefore, he marched into the territories of Bologna, and having paſſed Modena and Reggio, he encamped with his whole army upon the banks of the Lenza, from whence he ſent to make an offer of his ſervice to the Milaneſe. After the death of the Duke, his ſubjects divided into factions, one party being deſirous of forming themſelves into a Republic, and another of living under the government of a Prince: and of thoſe that choſe the latter, ſome were for having the Count, and others King Alphonſo to reign over them. Thoſe however, that reſolved to live under a free government, being more united amongſt themſelves, at laſt prevailed over the other party and eſtabliſhed a Common-wealth upon their own model: which yet many Cities in that Duchy would not ſubmit to, in hopes they ſhould be able to become independant as well as Milan: and even thoſe that did not aſpire to be abſolutely free, refuſed to be governed by the Milaneſe. Of the latter, Lodi, and Placentia put themſelves under the protection of the Venetians: but Pavia and Parma [*b*] maintained their own liberties. The Count being informed

[*b*] The Duchy of Parma was aſſigned to the Houſe of Auſtria, after the death of the late Duke, who had no children, by a treaty betwixt the Emperor Charles VI. and France, in the year 1736, and the Houſe of Auſtria took poſſeſſion of it accordingly; againſt which, the Pope proteſted, claiming it as a Fief of the Holy See. The Court of Parma in the reigns of the late Dukes of the Houſe of Farneſe, was one of the moſt ſplendid in Europe.—The late Queen dowager of Spain was a daughter of Parma, whoſe eldeſt Son Don Carlos, the preſent King of Spain, was to have ſucceeded to this Duchy, and that of Tuſcany, by virtue of a treaty betwixt moſt of the Powers of Europe: but the Queen of Spain and her Son were content to relinquiſh their intereſt in thoſe Duchies, in conſideration of Don Carlos's being confirmed in the Dominions of Naples and Sicily, by the Houſe of Auſtria, in the year 1736. But by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in the year 1748, the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla, were ceded to Philip Duke of Parma, ſecond Son of the Queen of Spain, and Brother to Don Carlos.

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of theſe diviſions, removed to Cremona, where it was agreed betwixt Commiſſioners on his part, and others who were ſent thither by the Milaneſe, that he ſhould be commander in chief of their forces, upon the ſame terms that had been offered him by the Duke: and further, that he ſhould have Breſcia ceded to him, till he could make himſelf maſter of Verona; after which, the former ſhould be reſtored to them [*i*].

Before the death of the late Duke, Pope Nicholas [*k*] had taken great pains to re-eſtabliſh peace amongſt all the Princes of Italy. For which purpoſe, he uſed his endeavours with the Ambaſſadors whom the Florentines had ſent to congratulate him upon his exaltation to the Pontificate, that a conference might be held at Ferrara, in order to treat of a laſting peace, or at leaſt a long ceſſation of arms. Accordingly a Legate was diſpatched by his Holineſs, to meet the Plenipotentiaries appointed to aſſemble at that City by the Venetians, the Duke of Milan, and the Florentines: but King Alphonſo did not ſend any

[*i*] Philip Maria Viſconti leaving only a natural daughter, whom he had given in marriage to Francis Sforza, ſeveral Princes laid claim to the Duchy of Milan. The Emperor Frederic III. pretended it was eſcheated to the Empire, as the laſt Duke left no legitimate children. Alphonſo, King of Naples, founded his claim upon that Duke's will, in which he had appointed him his heir. The Duke of Orleans alledged the right of conſanguinity; he being the ſon of Valentina, the Duke's ſiſter. Sforza urged, that the ſame Duke had adopted him, and added to this, his wife's right. *Spondan. Annal. ad ann.* 1447. No. vii. From theſe oppoſite pretenſions, therefore, the Citizens of Milan thought they had a fair opportunity of turning their State into a Republic: for which purpoſe, having elected twelve magiſtrates, whom they ſtiled *Conſervators of the Peace*, they tore the late Duke's will to pieces, and appointed Sforza General of their army. The laſt part of their conduct was very imprudent, and ill ſuited to the deſign they had of eſtabliſhing a republican government in their city. They did not conſider, that no circumſtance can be more favourable to a man, who wants to get poſſeſſion of a ſceptre, than the putting a ſword into his hand; "*ben convenendoſi la ſpada a quella mano che vuole ſcettro.*" *Vianoli. Hiſt. Venet. tom.* i. p. 604. Spondanus obſerves very juſtly, that ſeveral cities fell into ſlavery at that time, through an exceſs of eagerneſs to avoid it. Factions aroſe within thoſe cities: ſometimes they would have one form of government, and ſometimes another; and when one of theſe factions got the upperhand, it ſhewed no mercy to the other. Was not this paving the way for ſlavery? *Mediolanenſes ſervandæ per ſe libertatis impotentes erant; &, ut in his fieri mos erat civitatum Italicarum, illam tueri quærentes, mutuis diſſenſionibus crudelitatibuſque faciliorem ſervituti viam ſternebant.* Spondan. Annal. ad Ann. 1449. No. 7.

[*k*] This Pontif obliged the Antipope Felix V. to renounce all his pretenſions to the Papacy, celebrated a Jubilee in the year 1450, and crowned the Emperor Frederick III. but being terrified with a conſpiracy formed againſt him and the Cardinals, by Stephen Porcari (an account of which the reader will meet with towards the end of this book) and the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks, he fell ſick and died, in 1455. He was a great reſtorer and favourer of learning. He gave many thouſand books to the Vatican Library, of which, ſome ſay he was the Founder; and collected a vaſt number of Greek and Latin Manuſcrips, at an incredible expence. *Platina.*

thither.

thither. He then lay at Tivoli [*l*] with a great body both of horſe and foot, ready to ſupport the Duke in any undertaking; and it was generally thought that as ſoon as they could draw the Count over to their intereſts, they would openly attack the Venetians and Florentines: and that they were only amuſing them in the mean while with talking of a peace at Ferrara, to give the Count time to get with his forces into Lombardy. For though Alphonſo did not ſend any Ambaſſador to the conference there, he gave them to underſtand he would ratify whatever the Duke ſhould think proper to agree to. It continued many days, and there were warm debates whether a truce for five years, or an abſolute peace ſhould be concluded: at laſt, all parties conſented that it ſhould be left to the Duke of Milan's option to determine upon either one or the other, as he liked beſt: but his Plenipotentiaries, who returned to Milan to know his pleaſure in that reſpect, did not arrive there till after he was dead. Upon which event, the Milaneſe were deſirous to have a Peace: but the Venetians now refuſed to ſtand to their agreement, as they began to entertain ſtill greater hopes of making themſelves maſters of all their territories; and ſeeing that Lodi and Placentia had immediately ſubmitted to them upon the death of the Duke, they made no doubt of reducing all the reſt of his dominions, either by treaty or dint of arms, before any body could come to their ſuccour; eſpecially as the Florentines were at that juncture upon the point of being embroiled in a war with King Alphonſo.

That Prince was then at Tivoli (as we have juſt now ſaid) and being determined to proſecute his deſigns upon Tuſcany, according to the plan that had been concerted betwixt him and the late Duke, thought the war, which was now begun in Lombardy, would give him a fair opportunity of ſo doing, and of getting ſome footing in the Florentine dominions, before he proceeded to an open rupture with them: for which purpoſe, having entered into a correſpondence with ſome perſons in Cennina, a fortreſs that lies in the upper part of the Val d' Arno, he ſoon after made himſelf maſter of it. The Florentines were not a little alarmed at this unexpected ſtroke; and ſeeing the King had now commenced hoſtilities, they immediately augmented their forces, created *a Council of Ten*, and made all other

[*l*] The ancient Tibur of the Romans. It is in the Campagna di Roma, ſituated upon the River Teverone, about 18 miles to the Eaſt of Rome. The Palace of the family of Eſte, Dukes of Modena, which was built here by Cardinal Hippolyto d'Eſte, is much admired for its Architecture, Sculpture, Paintings, noble Gardens and Water-works. Tivoli is now a little town, but the See of a Biſhop, and ſubject to the Duke of Modena, proprietor of the magnificent palace above-mentioned.

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neceſſary preparations for war, with the utmoſt diligence and expedition. On the other hand, King Alphonſo had already advanced with his whole army into the territories of Siena, and tried all the means he could think of to get poſſeſſion of that City [*m*]: but the Sieneſe continued ſo firm to their alliance with the Florentines, that they would neither open their own gates to him, nor admit him into any other place under their juriſdiction. They condeſcended ſo far however, as to furniſh him plentifully with proviſions: for which, they thought, their own weakneſs and the ſtrength of the enemy would be a ſufficient excuſe.

The King therefore gave up his deſign of invading Tuſcany by the way of Val d' Arno, as he had at firſt intended; for the Florentines had not only retaken Cennina, but were pretty well provided with forces to oppoſe him in that part of the Country: upon which account, he ſuddenly turned off towards Volterra, and ſurprized many Fortreſſes in that neighbourhood. From thence he advanced into the territories of Piſa, where by the aſſiſtance of Henrico and Fazio de' Conti, heads of the Gherardeſchi family, he took ſeveral Caſtles; which gave him an opportunity of making an aſſault upon Campiglia, though he did not ſucceed in it; as it was reſolutely maintained by the Florentines, and they were favoured in their defence by the winter ſeaſon. The King therefore having left ſufficient garriſons in the places which he had taken, not only to maintain them, but to make excurſions into the neighbouring Countries, retired into quarters with the reſt of his army in the territories of Siena. And the Florentines being now ſecured from all further danger by the ſeaſon of the year, began to raiſe more forces with all poſſible diligence, and appointed Frederic Lord of Urbino, and Giſmondo Malateſta Governor of Rimini, their Generals. For though there had been an inveterate enmity betwixt thoſe two Commanders, yet their differences were at laſt ſo happily compoſed by the prudence of Neri Capponi, and Bernardetto de' Medici, the Florentine Commiſſaries, that they took the field even in the depth of winter, and having re-

[*m*] Siena is the capital of the Sieneſe, in the Duchy of Tuſcany, ſituated on an eminence, in a very fruitful and pleaſant Country. It is about four miles in circumference, encompaſſed with a ruinous old wall, and defended by a citadel. The town is thinly inhabited, but elegantly built, and the Cathedral eſteemed one of the fineſt pieces of Gothic Architecture in Italy. It is the See of an Archbiſhop, and an Univerſity; and here is an Academy likewiſe of Literati. The Sieneſe are ſaid to ſpeak the Italian language with greater purity than any other people. The City is at preſent ſubject to the great Duke of Tuſcany, who has been ſovereign of it ever ſince the year 1555; till which time it was a powerful Republic, and often contended with the Florentines for empire. The Emperor of Germany is now poſſeſſed of it as grand Duke of Tuſcany.

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covered thoſe places that had been taken from them in the territories of Piſa, and Volterra, they bridled the excurſions of Alphonſo's garriſons, which before uſed to ſcour all the coaſts that lay upon the Sea, in ſuch a manner, that they were hardly able to ſupport themſelves in the towns they were left to defend.

At the return of the Spring the Commiſſaries aſſembled their whole army at Spedeletto, which conſiſted of five thouſand horſe, and two thouſand foot; and King Alphonſo advanced with all his forces likewiſe, amounting to fifteen thouſand, within a league of Campiglia. But when every body expected he would have ſat down again before that place, he ſuddenly turned aſide to Piombino, imagining he could eaſily make himſelf maſter of it, as it was but indifferently provided for a ſiege: and he knew if he ſhould ſucceed in the attempt, it would be very advantageous to himſelf, and of the utmoſt prejudice to the Florentines: for being in poſſeſſion of that town, he ſhould be plentifully furniſhed with all manner of proviſions by Sea, and have it in his power to diſtreſs the Florentines to the laſt degree, by laying the whole Country round Piſa under contribution, and ſpinning out the war as long as he pleaſed. The Florentines were not a little alarmed at this ſtep; but having conſidered what was beſt to be done in their circumſtances, they thought if their forces could gain the thickets and woody defiles of Campiglia, they might oblige the King either to make a ſhameful retreat, or fight them at a manifeſt diſadvantage. For this purpoſe, they armed four Galeaſſes [*n*] at Leghorn, and having embarked three hundred Soldiers on board of them, they found means to throw them into Piombino: after which, their army poſted itſelf at Caldane, where it could not be attacked without much difficulty, judging that ſafer upon ſecond thoughts, than to lie amongſt woods and thickets, or upon an open plain, where they muſt of courſe be expoſed to great danger. Their ſupplies of proviſions they drew from the neighbouring towns, which being few in number, and thinly inhabited, were not able to furniſh them with a ſufficient quantity: ſo that they were in great want, eſpecially of wine; for

[*n*] Galeaſſes, or double Gallies, are large, low built, heavy veſſels, which uſe both ſails and oars, and are the biggeſt of all the veſſels that go with the latter. They carry generally about twenty guns, and a great number of ſmall arms, the latter chiefly in the ſtern or poop, with three maſts, and a bowſprit, which are never to be taken down or lowered, as they may be in Gallies. They have thirty-two benches of rowers, and five or ſix men to each bench, with three tires of guns in the head, one over the other, of two guns each, which carry thirty-ſix, twenty-four, and ten pounders. The Venetians are now the only people that uſe Galeaſſes: The French made uſe of them formerly. Scaliger is of opinion, that what Pliny calls *long Ships*, were what we call Galeaſſes, the firſt whereof was that of the Argonauts.

as there was none produced in thoſe parts, and they could not then get much from other places, it was not poſſible there ſhould be enough for every one. But the King's army, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the Florentines to cut off its communication with the Country, having the Sea ſtill open, was plentifully ſupplied with all manner of neceſſaries, except forage. Of which the Florentines being aware, reſolved to try if they could not likewiſe furniſh their troops with proviſions in the ſame manner: but having loaded their four Galeaſſes with proviſions, and ſent them to Sea for that purpoſe, they were met by ſeven of the King's Veſſels which took two of them, and obliged the others to return into port. This diſaſter having utterly extinguiſhed the hopes which their forces had conceived of being ſupplied with victuals by Sea, one of their foraging parties which conſiſted of above two hundred, deſerted, and went over to the King, chiefly for want of wine; and many others began to murmur, and ſaid they would ſtay no longer in that hot Country, where there was no wine to be had and the water was ſo bad they could hardly drink it.

The Commiſſaries therefore, at laſt determined to quit that ſtation, and endeavour to retake ſome other Caſtles, which ſtill remained in the hands of the King; who perceived that his army (though it did not want any ſort of conveniency, and was much ſuperior to that of the enemy) was likewiſe diminiſhed every day by the diſtempers which are incident to thoſe ſwampy parts that lie near the Sea (eſpecially in the heat of Summer) and which raged at that time with ſuch fury, that numbers fell ſick, and many died. Each ſide being thus diſtreſſed, ſome overtures of peace were made, in which the King demanded fifty thouſand Florins by way of indemnification for the expence he had been at, and that Piombino ſhould be left to his mercy; which terms after they had been canvaſſed at Florence, many who were deſirous of a peace ſeemed inclinable to accept; alledging that they could not ſee any probability of coming off with advantage in a war that muſt be ſupported at ſo vaſt an expence. But Neri Capponi going himſelf to Florence, uſed ſuch arguments to diſſuade them from it, that the Citizens at laſt unanimouſly agreed not to make thoſe conceſſions; and not only took the Lord of Piombino under their protection, but promiſed to ſupport him effectually both in peace and war, provided he would be faithful to them, and defend the town for the future in the manner he had already done. Of which reſolution, King Alphonſo was ſoon informed, and ſeeing his army ſo diminiſhed by ſickneſs, that he had no hopes of reducing that town, he immediately raiſed his Camp in as much confuſion

and diſorder as if he had been routed: and having loſt above two thouſand of his men, he retreated with the reſt of his army in a feeble and languiſhing condition into the territories of Siena: from whence he returned after ſome time into his own kingdom, highly enraged at the Florentines, whom he threatened with a freſh invaſion at the return of the ſpring.

Whilſt things were upon this footing in Tuſcany, Count Sforza being in Lombardy and now appointed Commander in chief of the Milaneſe forces, endeavoured in the firſt place, to make Franciſco Piccinino his friend, who was likewiſe in their ſervice; that ſo he might be induced to favour him in his future undertakings, or at leaſt not to oppoſe him with much vigour: after which, he took the field with his whole army. The inhabitants of Pavia therefore, being apprehenſive they ſhould not be able to defend themſelves againſt ſo great a force, and at the ſame time very loath to be governed by the Milaneſe, made the Count an offer of their City; provided he would not ſuffer them to fall under the domination of that State. The Count was very deſirous of getting poſſeſſion of Pavia, as he thought that would be an auſpicious beginning, and furniſh him with a colourable pretence to proſecute his other deſigns: nor was he at all reſtrained either by ſhame, or the fear of being reproached with breaking his word; for great men commonly think it a diſhonour to loſe, but an honour to gain any thing, even by fraudulent and perfidious means. But he was afraid if he accepted the offer, he ſhould exaſperate the Milaneſe to ſuch a degree, that they would throw themſelves into the arms of the Venetians; and if he did not, he thought the Pavians would put themſelves under the protection of the Duke of Savoy, to which, many of them ſeemed very much inclined: and in either of thoſe caſes, he plainly ſaw he ſhould have no further chance of making himſelf maſter of Lombardy. However, as there ſeemed to be leſs danger in taking that City himſelf, than in letting it fall into the hands of another, he determined to accept of it; perſuading himſelf, that he ſhould be able to find ſome way or other, of pacifying the Milaneſe. For which purpoſe, he repreſented to them the extremities they muſt have been reduced to if he had not acted in that manner; ſince otherwiſe, the Pavians would certainly have given up their City either to the Venetians or the Duke of Savoy; and then the State of Milan would have been utterly ruined: that it muſt therefore be much better for them, to have him for their neighbour, who was their friend and ally, than an enemy, and a very powerful one too, as either of the others would be. But the Milaneſe having now diſcovered the Count's ambitious deſigns, and the object he had principally in view, were

not a little alarmed: they thought proper, however, to diſſemble for a time, becauſe if they broke with the Count, they did not know whom elſe to have recourſe to, except the Venetians whoſe intolerable arrogance, and tyrannical manner of governing, they could not think of without dread and abhorrence. They reſolved therefore not to detach themſelves from the Count at that time, but to avail themſelves of his aſſiſtance for a while, to guard them againſt the dangers with which they were then threatened, hoping that when they were extricated from thoſe difficulties, they ſhould find ſome means to get rid of him. For they expected to be attacked not only by the Venetians, but by the Genoeſe, and alſo by the Duke of Savoy, in behalf of Charles of Orleans, who was Son to a Siſter of Philip the late Duke of Milan. But the Count having ſoon quieted the two laſt, had no other enemy left to deal with but the Venetians, who were determined to invade the Milaneſe with a powerful army, and had already got poſſeſſion of Lodi and Placentia; the latter of which however, was now inveſted by the Count, and, after a long ſiege, retaken and plundered by his ſoldiers, whom he then ſent into quarters (as the winter was coming on) and retired himſelf to Cremona, where he ſpent the reſt of that ſeaſon in repoſe with his family.

Early in the ſpring, both the Milaneſe and the Venetian armies appeared in the field; the former being very deſirous to recover Lodi alſo, and afterwards, if poſſible, to come to ſome accommodation with the Venetians; for as they found the expences of the war were likely to be very heavy, and grew more and more ſuſpicious of their General, they ardently longed for a peace; that ſo they might guard againſt the deſigns of the Count, and afterwards enjoy themſelves in quiet and tranquillity after their troubles. They reſolved, therefore, that their forces ſhould lay ſiege to Caravaggio, imagining, that if they could make themſelves maſters of that fortreſs, Lodi would ſoon be forced to ſurrender. The Count obeyed their orders, though it was his own deſire to have paſſed the Adda, and fallen into the territories of Breſcia: and having ſet down before Caravaggio, he fortified his Camp in ſuch a manner with ditches and ramparts, that the Venetians could not attack him but at a very great diſadvantage. They advanced, however, under the command of their General Micheletto Attenduli, within two bow ſhots of him, where they continued ſeveral days, and had frequent ſkirmiſhes with his forces. But he ſtill carried on the ſiege, and reduced the caſtle to ſuch extremities, that it could not hold out much longer: at which, the Venetians were exceedingly mortified, as they apprehended the loſs of that fortreſs would totally defeat all their other deſigns in that expedition. After-

many

many diſputes amongſt the Commanders concerning the means of relieving it, there ſeemed no way left but to attack the Count in his trenches, which yet could not be done without extreme hazard: but they had ſet their hearts ſo much upon the preſervation of Caravaggio, that the Venetian Senate, though naturally timorous and averſe to any doubtful undertaking, choſe rather to run the riſque of a defeat, than loſe the Caſtle, and with it, all further hopes of ſucceſs in their grand enterprize. With a reſolution, therefore, to attack him at all events, they got under arms very early next morning, and falling upon that part of his Camp which was the weakeſt, they at firſt threw his whole army into ſome diſorder, as it generally happens in ſuch ſudden and unexpected aſſaults. But the Count ſoon rallied his men in ſuch a manner, that the enemy, after many attempts to force his trenches, were not only repulſed, but ſo totally routed and diſperſed, that out of twelve thouſand horſe, of which their army conſiſted, not quite one thouſand eſcaped; and as all their baggage and carriages alſo fell into the hands of the Count's ſoldiers, it was the greateſt defeat, and the heavieſt loſs, the Venetians had ever ſuſtained before that time.

Amongſt the reſt of the priſoners that were taken, there happened to be one of the Venetian proveditores, who, during the whole courſe of the war, and particularly a little before the battle, had ſpoken in very contemptuous terms of the Count, calling him *a Baſtard and a Coward*; but when he found himſelf at his mercy, and recollected what he had done, making no doubt but he ſhould be puniſhed as he really deſerved, he threw himſelf, trembling and weeping, at the Count's knees, and (as it is the nature of baſe ſpirits, to be inſolent in proſperity, and abject in adverſity) humbly beſought him to pardon his offence. Upon which, the Count lifting him up from the ground, bid him take courage, and fear no harm: but ſaid, "he could not help wondering that a perſon of prudence and gravity, as he affected to be thought, ſhould be guilty of ſuch ill manners as he had been, in ſpeaking ſo injuriouſly of a perſon who had done nothing to deſerve it from him: that, as to the things which he had reproached him with, he neither could poſſibly know, nor prevent what had paſſed betwixt his father and mother before he was born, and therefore ought neither to be applauded nor upbraided for their actions: but that he would venture to affirm one thing, however, which was, that ſince he was capable of acting for himſelf, he had behaved in ſuch a manner, as not to merit reprehenſion from any one: of which, both he, and his Senate had many and recent proofs." And having adviſed him to be more modeſt for the future, in ſpeaking of others, and to

proceed

proceed with greater caution and deliberation in the execution of military undertakings, he diſmiſſed him.

After this advantage, the Count marched with his victorious army into the territories of Breſcia, and having preſently over-run all the adjacent Country, encamped within two miles of the City. The Venetians, on the other hand, after their late defeat, having reaſon to apprehend that it would not be long (as indeed it happened) before he made an attempt upon Breſcia, had fortified it as well, and with as much expedition, as their circumſtances would admit: after which, they began to raiſe freſh forces with great diligence, and having collected ſome ſcattered remains of their late army, applied to the Florentines for the ſuccours they were obliged by treaty to furniſh them with, in caſe of neceſſity. And the Florentines being now no longer embroiled in the war with King Alphonſo, accordingly ſent two thouſand horſe, and one thouſand foot to their aſſiſtance: all which reinforcements put them in a condition to treat of peace.

It had almoſt always been the good fortune of the Venetian Republic to recover twice as much by treaty, as they had loſt in an unſucceſsful war; and they now knew that the Milaneſe were exceedingly ſuſpicious of the Count's deſigns; that the Count was not content with being merely the Commander of their forces, but ſecretly aſpired to be abſolute Sovereign of Milan: and that it was in their own option to conclude an alliance with either of them; as one ſide would naturally be prompted to join them by ambition, and the other by fear. But having maturely conſidered the matter, they determined to come to an accommodation with the Count, and to offer him their aſſiſtance for the reduction of Milan, imagining, that when the Milaneſe ſaw they were betrayed by the Count, it would provoke them to ſuch a degree, that they would throw themſelves into any other hands, rather than ſubmit to him; and that when they were reduced to ſuch circumſtances, that they could neither defend themſelves, nor put any further confidence in the Count (having no other refuge) they muſt of courſe fly to them for protection. Having come to this reſolution, they began to tamper with the Count, whom they found very well diſpoſed to a peace, eſpecially when he perceived that he himſelf ſhould thereby reap the fruits of the late victory at Caravaggio, which would otherwiſe redound to the honour and emolument of the Milaneſe alone. A treaty, therefore, was ſoon concluded betwixt them, by which the Venetians obliged themſelves to pay the Count thirteen thouſand Florins a month, till he had conquered Milan; and to furniſh him with four thouſand horſe, and two thouſand foot, as long as the war laſted; and the Count, on the other

other hand, engaged to reſtore to the Venetians, all the towns and priſoners, and whatſoever elſe he had taken from them, during the courſe of the war; and to reſt content with ſuch places only, as were in the poſſeſſion of Duke Philip, at the time of his death.

When the news of this treaty arrived at Milan, the inhabitants of that City were much more dejected at it, than they had been elated with their victory at Caravaggio; the Governors complained, the common people were outrageous, the women and children wept bitterly, all of them exclaiming againſt the Count, as *a traitor and perfidious wretch*; and though they had not any great hopes left of being able to prevail upon him, either by entreaties, or petitions, or promiſes, to change the reſolution he had taken; yet they ſent ambaſſadors to him, to ſee what he could ſay for himſelf, and what face he put upon ſo ungrateful and wicked a manner of proceeding. When they were introduced into his preſence, one of them thus addreſſed himſelf to him:

"Thoſe that ſeek to obtain any end, commonly make uſe either of ſupplications, or gratuities, or menaces, to thoſe whom they have to deal with, in hopes that being either moved by compaſſion, or biaſſed by ſelf-intereſt, or terrified with threats, they may at laſt be induced to comply with their requeſts: but as none of theſe three different methods of application make any impreſſion upon hard-hearted and rapacious men, and ſuch as are buoyed up with an opinion of their own great power and ſignificance, thoſe that endeavour either to ſoften them by entreaties, or gain them by preſents, or frighten them with menaces, will ſoon have the mortification to find they are labouring to no purpoſe. As we have, therefore, at laſt, though too late, diſcovered the cruelty, the ambition, and the pride of your heart; we are now come, not to aſk any favour, nor with the leaſt expectation of obtaining it, if we ſhould aſk; but to remind you of the kindneſſes you have received from the people of Milan, and to upbraid you with the ungrateful manner in which you have requited them: that ſo amongſt the numberleſs miſeries and calamities which you have brought upon us, we may at leaſt enjoy the pleaſure of reproaching you with them. Recollect the circumſtances you was in after the death of Duke Philip. You was at enmity with the Pope, and the King of Naples. The Florentines and Venetians whom you had ſo baſely deſerted, could not help reſenting the affront, though they had no further occaſion for your ſervice, and looked upon you as an enemy. You was debilitated and exhauſted by the war in which you had been engaged againſt the Church; you was left in a manner without men, without money, without friends, or any hopes of

of being able to preſerve your own dominions, and former reputation, which muſt have been inevitably loſt, if we had not been ſimple enough to take you into our boſom, out of the reverence we bore to the memory of our late Duke, with whom you had entered into ſuch treaties, and contracted ſo near an alliance, that we had reaſon to expect the affection you profeſſed for him, would have deſcended to his ſubjects; and that when you conſidered how many favours we had added to thoſe you received from the Duke, the union betwixt us would have continued firm and indiſſoluble: upon which account, we not only punctually fulfilled all his former engagements with you, but gave you the actual poſſeſſion of Breſcia too, till you could make yourſelf maſter of Verona. What could we either give, or promiſe you more? What greater favours could you have received, or even hoped for at that time, we do not ſay from us, but from any other State?—For theſe unexpected kindneſſes, you have recompenced us in a manner, indeed, which, we muſt own, was likewiſe altogether unexpected and undeſerved by us. Nor was this the firſt inſtance of your perfidy; for no ſooner was you inveſted with the command of our forces, but you took poſſeſſion of Pavia for yourſelf, contrary to all the laws of juſtice and equity: from which firſt ſample of your friendſhip, we might well have learned, what we had to expect from you for the future. This injury, however, we bore with patience, in hopes that ſo great an acquiſition would have ſatiated your ambition: but alas! we find to our ſorrow, that ſuch as graſp at the whole, will never be content with a part.——You promiſed, that we ſhould enjoy all the conqueſts you afterwards made, well knowing, that what you gave us at ſeveral times, you could take from us all at once; as it has happened in fact ſince the victory of Caravaggio, which being purchaſed at the expence of our blood and treaſure, has ſince been unhappily perverted to our ruin. Wretched are the States that are obliged to be continually in arms, to defend their liberties againſt the attempts of ambitious invaders; but much more ſo are thoſe that are forced to employ mercenary and perfidious ſoldiers, like you, for that purpoſe. May our fate, however, be a warning to poſterity, though we ourſelves were ſo infatuated, as not to remember how the Thebans were treated in the like circumſtances by Philip of Macedon; who, after he had been their General, and conquered their enemies, in the firſt place turned their enemy himſelf, and then uſurped the ſovereignty over them. We, for our parts, cannot with juſtice be accuſed of any other fault, but of having put too much confidence in a perſon whom we ought not to have truſted at all; eſpecially if we had called to mind his former behaviour

behaviour, and been upon our guard, as we ought to have been, againſt his reſtleſs and unbounded ambition, which was never ſatisfied in any ſtate or condition: a perſon who had betrayed the Lord of Lucca, extorted ſuch vaſt ſums from the Florentines and Venetians, treated our late Prince with contempt, inſulted a King, and (which was ſtill more heinous) had rebelled againſt God, and perſecuted his Church in ſo atrocious a manner. We ought not, indeed, to have flattered ourſelves, that ſuch a man would treat the Milaneſe with more reſpect than he had done thoſe great and powerful States; nor to have expected, that one who had ſo often violated his engagements with others, would ever be faithful to us. The imprudence, however, for which others may condemn us, can be no excuſe for your treachery, nor ſkreen you from the infamy with which you will be branded, when it is known to the world how much reaſon we have to make theſe complaints. Does not your own conſcience reproach you? Do you feel no remorſe when you reflect, that you have turned thoſe arms upon ourſelves, which we had taken up to defend our laws and liberties againſt the invaſions of others? We appeal to your own breaſt. Do you not look upon *yourſelf* as a Parricide? Can you deny, that you deſerve the ſevereſt and moſt exemplary of all puniſhments? But if you are ſo blinded by ambition, that you are not capable of judging yourſelf, the whole world has been witneſs of your iniquities, and will riſe up in evidence againſt you: God himſelf will open your eyes, and make you ſenſible of your miſdeeds, if the moſt flagrant perfidy, if perjury and treaſon are crimes in his ſight: though, indeed, his Divine Providence ſometimes permits the wicked to eſcape with impunity for a while (as the caſe may be at preſent) to be the inſtruments of his vengeance, and to bring about ſome great and good purpoſe that is indiſcernible to our eyes. Flatter not yourſelf, therefore, with the hopes of certain victory. You have little reaſon to expect the favour of Heaven; and we, for our parts, are determined to defend our liberties like men, and in caſe we cannot preſerve them, to ſubmit to any other Prince, rather than your yoke. But if, as a chaſtiſement for our ſins, and in ſpite of our utmoſt endeavours to the contrary, we ſhould have the misfortune after all, to become ſubject to you, depend upon it, that a dominion uſurped by fraud, and founded in violence, will end with ignominy, and utter deſtruction to yourſelf or your children."

The Count, though inwardly ſtung with theſe reproaches, did not ſhew any extraordinary emotion, either in his countenance or geſtures, but calmly replied, "that as they ſeemed blinded with paſſion, he ſhould in ſome meaſure overlook their indiſcretion and ill language,

and the high provocation they had given him in ſo injurious a charge; to every particular of which, he would, however, have returned an anſwer, if there had been any body preſent that was capable of judging betwixt them: as he could make it plainly appear, that he had never yet injured the Milaneſe in the leaſt degree; and that all his paſt endeavours had been only to prevent them from injuring him. That they could not help remembering in what manner they had behaved to him, after the battle of Caravaggio; when, inſtead of rewarding him for his ſervices with the free gift of either Breſcia or Verona, as they had promiſed, they were ſecretly negotiating a peace with the Venetians; that ſo the odium of the quarrel might be thrown upon him alone, whilſt they ran away with the fruits of the victory, the merit of concluding a peace, and all the other advantages he had gained them in the courſe of that war. They had no reaſon to complain, therefore, he ſaid, that he had made his peace with the Venetians, ſince they had endeavoured to do ſo themſelves: and that if he had deferred it a little longer, it muſt have fallen to *his* lot to reproach *them* with that ingratitude of which they now accuſed *him*; but with what truth, the ſame God whom they had ſo ſolemnly called upon to avenge the injuries they pretended to have received, would not fail to ſhew, at the end of the war; when it would be ſeen, he made no doubt, which of them had juſtice on their ſide, and was moſt favoured by Heaven."

After the Count had thus diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadors, he began to make preparations for invading the Milaneſe; and they being determined to defend themſelves, took Franciſco and Giacopo Piccinino into their pay (who out of the ancient jealouſy that ſubſiſted betwixt the Bracceſcan and Sforzeſcan parties, had always faithfully adhered to the Milaneſe) in hopes of being able by their aſſiſtance to preſerve their liberties; eſpecially if they could find ſome means to detach the Venetians from the Count, who they thought would not very long continue ſo ſtrictly united. The Count was of the ſame opinion, and therefore judged it the beſt way to ſtrengthen the confederacy betwixt them, by motives of ſelf intereſt, ſince other obligations and engagements did not appear to him ſufficient. For this purpoſe, in concerting their plan of operations for the proſecution of the war, he propoſed that they ſhould lay ſiege to Crema [*o*], whilſt he

[*o*] Crema is the capital of a little Country, called Cremaſco, upon the river Serio, which joins the Adda upon the borders of the Milaneſe. There is a fine Palace and a Caſtle, with other fortifications, which now make it ſomething conſiderable; though it was formerly but an ordinary town. It is the See of a Biſhop, and at preſent ſubject to the Venetians.

with

with the reſt of their forces over-run the other parts of that State. The Venetians ſwallowed the bait, and continued firm to the Count till he had made himſelf maſter of all the territories depending upon Milan, and reduced the City itſelf to ſuch extremities by cutting off all communication with the Country, and preventing any proviſions from being brought into it, that the Citizens deſpairing of relief from any other quarter, ſent Ambaſſadors to beſeech the Venetians to commiſerate their condition, and aſſiſt them in defending their liberties, as all good Republicans ought to do, rather than ſupport a Tyrant in his ambitious deſigns, whoſe career they would not afterwards be able to check at their pleaſure, if he ſhould ever get poſſeſſion of Milan: inſinuating at the ſame time, that they muſt not expect he would be content with that part of the Duchy which was to fall to his ſhare by the treaty he had ſo lately entered into with them; ſince it was well known he aſpired to the whole.

But the Venetians were not yet maſters of Crema, and being loth to change ſides till they were in poſſeſſion of it, they anſwered the Ambaſſadors in public, "that as they were in alliance with the Count, they could not ſend the Milaneſe any ſuccour:" but in private they ſpoke in different terms, and deſired them to tell their maſters, that they might depend upon their aſſiſtance.

The Count had now drawn his forces ſo near Milan, that he made an aſſault upon the ſuburbs: and the Venetians having at laſt taken Crema, thought it high time to relieve the Milaneſe; for which purpoſe they entered into a treaty with them, and engaged themſelves by the firſt article of it to maintain them in the full enjoyment of their liberties. Accordingly, as ſoon as the treaty was ſigned, they ſent orders to ſuch of their forces as were with the Count to leave his Camp, and join the reſt of their own army: acquainting the Count likewiſe at the ſame time with what they had done, and allowing him twenty days to accede to the treaty himſelf if he pleaſed. The Count was not at all ſurprized at this event, as he had long foreſeen it, and daily expected it would happen: nevertheleſs, when it did come to paſs, he was no leſs chagrined at it than the Milaneſe had been when he deſerted them. He therefore deſired the Ambaſſadors who had been ſent from the Senate of Venice to notify the treaty to him, that they would give him two days to conſider of it, and then, he ſaid, he would return them an anſwer: during which time he reſolved with himſelf to amuſe the Venetians, and not to give up his preſent undertaking. With this deſign, he publicly gave out that he would accede to the Peace, and ſent Ambaſſadors to Venice, with full power to ratify it; giving them private inſtructions, however, not

to do it upon any account whatſoever, but to protract the matter as long as poſſible with all the cavils and diſcuſſions they could invent. And to make the Venetians believe that he was really in earneſt, he not only made a truce with the Milaneſe for a month, but drew off his forces from their walls, and ſent them to quarters in the neighbouring towns which he had taken from them. To this feint was owing all his future ſucceſs, and the ruin of the Milaneſe: for the Venetians depending upon a peace, were more remiſs in making preparations for war; and the Milaneſe ſeeing a truce concluded, the enemy drawn off, and the Venetians their friends, were firmly perſuaded the Count had given up all further deſign of moleſting them. A deluſion that was doubly prejudicial to them: for in the firſt place, it lulled them into ſecurity, and made them neglect to take proper meaſures for their defence; and in the next, as the coaſt was now clear of the enemy and it happened to be ſeed time, they ſowed vaſt quantities of their grain, which put it in the Count's power to diſtreſs them ſo much the ſooner. But he on the other hand, well knowing how to make an advantage of their overſights, took the opportunity of this interval to refreſh himſelf and his men, and to look out for other allies.

During this war in Lombardy, the Florentines had not taken any ſide, nor ſhewn the leaſt favour to the Count, either when he took part with the Milaneſe, or afterwards when he invaded them; for as he had no great occaſion for their aſſiſtance, he did not aſk it with much importunity: they had indeed ſent ſome ſuccours to the Venetians after the battle of Caravaggio, in conſequence of the alliance which then ſubſiſted betwixt them. But Count Sforza being now deſerted by the Venetians, and not knowing to whom elſe he could have recourſe, earneſtly ſollicited the aid of the Florentines; for which, he applied both publicly to the government of Florence, and privately to his friends in that City; particularly to Coſimo de' Medici, with whom he had always lived in great intimacy, and who had conſtantly not only aſſiſted him with his advice, but furniſhed him with liberal ſupplies of money in all his undertakings. Nor did he fail him in this exigency; for he both gave him large ſums out of his own private purſe, and encouraged him to purſue his preſent enterprize: uſing all his endeavours at the ſame time that ſuccours might be ſent him by the public; but in this he met with ſome oppoſition. For Neri Capponi, who had then a very great intereſt in Florence, thought it would not be conſiſtent with the ſafety of the Republic to let the Count become maſter of Milan; and that it would conduce more to the tranquillity of Italy in general, if he acceded to the treaty

treaty of peace, inſtead of continuing the war. He was apprehenſive in the firſt place, that the Milaneſe, in the height of the reſentment they had conceived againſt the Count, might throw themſelves entirely into the arms of the Venetians, which muſt be attended with the ruin of all the other Princes in Italy: and in the next, he thought if the Count ſhould get poſſeſſion of Milan, his arms, when ſupported by ſo powerful a ſtate, would grow too formidable; and that if he, who was ſo troubleſome whilſt he was only a Count, ſhould ever come to be a Duke, he would then be inſupportable. For theſe reaſons, he ſaid, it would be much better for the Republic of Florence and all Italy, that the Count ſhould be left to live upon the reputation of his arms, as he had done before, and that Lombardy ſhould be divided into two Common-wealths, which, it could hardly be ſuppoſed, would agree ſo well together as to unite for the ruin of any other State, and ſingly, they could hurt nobody. To effect which, he knew no better expedient, than to give a deaf ear to the Count's ſollicitations, and continue in league with their old allies the Venetians.

Theſe ſuggeſtions, however, made very little impreſſion upon Coſimo's friends, who thought Capponi did not give this advice out of any regard for the public good, but becauſe he was jealous that Coſimo would become too powerful by his friendſhip with the Count, if the latter ſhould make himſelf Duke of Milan. And Coſimo for his own part took upon him to demonſtrate, that aſſiſting the Count would be ſo far from being of any prejudice either to Italy in general, or their own Republic in particular, that it would be of the greateſt ſervice to both: ſince it was folly to imagine that the Milaneſe could maintain their liberties, conſidering the temper of the Citizens, their manner of living, and the factions then reigning amongſt them; all which made it impoſſible to eſtabliſh a Republican form of government in that City: ſo that it muſt of neceſſity happen that either the Count would become Duke, or the Venetians abſolute Lords over it. And in that caſe, nobody could be ſo blind as not to ſee whether it would be more eligible to have a potent friend for their neighbour, or an enemy whoſe power would then be overgrown and uncontroulable. Nor was it to be feared that the Milaneſe would raſhly put themſelves under the dominion of the Venetians, merely becauſe they were at war with the Count: for the Count had a party and friends in Milan, and they had none: upon which account, the Citizens, when they found they could no longer defend their liberties, would certainly be more inclinable to ſubmit to the Count than to the Venetians.

This

This difference of opinion amongſt the principal Citizens, kept the Florentines for ſome time in ſuſpence: at laſt, however, they agreed to ſend Ambaſſadors with inſtructions to conclude a treaty of alliance with the Count immediately, provided they ſhould find him in ſuch circumſtances, as made it ſeem probable that he would ſucceed in his deſigns; but, otherwiſe, to raiſe difficulties and objections, in order to defer it. Theſe Ambaſſadors were got no further than Reggio, when they heard the Count had taken Milan: for as ſoon as the truce expired, he had ſuddenly inveſted that City again with all his forces, in hopes of carrying it very ſoon in ſpite of the Venetians, who could not ſuccour it on any ſide, except from the Adda, and that paſs was eaſily guarded. He knew very well, that, as it was the winter ſeaſon, the Venetians would not be able to lie in a camp any where near him; and therefore made no doubt of reducing the town long before the return of the ſpring, eſpecially ſince Franciſco Piccinino was now dead, and his brother Giacopo left ſole Commander of all their forces.

The Venetians in the mean time had ſent an Ambaſſador to encourage the Milaneſe to make a reſolute defence, with aſſurances alſo of ſpeedy and effectual relief: and there actually happened ſeveral ſlight ſkirmiſhes betwixt their troops and thoſe of the Count, during the courſe of the winter. But as ſoon as the weather grew more favourable, they took the field under the command of Pandolpho Malateſta, and encamped upon the banks of the Adda; where they held a Council of war to conſider whether, in order to ſuccour Milan, they ſhould attack the Count and try the fortune of a battle. Pandolpho their general, who well knew the bravery of the Count and his troops, adviſed them not to run that riſque, and thought they might obtain a more certain victory over him by avoiding an engagement; as the want of forage and other proviſions, muſt in a very ſhort time, oblige him to move his quarters. Upon this conſideration, he perſuaded them to continue in the Camp where they then lay, which would keep up the ſpirits of the Milaneſe and prevent them from ſurrendering to the Count. This advice was approved of by the Venetians, becauſe they thought it a ſecure manner of proceeding, and were not without ſome hopes that the Milaneſe, being ſtill kept in great diſtreſs, would at laſt ſubmit to them, rather than the Count, from whom they had received ſo many injuries. In the mean time the Milaneſe were reduced to extreme miſery; for as there was a great number of poor people in the City, many of them dropped down dead in the ſtreets every day for want of bread: and this occaſioning murmurs and complaints in every quarter of it, the Governors began to be

apprehenſive of an inſurrection, and therefore took all poſſible means to prevent any tumult, or aſſembling of the people.

The Commonalty are not eaſily excited to miſchief; but when they are once ſo diſpoſed, any little accident ſerves to put them in motion. It happened one day, that two perſons of no very great conſideration meeting each other near the Porta Nuova, fell into a converſation concerning the miſerable condition to which the City was reduced, and what means were left to relieve it. This being overheard by others, the people inſenſibly gathered about them till they were increaſed to ſuch a number, that a report was ſpread through the town they were riſing there againſt the Magiſtracy. Upon which, the populace, who only waited for a proper opportunity, immediately ran to arms, and having appointed one Gaſpar da Vico Mercato to be their leader, they made ſo furious an aſſault upon the place where the Magiſtrates were ſitting, that all thoſe that could not make their eſcape by flight were killed upon the ſpot; amongſt whom was Leonardo Veneto, the Venetian ambaſſador, who had laughed at their miſeries, and was thought to be the principal occaſion of them. When they had thus in a manner made themſelves maſters of the City, they began to conſult what were the moſt proper means to be taken, in order to deliver them out of their preſent diſtreſs and reſtore their former tranquillity. At laſt it was unanimouſly agreed amongſt them, ſince they could no longer preſerve their freedom and independency, to put themſelves under the protection of ſome Prince that was able to defend them. But they could not ſo readily agree about the perſon; ſome propoſed King Alphonſo, ſome the Duke of Savoy, and others the King of France, but nobody mentioned the Count; ſo ſtrong did the reſentment of the people run againſt him! however, as they could not unite in their choice of any other Prince, Vico Mercato at laſt ventured to propoſe the Count, and repreſented to them at large, that if they had a mind to get rid of the war, there was no other way left but to ſubmit to him; as their neceſſities demanded a certain and immediate peace, and they were no longer in a condition to feed upon the hopes of future ſuccour, which after all might poſſibly be very uncertain, and at a great diſtance. He excuſed the Count's conduct, and threw the blame upon the Venetians and other States in Italy, ſome of which out of ambition, and others out of jealouſy and avarice, would not ſuffer them to live free; and ſaid, that ſince they were now under a neceſſity of giving up their liberties, it behoved them to give them up to a perſon who both knew how, and was ſufficiently able to defend them; that ſo, when they had loſt their freedom, they might

might at leaſt have the conſolation of enjoying peace, and not be plunged into a ſtill more dangerous and deſtructive war.

This harangue was liſtened to with wonderful attention by the populace, who as ſoon as he had done ſpeaking, all cried out with one voice for the Count, and immediately diſpatched Vico Mercato to invite him into the City: which invitation being accepted with great joy by the Count, he made his entrance into Milan on the 27th of February in the year 1450, and was received there with incredible acclamations by that very people who but a few days before had deteſted even the name of him [p].

When the news of this reſolution arrived at Florence, the Florentines ſent orders to their Ambaſſadors, who were yet upon the road, that inſtead of treating with him as Count Sforza, according to their firſt inſtructions, they ſhould now pay their compliments of congratulation to him as Duke of Milan. Theſe Ambaſſadors were received with great honour, and treated with the higheſt reſpect by the Duke, who well knew that he could not have more faithful or more powerful allies in all Italy than the Florentines, to ſecure him againſt the ambition of the Venetians. For though they were at laſt freed from all apprehenſions of the Viſconti family, it was generally thought they would ſoon be embroiled with the Arragoneſe and the Republic

[p] A late author compares the populace to a coquet, who upon ſome days, is not to be prevailed upon either by ſighs, or preſents, or ſollicitations of any kind. The next day, perhaps, ſhe falls into your arms.—Thus there are ſome circumſtances of affairs in which the moſt plauſible Manifeſto's of thoſe that take up arms againſt their Sovereign, will not have the leaſt effect upon the people's allegiance; and at other times, one half only of ſuch pretences will be ſufficient to bring about a revolution.---This, however, is not altogether to be imputed to the levity of the people: for how fickle and inconſtant ſoever they are reckoned, they ſeldom care to ſtir, except impelled by ſome exterior force, as oppreſſion or famine (as in the caſe before us) or the harangues and ambitious intrigues of factious Demagogues. They are like the waters of the Sea, which are uſually calm when the wind does not blow; and if (like ſome parts of that element where the fermentation of ſubterraneous matter ſometimes occaſions a ſort of heaving without the aſſiſtance of the wind) the people riſe of their own accord, it is but a tranſient ſwell, and will quickly ſubſide, if ſome perſons of note and popularity do not put themſelves at the head of them; according to Tully's remark, "Ex quo intelligi potuit quod ſæpe dictum eſt, ut mare quod ſuâ naturâ tranquillum ſit, ventorum vi agitari atque turbari; ſic & populum Romanum ſuâ ſponte pacatum, hominum ſeditioſorum vocibus ut violentiſſimis tempeſtatibus concitari." *Orat. pro Cluent. cap.* 49. Our King Edward the Fourth was well apprized of this. He told Philip de Comines, "that in all the battles he had won, as ſoon as he found the victory ſecure, he rode up and down the field, and cried out, *to ſave the people, but kill the Lords*, and of the latter, few or none eſcaped; by which means he came at laſt to reign quietly." *Comin. liv.* iii. *chap.* 5. This was copying Tarquin the proud with a witneſs, as that tyrant had copied Periander, "ibi inambulans tacitus ſumma papaverum capita dicitur baculo decuſſiſſe." *Liv. lib.* i. *cap.* 54.

of Venice; as both the former, and the King of Naples looked upon them with a ſuſpicious eye, on account of the connexions they had always had with the court of France; and the Venetians who perceived that the ſtate of Florence was grown as jealous of them as it formerly had been of the Viſconti, and remembered with what inveteracy they themſelves had perſecuted that family, began to be afraid they ſhould have the ſame meaſure now dealt out to them in their turn; and therefore determined to ruin them both if poſſible. In theſe circumſtances, the new Duke of Milan preſently reſolved to enter into an alliance with the Florentines: and the Venetians, on the contrary, made a League with King Alphonſo againſt their *common Enemies*, as they called them; in which they agreed to take up arms at the ſame time, and that the King ſhould invade the Florentine dominions, whilſt the Venetians attacked the Duke; who being hardly yet ſettled in his government, they imagined would not be able to make head againſt them, either with his own forces alone, or any other aſſiſtance he could procure. But as the League betwixt the two Republics was ſtill in force, and the King had made a treaty with the Florentines upon the concluſion of the war at Piombino, they both thought they could not juſtify commencing hoſtilities without ſome fair pretext for a war. Each of them, therefore, ſent an Ambaſſador to Florence, who gave the Signiory there to underſtand, that they did not deſign, by the engagements they had lately entered into with one another, to act offenſively againſt any State whatſoever; but merely to defend their own. After which, the Venetian Ambaſſador complained that the Florentines had given Alexander, the Duke's brother, leave to paſs with his forces through Lunigiana into Lombardy; and that they had been the authors and adviſers of the agreement made betwixt the Duke of Milan and the Marquis of Mantua, to the great prejudice of their Republic, and in open violation of the treaty of alliance then ſubſiſting betwixt them: upon which account, he begged leave to repreſent to them in a friendly manner, that whoever injures another perſon without cauſe, gives him a juſt right to revenge it; and that, if they broke the peace, they muſt naturally expect a war.

To theſe remonſtrances Coſimo de' Medici was ordered by the Signiory to return their anſwer; who addreſſing himſelf with much temper and prudence to the Ambaſſadors, recited at large the many ſervices and good offices the Republic of Venice had received from that of Florence, and the obligations they lay under to it for the vaſt acquiſitions they had made by the aſſiſtance of the Florentines, whoſe treaſure, and arms, and counſel had ever been at their ſervice. After

which he told them, "that as the Florentines had been the authors and promoters of the union betwixt them, they would not be the firſt to break it; for having always been lovers of peace themſelves, they had nothing to ſay againſt the engagements the Venetians had entered into with King Alphonſo, provided they were not intended to diſturb the public tranquillity. That indeed they could not help being a little ſurprized that ſo wiſe and majeſtic a Common-wealth ſhould think it worth their while to be at the trouble of making complaints of ſuch trifling and inſignificant matters as the paſſage of Alexander Sforza through Lunigiana, and the agreement betwixt the Duke of Milan and the Marquis of Mantua: but if they thought they deſerved any anſwer, the Florentines took that opportunity of declaring that a paſſage through their dominions ſhould always be open to any friend: and as for the other point, the Duke was a Prince of ſuch abilities, that he did not ſtand in need of their advice or direction in the choice of his allies. That he therefore ſuſpected there was ſomething more at the bottom of theſe cavils than he could at preſent diſcover; but if that ſhould be the caſe, the Florentines would let the world ſee that they had it in their power, not only to be good friends but dangerous enemies." Things however were pretty well compoſed for that time, and the Ambaſſadors ſeemed to go away ſatisfied: but the concluſion of ſuch a treaty, and the ſubſequent behaviour of the Venetians and King Alphonſo, gave the Duke and the Florentines much more reaſon to expect the breaking out of a new war, than to hope for a continuance of the peace. The Florentines therefore having entered into a ſtrict confederacy with the Duke, the Venetians began to diſcover their hoſtile deſigns by driving all the Florentines and their dependants out of the territories of Venice: and ſoon after Alphonſo did the ſame, without the leaſt regard to the treaty he had made with them the year before, without any juſt cauſe, or ſo much as a ſpecious pretence. The Venetians likewiſe endeavoured to reduce the Bolognese; and having furniſhed ſome of their exiles with forces, they marched towards that City in the night, and got into it through an old ſubterraneous aqueduct ſo privately that no body was aware of their entrance till they gave the alarm themſelves: upon which, the Governor Santi Bentivoglio, who was awake though in bed, being informed that the City was ſurprized by the exiles, immediately got up and reſolved to face the enemy. And though he was adviſed by many that were about him to ſave himſelf by flight if poſſible, ſince he could not ſave the City if he ſtaid; yet he put on his armour and having gathered together ſome friends whom he encouraged to follow him, he attacked the enemy, and not only routed them, but killed

many and drove the reſt out of the City: by which courageous behaviour, every body acknowledged that he had given ſufficient proof that he was really deſcended from the Houſe of the Bentivogli.

Theſe proceedings fully confirmed the Florentines in their apprehenſions of a war, and determined them to make the uſual preparations for their defence: for which purpoſe they created a *Council of Ten*, took new Commanders into their pay, ſent Ambaſſadors to Rome, Naples, Venice, Milan, and Siena, to demand ſuccours of their allies, to know what they might certainly depend upon from thoſe of whom they were doubtful, to fix ſuch as were wavering, and to penetrate into the deſigns of their enemies.

From the Pope they got nothing but general declarations of his good diſpoſition towards them, and exhortations to peace. The King of Naples contented himſelf with making trifling excuſes for having driven the ſubjects of the Florentines out of his dominions, and offered ſafe conducts to ſuch as ſtill remained behind if they pleaſed to uſe them. And though he endeavoured by all means to conceal his hoſtile deſigns, yet the Ambaſſadors plainly diſcovered them, and that he was making great preparations to invade their Republic. With the Duke they not only renewed their League, but ſtrengthened it with ſeveral additional articles; and by his means all former differences betwixt them and the Genoeſe were compromiſed with ſo much ſatisfaction on both ſides, that they became good friends to each other, though the Venetians left no ſtone unturned to prevent their reconciliation, and went ſo far as even to ſollicit the Emperor of Conſtantinople to baniſh all Florentines out of his Empire: with ſo much rancour did they begin the war, ſo inſatiable was their ambition of rule, and ſo fully bent were they upon the utter deſtruction of thoſe to whom they entirely owed all their power and greatneſs! but that Prince paying no regard to their ſollicitations, the Senate of Venice forbad the Florentine Ambaſſadors to enter their territories; alledging, that as they were in League with the King of Naples and Arragon, they could not admit of any Embaſſies without his participation. But the Sieneſe received their Ambaſſadors with much ſhew of kindneſs and reſpect; though it was only out of fear of being over-run by their Maſters before the other ſide could ſend them any ſuccours: and therefore they thought it the beſt way to amuſe them for a time, as they were not then in a capacity to make any reſiſtance. The Venetians however and King Alphonſo deſigned (as it was then ſaid) to have ſent Ambaſſadors to Florence, in order to juſtify the war they were going to make upon that Republic: but as the Venetian Ambaſſador was refuſed entrance into the Florentine

entire dominions, and the other did not care to take that charge wholly upon himſelf, that Embaſſy fell to the ground; and the Venetians had the mortification to ſee themſelves treated with as much contempt and diſregard as they had treated the Florentines but a little while before.

In the midſt of theſe apprehenſions, the Emperor Frederic the third [q] came into Italy to be crowned, and on the 30th of January in the year 1451, made his entry into Florence with fifteen hundred horſe, where he was received with the higheſt honours by the Signiory, and ſtaid there till the Sixth of February; at which time he departed for Rome, to receive his Crown from the hands of the Pope. After that ceremony was over, and his marriage conſummated with the Empreſs, [r] who had come thither by Sea, he returned into Germany; but came back again to Florence the May following, where he was treated with the ſame demonſtrations of reſpect that he had been before: and having been magnificently entertained by the Marquis of Ferrara as he was going back into Germany the ſecond time, he, in return for thoſe civilities, made that Prince a grant of Modena and Reggio. But the Florentines were not diverted by theſe ſolemnities from making due preparation for the approaching war: and to give reputation to their arms, and ſtrike a terror into the enemy, they and the Duke entered into a League with the King of France, for the mutual defence of each other's dominions, which they publiſhed with great triumph and oſtentation all over Italy.

It was now the month of May in the year 1452, when the Venetians reſolving to defer the hoſtilities no longer, entered the Duke of Milan's dominions with ſixteen thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot by the way of Lodi: whilſt the Marquis of Montferrat, either moved by his own ambition or the inſtigation of the Venetians, at the ſame time likewiſe invaded him on the ſide of Alexandria. The Duke on the other hand, having aſſembled an army of eighteen thouſand horſe and three thouſand foot (after he had put ſufficient garriſons, not only into Lodi and Alexandria, but into all other ſuch places as he thought were moſt liable to be attacked by the enemy) fell into the territories of Breſcia, where he made prodigious havock; laying

[q] This Emperor, ſurnamed the *Pacific*, began his reign in 1440, and reigned 53 years. He was a Prince of great generoſity and prudence; and naturally abhorring war, he endeavoured to ſupply in policy what he wanted in power. He bore the inſults that had been offered him by ſeveral of the Popes, with ſuch patience, that the Italians uſed to ſay, *he had a dead ſoul in a living body*. It was in the 12th year of his reign that he went to Rome to receive his crown at the hands of the Pope.

[r] Eleanora Infanta of Portugal.

waſte

waſte the country on every ſide, and plundering all the towns that were not well fortified. And the Marquis of Montferrat being alſo defeated by the garriſons at Alexandria, gave the Duke an opportunity of turning with all his forces upon the Venetians and attacking them with greater vigour.

Whilſt the war was thus carried on in Lombardy with various ſucceſs on both ſides, but in ſo feeble a manner that nothing was done worth relating on either; the flame likewiſe broke out in Tuſcany, but not with greater vehemence, nor more danger than it had done in Lombardy. Ferdinand the illegitimate Son of King Alphonſo, had marched into thoſe parts with twelve thouſand men commanded by Frederic Lord of Urbino; and their firſt enterprize was an attempt upon Foiano in the Vale of Chiana: for the Sieneſe being their friends, they entered the Florentine dominions on that ſide. That fortreſs was but a ſmall one, and neither ſtrong nor well garriſoned; the number of men which had been ſent thither by the Signiory for its defence not exceeding two hundred: but they were reckoned as good and faithful ſoldiers as any in thoſe times. Before this place Ferdinand ſat down: however, either the reſolution of the beſieged was ſo great, or the conduct of the beſiegers ſo bad, that it did not ſurrender till after ſix and thirty days: which gave the Florentines time to provide better for places of greater importance, to aſſemble their troops, and make more effectual preparations for their defence.

After the reduction of this fortreſs, the enemy advanced into the territories of Chianti, where they made an aſſault upon two other places that were defended only by the townſmen, but were not able to carry them. From thence they paſſed on to Caſtellina, a town on the confines of Chianti, about ten miles from Siena, neither well fortified by art, nor ſtrong by its natural ſituation: yet, weak as it was in all reſpects, they could not make themſelves maſters of it; ſo that after they had inveſted it on every ſide for the ſpace of forty days, they were forced to raiſe the ſiege and make a ſhameful retreat. For ſo contemptible were their armies in thoſe days, and their method of making war attended with ſo little danger, that towns which now would be abandoned as incapable of being maintained, were then defended in ſuch a manner, as if they thought them impoſſible to be taken.

Whilſt Ferdinand was in the Country of Chianti, he made daily incurſions into the Florentine dominions, and not only committed terrible depredations there, but advanced with ſome of his parties within Six miles of the City, to the great conſternation and diſtreſs of the Governors there; who having aſſembled their forces to the number

number of eight thouſand near the Caſtle of Colle, under the Command of Aſtorre da Faenza and Giſmondo Malateſta, did not care however to come to an engagement, but kept at a good diſtance from the enemy: becauſe they knew very well, as long as their army was entire, they could not ſuffer much by the war; as the little places which might be taken from them, would be reſtored at the concluſion of a peace; and for thoſe of greater conſequence they were in no pain, being aſſured that the enemy would not then venture to make any attempt upon them. King Alphonſo had likewiſe a fleet conſiſting of about twenty ſail of Gallies and other ſuch veſſels hovering upon the Coaſt of Piſa; and whilſt he beſieged Caſtellina by land, he made an attack upon the Caſtle of Vada by Sea, which he took through the negligence of the Governor. This acquiſition gave him an opportunity of infeſting all the adjacent Country: but his excurſions were at laſt checked by ſome forces which the Florentines ſent to Campiglia, who put an end to thoſe depredations and kept his men cloſely confined to the Sea Coaſt.

The Pope in the mean time did not interfere in theſe broils any further than endeavouring to re-eſtabliſh peace amongſt the contending parties. But whilſt he had the addreſs to keep himſelf out of the war abroad, he was in no little danger at home. There was at that time in Rome one Stephen Portari, a Citizen by birth of a noble family and great learning, but much more eminent for the generoſity of his mind. This Stephen (like men that are ambitious of glory) reſolved to perform, or at leaſt to attempt ſome action of *Eclat* that ſhould make him memorable to poſterity. And nothing ſeemed to him more honourable than an attempt to reſcue his Country out of the hands of the Prelates, and reſtore it to its ancient liberty; in hopes, if he ſucceeded, of being called *The ſecond Founder and Father of Rome.* What animated him to this enterpriſe, was the corruption, inſolence, and diſſolute lives of the Prelates; at which, both the Nobility and common people of Rome were highly diſguſted. But his chief confidence was founded upon ſome verſes in one of Petrarch's Sonnets, which begins thus, *Spirto gentile* &c. The verſes are theſe,

" Sopra il monte Tarpeio Canzon vedrai
Un Cavalier, ch' Italia tutta onora.
Penſoſo piu d'altrui che di ſe Steſſo."

On the Tarpeian Mount my Muſe ſhall ſee
A Cavalier ador'd by Italy,
Regardleſs of himſelf, to ſet his Country free.

Stephen

Stephen was poſſeſſed with a conceit, that Poets are often inſpired with a divine and prophetic ſpirit; and taking it for granted, that what Petrarch had thus foretold, would certainly come to paſs, he looked upon himſelf as the man deſtined for the execution of ſo glorious an undertaking; as he thought he was ſo far ſuperior to all his Fellow-citizens in learning, eloquence, friends, and popular favour. Having taken this into his head, he could not contain himſelf within the common bounds of reſerve, but behaved with ſo much indiſcretion, both in his words and actions, and manner of living, that the Pope beginning to ſuſpect he had ſome bad deſign in agitation, immediately baniſhed him to Bologna, in order to keep him out of miſchief, and ſent inſtructions to the Governor of that City, to keep a ſtrict eye upon his actions, and to ſee him every day at ſuch an hour. Stephen, however, was ſo far from being daunted at this rebuff, that he purſued his deſigns with much more reſolution and aſſiduity than before, holding a ſecret correſpondence with his friends at Rome, and often going thither and back again himſelf, with ſo much expedition, that he was always in time to preſent himſelf before the Governor at the appointed hour. So that when he thought he had drawn a ſufficient number into the conſpiracy, being determined to defer the execution of it no longer, he ſent orders to his friends at Rome, to prepare a ſplendid ſupper on ſuch an evening, where all the conſpirators were to meet, and bring as many confidants with them as they could fully depend upon, promiſing to be with them before ſupper was over. When every thing was ſettled, therefore, according to his inſtructions, he came to the houſe where they ſupped, and having put on an embroidered mantle, with a chain of gold about his neck, and other ornaments, to give him the more majeſty and authority, he entered the room where the conſpirators were aſſembled; and after he had tenderly embraced them all, made a long and pathetic ſpeech to them, wherein he exhorted them to behave like men, and prepare themſelves for the execution of ſo glorious a purpoſe. After which, he gave every man his ſeparate charge, ordering one part of them to ſeize upon the Pope's palace early the next morning, and the other to run about the ſtreets, and excite the people to take up arms. But the plot was diſcovered the very night; ſome ſay, by the information of certain of his accomplices, and others, by his having been ſeen in the City himſelf. However that might be, the Pope cauſed him, and the greater part of the Conſpirators, to be immediately apprehended, and afterwards put to death, as they might well expect. Such was the event of this undertaking! and though, indeed, Porcari's

their intention in it may ſeem worthy of praiſe to ſome people [s], yet his judgment and manner of conducting it, muſt be condemned by every one: for notwithſtanding enterprizes of this kind have ſome ſhadow of glory in the projection, they are almoſt always attended with the ruin of the projectors.

The war in Tuſcany had now continued almoſt twelve months, and in the ſpring of the year 1453, when both armies had taken the field, Alexander Sforza, the Duke of Milan's brother, came to the ſuccour of the Florentines, with two thouſand horſe; ſo that their army being augmented, and that of King Alphonſo rather diminiſhed, the Florentines reſolved to uſe their endeavours to recover what had been loſt, and without much difficulty retook ſeveral towns. After this, they ſat down before Foiano, which being ſacked through the negligence of the Commiſſaries, the inhabitants were diſperſed in ſuch a manner, that they could not be prevailed upon to return, till great rewards and exemptions were offered them. They likewiſe recovered the fortreſs of Vada; for the enemy finding they could not keep it, firſt ſet the Caſtle on fire, and then abandoned it. But whilſt the Florentine army was making this progreſs, the king's not daring to face them, had retreated towards Siena, and made ſeveral incurſions into their territories on that ſide, where they committed great outrages, and filled all the Country with terror and confuſion. The King alſo endeavoured to annoy them in another quarter, in order to divide their forces, and to harraſs and diſtreſs them as many ways as he could, in hopes of humbling them at laſt. Gerardo Gambacorta was then Lord of the Vale of Bagno, whoſe Anceſtors, as well as himſelf, having been under great obligations to the Florentines, had always lived in amity with them, and were conſtantly either in their pay, or recommended by them to others. With this man Alphonſo began to tamper, and offered him another State in the Kingdom of Naples, which was more than an equivalent, provided he would deliver up that territory to him. But when this came to be known at Florence, the Signiory ſent an Ambaſſador to ſee how he ſtood affected; who was likewiſe at the ſame time to remind him of the favours which he and his family had received from that Republic, and to exhort him to continue faithful to it. Upon which, Gambacorta ſeeming to be much ſurprized at the imputation, aſſured

[s] Conſpiring againſt the State, Mr. Bayle ſays, is the greateſt crime a man can be guilty of, and yet ſome perſons ſuffer themſelves to be drawn into conſpiracies by ſuch motives as they think are morally good: ſo true it is, that man's conſcience is liable to the moſt lamentable errors! Brutus, and ſeveral of thoſe whom he prevailed upon to aſſaſſinate Julius Cæſar, were men of the moſt eminent probity and virtue.

them,

them, with the moſt ſolemn oaths and aſſeverations, that ſo wicked a thought had never entered his head, and proffered not only to go back again with them to Florence, but to reſide there as a ſecurity for his fidelity. But as he pretended to be in an ill ſtate of health, he ſaid, what he could not do himſelf at that time, without great inconvenience, his Son ſhould do for him, and delivered him up to the Ambaſſadors as an Hoſtage. Theſe aſſurances and proofs ſeemed ſo convincing, that they fully confided in him, and looked upon the charge as a mere calumny. Upon this, Gambacorta proſecuted the agreement with the King with more earneſtneſs; and when it was concluded, his Majeſty ſent Brother Puccio, a Knight of the Order of St. John at Jeruſalem [*t*], with a good body of forces, to take poſſeſſion of ſuch Caſtles and Towns as were in Gerardo's poſſeſſion; though the inhabitants of that Vale, who were very well affected to the Republic of Florence, ſubmitted to the King's Commiſſaries with great reluctance. Puccio, however, made himſelf maſter of all that territory, except the Caſtle of Corzano: but when Gambacorta was upon the point of delivering up that fortreſs alſo into the enemy's hands, there happened to be amongſt his attendants, one Antonio Gualandi, a native of Piſa, and a ſpirited young man, who inwardly deteſted the perfidious behaviour of his maſter. This man, who was well acquainted with the ſituation of the place, and perceived by the countenance and behaviour of the garriſon, that they were much diſſatisfied at ſuch a manner of proceeding, ſeeing Gambacorta ſtanding at one of the gates to admit the King's forces, laid hold of him with both hands, and having thruſt him out of the Caſtle, called upon the garriſon to ſhut the gate upon ſo vile a wretch, and preſerve the fortreſs for the Republic of Florence. And no ſooner was the news of this event known at Bagno, but the inhabitants there, and of all the neighbouring places, immediately took up arms againſt King Alphonſo's garriſons, and hoiſting Florentine Colours, drove them entirely out of all thoſe towns. The Florentines alſo being informed of what had happened, committed their Hoſtage, young Gambacorta, to priſon, and ſending forces to defend that territory, in the Name of the Republic, they reduced it to a Bailiwick, dependant upon themſelves, from a State, which, for a great number of years, had been governed by Princes of its own. The Father, in the mean time, having betrayed both his allies and his ſon, with great difficulty made his eſcape, and wandering about the world like a Vagabond, left his wife and family, and all his poſſeſſions, in the hands

[*t*] Now called *Knights of Malta.*

of the enemy. This ſudden revolution was of the utmoſt importance to the Florentines; for if the King had been in full poſſeſſion of that Country, he would have had it in his power to make incurſions into the Val di Tevere, and the Territories of Caſentino, with very little difficulty, whenever he pleaſed; where he would have been a continual thorn in their ſides, and obliged them to divide their forces in ſuch a manner, that they could not have turned their whole power againſt his main army, which then lay near Siena.

Beſides the ſteps which the Florentines had taken in Italy to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy, they likewiſe ſent Agnolo Acciaiuoli as Ambaſſador to the King of France, to pray that his Majeſty would let King Regnier, of Anjou, return into Italy to the aſſiſtance of their Republic, and the Duke of Milan, his antient allies; where he might alſo take proper meaſures for the recovery of the Kingdom of Naples, in which undertaking they promiſed to furniſh him both with men and money. Accordingly, whilſt the war was carried on in the manner we have related in Lombardy and Tuſcany, that ambaſſador concluded an agreement with King Regnier; in which it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould come into Italy by the latter end of June at furtheſt, with two thouſand four hundred horſe; that upon his arrival at Alexandria, he ſhould be immediately ſupplied with thirty thouſand Florins in ready money, and ten thouſand more every month, as long as the war continued. In conſequence of this treaty, he had got his forces in readineſs to march; but their paſſage was obſtructed by the Duke of Savoy and the Marquis of Montferrat, who were in alliance with the Venetians. Upon which, Regnier was adviſed by the Florentine Ambaſſador to turn aſide into Provence, and endeavour to paſs by Sea into Italy with what forces he could, in order to give ſome reputation at leaſt to his friends: and at the ſame time to try if he could not prevail upon the King of France to uſe his good offices with the Duke of Savoy, ſo effectually, as to obtain him a paſſage through his dominions. This being granted at laſt, to oblige the King of France, ſome part of Regnier's troops marched through Savoy, whilſt he tranſported himſelf, with the reſt, by Sea, to join them in Italy; where, upon his arrival, he was received with the higheſt honours by the Duke of Milan: and theſe two Princes having united their forces, attacked the Venetians with ſo much vigour on every ſide, that they ſoon not only recovered all the places which had been taken from them in the Cremoneſe, but made themſelves maſters of almoſt all the territory of Breſcia, with ſuch rapidity, that the Venetian Commiſſaries not thinking their army ſecure in the field, retreated and took ſhelter under the walls of that City. However, as the Duke was

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then at Verona, and the ſeaſon of the year pretty far advanced, he thought it neceſſary, for the refreſhment of his men, to put them into winter quarters; and having conſigned Placentia to Regnier, for that purpoſe, they ſtaid all the reſt of the year 1453, and the beginning of the next, in thoſe places, without attempting any thing farther. But as ſoon as the weather began to grow more temperate, and the Duke was preparing to take the field again, in hopes of ſtripping the Venetians of all their dominions upon the Terra Firma, Regnier gave him to underſtand, that his own affairs laid him under an abſolute neceſſity of returning into France.

This ſudden and unexpected reſolution, greatly chagrined the Duke: and though he immediately took poſt, and went to him at Placentia, to ſee if he could not prevail upon him to change it, yet all his offers and entreaties were to no purpoſe: he only promiſed to leave part of his forces behind him, and to ſend his ſon John to ſerve the allies in his ſtead. The Florentines, on the contrary, were not at all diſpleaſed at this event; for as they had now recovered all the towns that had been taken from them, they were no longer afraid of King Alphonſo, nor did they deſire that the Duke of Milan ſhould become poſſeſſed of any thing more than what belonged to him in Lombardy. Regnier accordingly returned into his own Country, but ſent his ſon, as he had promiſed, into Italy; who did not ſtop in Lombardy, but came directly to Florence, where he was received with much reſpect.

After the departure of Regnier, the Duke of Milan ſeemed diſpoſed to a peace; the Venetians, King Alphonſo, and the Florentines, being all tired of the war, were likewiſe deſirous of it; and the Pope had always taken great pains, and ſtill laboured with much earneſtneſs, to bring about an accommodation betwixt the different parties: for Mahomet the Grand Turk had taken Conſtantinople that year, and made himſelf Maſter of all Greece [*u*]; an acquiſition that ſtruck

[*u*] Voltaire having at large recited the cauſes that contributed to the loſs of this great ſeat of the Eaſtern Empire, ſays, "Mahomet II. was twenty-two years of age, when he aſcended the throne of the Sultans. From that time he bent his mind upon the conqueſt of Conſtantinople, whilſt that unhappy City was rent into factions and ſchiſms, diſputing and quarrelling whether they ſhould make uſe of leavened or unleavened bread in the ſacrament, and whether it was better to pray in Latin or Greek. He began therefore, with blockading the City; and in the beginning of April, 1453, the adjacent Country was covered with near three hundred thouſand Turks, and the Strait of Propontis with about three hundred gallies, and two hundred ſmaller veſſels.—One of the moſt extraordinary, and yet beſt atteſted facts, is the uſe that Mahomet made of thoſe ſhips. They could not get into the Port, the mouth of it being barricaded with ſtrong booms and chains of iron, and beſides, in all probability, advantageouſly defended. One night, therefore, he ordered the ground to be covered for the ſpace of two leagues in length

a great terror into all the Princes of Chriſtendom, but eſpecially into the Pope, and the Venetians, who imagined, they already felt the weight of his arms in their dominions. His Holineſs, therefore, vehemently ſollicited every State in Italy to ſend their reſpective Ambaſſadors to him at Rome, with full powers to conclude a general peace; with which they all complied. But when they met, and their ſeveral pretenſions came to be diſcuſſed, many difficulties and impediments occurred, which ſeemed inſurmountable. The King of Naples expected that the Florentines ſhould indemnify him for the expences he had been at in the war; and the Florentines made the ſame demand upon him. The Venetians inſiſted upon the Duke giv-

with fir planks, greaſed with tallow and oil, and laid like the manger of a ſhip: after which, by the aſſiſtance of machines, and bodily labour, he cauſed fourſcore galliès, and ſeventy tenders or ſmaller veſſels, to be hauled out of the Strait, and rolled away over theſe planks. All this great work was finiſhed in one night; and early in the morning, the beſieged ſaw with aſtoniſhment, an entire fleet deſcend from the land into their harbour. The next day, a bridge of boats was built within ſight of them, and ſerved for the erecting a battery of cannon.

The City of Conſtantinople ſurely muſt either have had very little artillery, or the artillery muſt have been exceedingly ill ſerved. Otherwiſe, how came it to paſs, that their cannon did not demoliſh this bridge of boats? I queſtion much, whether Mahomet made uſe of two hundred-pounders, as it is pretended. It is common for the conquered to exaggerate the enemy's ſtrength. There muſt have been near an hundred weight of powder in the loading, for the diſcharge of balls of that prodigious magnitude. So large a quantity cannot take fire at once; the ſhot would go off before the fifteenth part of it was fired, and conſequently muſt have but little effect. Probably they miſtook mortars for cannon.

In the month of May, the Turks made a general aſſault upon this City, then looked upon as the Capital of the World. It was but indifferently fortified, and not much better defended. The Emperor, who was attended by a Roman Cardinal, named Iſidore, had conformed to the Romiſh Ritual, and thereby incenſed and diſheartened his Greek ſubjects to ſuch a degree, that they would not ſo much as enter into the Churches which he frequented, and made no ſcruple of ſaying, "they had rather ſee a turban there than a Cardinal's hat." At other times, almoſt all the Chriſtian Princes, under the pretence of a *Holy War*, entered into a league to invade this Metropolis and bulwark of Chriſtendom; and now it was attacked by the Turks, not one of them appeared to defend it. After a ſiege of forty-nine days, the Emperor Conſtantine was obliged to capitulate, and ſent ſeveral Greeks to receive the Law of the Conqueror, who granted them terms. But as theſe Deputies were returning to the City, Mahomet recollecting ſomething which he had forgot to add, ordered ſome of his people to ride after them. Upon which, the beſieged on the top of the ramparts, ſeeing a body of Turks galloping after the Deputies, imprudently fired at them. The Turks were ſoon joined by a greater number, and juſt as the Deputies were entering the gate, the enemy ruſhed in pell-mell along with them, and made themſelves maſters of the upper town, which is ſeparated from the lower. The Emperor Conſtantine XIII. was killed in the crowd, after he had fought to the laſt, with incredible courage: and when the Sultan had made himſelf Maſter of one half of Conſtantinople, he granted the ſame terms to the other half that he had offered to the whole City, which were accepted, and punctually obſerved by him." *Voltaire gen. hiſt.* vol. ii. part i. p. 55. &c.

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ing up Cremona to them; and the Duke would not be ſatisfied except they reſtored Bergamo, Breſcia, and Crema. So that theſe obſtacles ſeemed impoſſible to be removed. Nevertheleſs, what appeared ſo difficult at Rome, where the matter was canvaſſed by ſo many, was ſoon got over at Milan and Venice, where it was conducted by fewer managers: for whilſt the treaty went very ſlowly forwards under the mediation of his Holineſs, the Duke and the Venetians concluded one betwixt themſelves, on the ninth of April, 1454; by which ſuch towns were to be reſtored to each other, as they were reſpectively in poſſeſſion of before the beginning of the war; the Duke was left at liberty to recover thoſe places, if he could, that had been ſeized upon by the Duke of Savoy, and the Marquis of Montferrat; and the reſt of the Italian Princes were to have a month given them to accede to the treaty, if they ſo pleaſed. The Pope, the Florentines, together with the Sieneſe, and ſeveral other inferior States, came into it within that time; beſides which, a peace was concluded betwixt the Florentines, the Duke, and the Venetians, for the term of twenty-five years.

Of all the Princes in Italy, King Alphonſo alone was diſſatisfied at the peace, as he thought it would be a derogation to his Majeſty to be admitted rather as an auxiliary than a principal; upon which account he continued ſome time in ſuſpence, and would not acquaint them with his reſolution. At laſt however, after ſeveral formal embaſſies from the Pope and other States, he ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed upon, (chiefly at the inſtance of his Holineſs) and both he and his Son acceded to the treaty, which was renewed for thirty years: at the ſame time a double alliance was contracted betwixt his family and the Duke's; each of thoſe Princes giving his daughter in marriage to the Son of the other. Nevertheleſs as the evil deſtiny of Italy would have ſome ſeeds of future diſcords and troubles ſtill left, he refuſed to ratify the treaty after all, except the reſt of the contracting powers would ſuffer him to make war upon the Genoeſe, Giſmondo Malateſta Lord of Rimini, and Aſtorre Prince of Faenza, without being in any wiſe impeded or moleſted in his operations by them. This being likewiſe complied with, Ferdinand his Son, who was then at Siena, returned into the Kingdom of Naples, after he had loſt a great number of his men, and gained no material advantage by coming into Tuſcany.

A general peace being thus concluded, the only apprehenſion that remained, was, that it would ſoon be diſturbed again by the enmity which King Alphonſo bore to the Genoeſe. But it proved otherwiſe; for in all outward appearance the ſubſequent troubles were not owing

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to that Prince, but to the ambition of mercenary Soldiers, which indeed had been the occaſion of moſt of thoſe that had happened before. The Venetians (according to their cuſtom at the end of a war) diſcharged their General Giacopo Piccinino, who retired with ſome other Commanders and forces into Romagna, but without having then formed any other deſign. From thence Piccinino paſſed into the territories of Siena, where he began a war upon the Sieneſe, and took ſeveral of their towns. In the beginning of theſe broils, and of the year 1455 Pope Nicholas died, and was ſucceeded by Calixtus III [x]. This Pontif in order to extinguiſh a flame which he ſaw juſt ready to break out again almoſt at his own door, immediately aſſembled what troops he could, under the Command of his General Ventimiglia, and ſent them againſt Piccinino, in conjunction with the forces of the Duke and the Florentines, who likewiſe concurred with him in their endeavours to prevent the growing evils. Near Bolſena, they came to an engagement; in which, notwithſtanding Ventimiglia was taken priſoner, Piccinino coming off with the the worſt was forced to fly in great diſorder to Caſtiglione della Peſcaia, where if he had not been ſupplied with money by King Alphonſo, he muſt have been utterly undone: a circumſtance which gave every one reaſon to ſuſpect this enterprize was undertaken and proſecuted by the order and direction of that Prince. So that Alphonſo perceiving his deſigns were diſcovered, endeavoured to make up a peace, in order to regain the confidence of his allies, which he had almoſt loſt by this feeble and pitiful attempt: and for that purpoſe he ſet a treaty on foot, wherein it was agreed that Piccinino ſhould reſtore all the places he had taken from the Sieneſe, and that they ſhould pay him twenty thouſand Florins; after which, he received both him and his forces into his own Kingdom.

At this time the Pope, though very watchful over Piccinino's motions, was making great preparations for the Common ſupport of Chriſtendom, which he ſaw in imminent danger of being overrun by the Turk; and not only ſent Ambaſſadors, but Preachers into every part of Europe to exhort all Chriſtian Princes and people to

[x] Some Hiſtorians relate, that one Vincent Ferrier foretold the exaltation of this Calixtus, or Calliſtus (for he was called by both thoſe names) and that he made a vow to make war upon the Turks, if ever that ſhould come to paſs. But, though he kept his vow, and perſuaded the greater part of Europe to arm againſt them, the expedition did not ſucceed. Some time after, he canonized Ferrier as a prophet. May not one be allowed upon this occaſion, to repeat what Bodinus relates Cardinal Beſſarion to have ſaid upon much ſuch another? "Such new Saints make me doubt very much of the merits of the old ones." *Bodini Method. Hiſt.* cap. iv. The Calendar certainly has more need to be reformed in that reſpect, than with regard to the preceſſion of the Equinoxes.

take up arms in defence of their Religion againſt the Common enemy, and to aſiſt each other in ſo laudable an undertaking with their perſons as well as their purſes: in conſequence of which, great ſums were raiſed at Florence, and many wore red Croſſes to ſhew they were ready to ſerve perſonally in ſuch an Expedition. They likewiſe made Solemn Proceſſions to implore the bleſſing of God upon their arms, and both public and private people ſeemed ambitious by all the demonſtrations they could give, by offers of their Counſel, their treaſure, and forces upon that occaſion, to appear in the firſt rank of the Chriſtians. But theſe apprehenſions and this rage of Cruſading were in ſome meaſure abated when news arrived, that the Grand Signior, having laid ſiege to Belgrade (a fortreſs in Hungary ſituated upon the Danube) was not only routed, but wounded himſelf. So that the Pope and other Chriſtian States, having now recovered themſelves a little from the panic which the loſs of Conſtantinople had ſtruck into them, proceeded afterwards with leſs vigour in their preparations for the proſecution of that war, which ſeemed to be much damped in Hungary likewiſe by the death of their Vaivode who had obtained that ſignal Victory [y].

But to return to the affairs of Italy. The diſturbances which had been raiſed by Giacopo Piccinino being compoſed and arms laid down on every ſide, it pleaſed God to viſit Tuſcany with a ſtorm of wind that wrought ſuch effects as had never been heard of before that time;

[y] This was the famous John Corvinus, or Huniades, Vaivode of Tranſylvania, General of the Hungarian armies, under King Ladiſlaus, and one of the greateſt commanders of his time. He was almoſt continually engaged in wars with the Turks, whom he beat in two battles, one in the year 1442, the other in the year following, and forced them to retire from before Belgrade after a ſiege of ſeven months. He was at the battle of Verna, ſo fatal to Chriſtendom; where Ladiſlaus was killed in 1444. Afterwards he was made Governor of Hungary, and his name became ſo formidable to the Turks, that they looked upon him as a ſcourge ſent to chaſtiſe their nation, and called him *Jancus Lain*, that is, John the Wicked. He was beat by them, however, in a battle that was fought on the 17th, 18th, and 19th days of October, 1448. But he prevented them a ſecond time from taking Belgrade, in 1458, when it was beſieged by Mahomet II. with an army of two hundred and fifty thouſand men; forty thouſand of whom were killed, and the reſt abandoned the ſiege in a precipitate manner, leaving all their baggage, artillery, and ammunition, behind them. He died the ſame year at Zemplin, and Mahomet, who ſaid he was the greateſt ſoldier in the world, is reported to have lamented his death, and thought himſelf unfortunate, becauſe there was no other warrior of equal eminence left, by defeating whom, he might retrieve the glory he had loſt. Pope Calixtus wept, and all Chriſtendom was in affliction when he died. *Thuroſius. in Chron. Hungar.* The word *Vaivode* or *Woiewoda*, ſignifies a Prince, Duke, Governor, or chief Magiſtrate, and in the northern parts is generally a feudal dignity. There is in Selden's *Titles of Honour*, an inveſtiture, ſolemn livery, or inſeodation of Moldavia to Stephen—as Vaivode thereof in the year 1485.

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and will ſeem marvellous to poſterity [z]. About an hour before Sun riſe on the twenty fourth of Auguſt, a dark thick Cloud which ſeemed to extend itſelf about two miles every way, aroſe out of the Gulf of Venice near Ancona; and traverſing the Continent of Italy from eaſt to weſt, bent its courſe towards the Sea coaſt of Piſa. This cloud being driven forwards (whether by a natural or ſupernatural impulſe I will not take upon me to determine) was broken at laſt into ſeveral parts, which ſometimes were hurried up to a vaſt height in the air, ſometimes precipitated themſelves towards the earth, daſhing violently againſt each other and whirling round in ſpiral manner with aſtoniſhing rapidity. Theſe concuſſions attended with a furious Hurricane of wind, inceſſant flaſhes of red lightning, and ſuch dreadful burſts as far exceeded the loudeſt thunder or the moſt diſmal craſhes of an earthquake, made every man's heart fail within him; as they thought the world was certainly at an end and the elements reſolving into their firſt Chaos.

No leſs amazing were the effects of this tempeſt where ever it paſſed; but moſt remarkable in the neighbourhood of St. Caſſiano, a Caſtle about eight miles from Florence, upon the mountains which divide the Vale of Piſa, from that of Grieve. For paſſing betwixt that Caſtle and the Bourg of St. Andrew, which ſtands upon the ſame hills, it never reached the latter, and bruſhed the former in ſo ſlight a manner that it only blew down ſome chimnies and battlements: but in the ſpace betwixt thoſe two places it laid numbers of houſes flat to the ground. The roofs of St. Martin's Church at Bagnuola, and of Santa Maria della pace were taken off and carried away entire above a mile. A carrier and his mules were hurried out of the road into a neighbouring valley and there found dead. Many of the ſturdieſt Oaks and other huge trees that did not give way to the fury of the blaſt, not only had their branches ſtripped off but were torn up by the roots and carried to a conſiderable diſtance. So that when the ſtorm ceaſed and day light began to appear, the inha-

[z] The new world was not diſcovered at that time: if it had, Sailors would have called this ſtorm (terrible as it was) but *a cap-full of wind*, in compariſon of thoſe dreadfull hurricanes which frequently happen in the Weſt Indies. The Editor of this work had the misfortune to be an eye-witneſs of one of them at Jamaica, in October 1744. There were at that time ninety-five merchant veſſels, and eight men of war, in Port Royal Harbour; of which, only his Majeſty's ſhip the Rippon, rode it out, all the reſt being either wrecked, or driven aſhore, and ſome of them a great way up into the Country; where they were left *high and dry* (as the ſea phraſe is) when the waters ſubſided. The damage which the Iſland likewiſe ſuſtained by that calamity, was hardly to be computed; and the havock it made, ſo prodigious and uncommon, that a particular narrative of it would be credited by few.

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bitants of the Country ſtood in amazement as if they had been thunderſtruck or ſtupified. The fields were deſolated, the Churches and houſes entirely demoliſhed, and nothing to be heard but the cries and lamentations of thoſe that had loſt their whole ſubſtance, and had not only their Cattle, but their families alſo buried in the ruins. A ſpectacle indeed that muſt fill the hardeſt heart with terror and compaſſion! but God in his mercy ſeemed to intend this calamity rather as a warning, than a chaſtiſement to Tuſcany in general: for if ſuch a ſtorm had happened in a large and populous City, inſtead of a Country where there was not any very conſiderable number of houſes and inhabitants (comparatively ſpeaking) and little elſe to ſpend its rage upon but trees and thickets, without doubt the havock it muſt have made would have been greater than can well be conceived. The Divine Being was pleaſed however to reſtrain his Vengeance, and to let this ſcourge ſuffice for that time, to revive in mankind a due ſenſe of his Almighty power [*a*].

But to reſume the thread of our narrative. King Alphonſo, as we have ſaid before, was diſſatisfied with the peace; and as the war, which he had cauſed Giacopo Piccinino to make upon the Sieneſe without any reaſonable occaſion, was attended with no material advantage, he reſolved to try his fortune in that which he was allowed to commence with the Genoeſe by the articles of the late treaty. Accordingly in the year 1456, he invaded them both by ſea and land, with a deſign to take the government of their State out of the hands of the Fregoſi, who were then in poſſeſſion of it, and to reſtore it to the Adorni. On the other hand, he ſent Giacopo Piccinino over the Tronto, with a body of forces to fall upon Giſmondo Malateſta; who having put all his towns in a good poſture of defence, made ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that his Majeſty's arms met with no ſucceſs at all in that enterprize: and his attempt upon Genoa afterwards involved both him and his Kingdom in ſuch troubles as he little expected. Pietro Fregoſo was at that time Doge of Genoa, and being afraid he

[*a*] Theſe reflections do not ſeem to favour much of Atheiſm, with which Machiavel has been ſo literally charged, and often by people that never read any of his works. He ſpeaks pretty freely, indeed, of the Church of Rome, and its corruption; which being reckoned a *mortal ſin* in one of that Communion, ſeldom goes without its puniſhment in this world. The Jeſuits, and other religious Orders, according as they are touched, never fail amongſt the reſt of their wiles, to brand ſuch a one with a name that will be ſure to ſtick cloſe to him. A fearful outcry is raiſed of *Atheiſt*, *Infidel*, *Heretic*, *mad dog*, &c.

"Cape ſaxa manu, cape robora, Paſtor,"

And then, bleſſed is the Zealot that takes up a ſtick or a ſtone, and knocks out his brains. It is well other Churches have more charity and moderation.

ſhould not be able to cope with the King, reſolved to give up what he found he could no longer hold himſelf, to ſome other Prince that was able to defend him from his enemies, and perhaps might one time or other make him a proper recompence for it. For this purpoſe, he diſpatched Ambaſſadors to Charles VII. King of France, with an offer of the State of Genoa: which Charles readily accepted of, and ſent King Regnier's Son John of Anjou (who had left Florence not long before and was gone back to France) to take poſſeſſion of that City: as he thought nobody more proper to govern it, than a perſon who was ſo well acquainted with the cuſtoms and genius of the Italians, and might at the ſame time have an opportunity of proſecuting his claim to the Kingdom of Naples, of which his father Regnier had been deprived by King Alphonſo. John of Anjou therefore immediately repaired to Genoa, where he was received like a Prince, and inveſted with the whole power both of the City and the State.

Alphonſo was not a little galled at this circumſtance, perceiving he had drawn an enemy upon his back that was much too powerful for him: however he boldly purſued his undertaking, and had already brought his fleet to Porto-fino, near Villa Marina, when he ſuddenly fell ſick and died [*b*]. By his death John of Anjou and the Genoeſe were freed from the apprehenſions of that war: and Ferrando [*c*], who ſucceeded his father Alphonſo in the Kingdom of Naples, ſeeing he had now ſo potent a rival in Italy, began to grow very doubtful of the fidelity of his Nobility; many of whom being fond of change, he thought would ſide with the French. He was likewiſe afraid of the Pope, whoſe ambition he was no ſtranger to, and imagined it would naturally prompt him to make ſome attempt to wreſt his Kingdom from him, before he was thoroughly ſettled in his throne. His only hopes were in the Duke of Milan, who was no leſs anxious than himſelf for the preſervation of that Kingdom; apprehending that if the French ſhould make themſelves maſters of it, their next attempt

[*b*] This Prince, ſurnamed the *Wiſe* and *Magnanimous*, was a very great patron, and encourager of literature and learned men. Amongſt many other inſtances of his particular regard to them and their memory, it is ſaid, that at the ſiege of Gaieta, when he was told, there were none of the large ſtones left, with which they uſed to load the mortars, nor any to be found, except at a Country Seat, which, according to an old tradition, had belonged to Cicero, he anſwered, "that he choſe rather to have his artillery uſeleſs, than to ſpoil what had been the property of ſo great a man." He uſed always to carry Cæſar's Commentaries with him in his voyages and journies, and never paſſed a day without reading ſome part of them, with great attention. His device was *an open Book*. *Anton. Panormit. de dict. & fact. Alphonſi*, l. ii. Num. 12.

[*c*] Or Ferdinand I. natural ſon of Alphonſo.

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would be upon his dominions, which he knew they looked upon as of right belonging to them [*d*]. The Duke therefore, immediately after the death of King Alphonſo, not only ſent ſuccours to Ferdinand to aſſiſt and give him reputation at that time, but wrote a letter to him in which he exhorted him to take courage, and promiſed that he would never abandon him in any circumſtances.

After Alphonſo was dead, the Pope deſigned to have given the Kingdom of Naples to his own Nephew Pietro Ludovico Borgia: and to ſet ſo good a face upon the matter as might induce the reſt of the Italian Princes to acquieſce in it, he gave out that it was only his intention to reduce the Kingdom to its former obedience to the Church; in which caſe, he ſhould ſecure ſuch territories to the Duke of Milan as were at that time in his poſſeſſion, or had ever belonged to him there; and therefore hoped he would not ſend any ſuccours to the aſſiſtance of Ferdinand. But in the midſt of theſe new projects and preparations his Holineſs died, and was ſucceeded in the Papacy by Æneas Piccolomini, a Sieneſe by birth, who took the name of Pius II [*e*]. This Pontif, whoſe chief ſtudy was to promote the com-

[*d*] The Duke of Orleans having married a Princeſs of the Houſe of Viſconti, who became entitled to the Duchy of Milan, upon the failure of a male heir.

[*e*] This was the famous Æneas Sylvius, who, at the age of twenty-ſix, attended Dominico Capranico, Cardinal of Fermo, as his Secretary to the Council of Baſil. He afterwards ſerved ſeveral other Prelates in the ſame capacity, particularly Cardinal Albergoti, who ſent him into Scotland, to mediate a peace betwixt the Engliſh and the Scots. After his return, the ſame council honoured him with the Charges of Referendary, Abbreviator, Chancellor, General Agent, and ſent him ſeveral Times to Straſbourg, Frankfort, Conſtance, Savoy, amongſt the Griſons, and conferred upon him the Provoſtſhip of the Collegiate Church of St. Lorenzo in Milan. At that time he compoſed thoſe pieces in favour of the Council of Baſil, againſt Eugenius IV. in particular, and the Papal uſurpations and pretenſions in general: for which he afterwards made an apology to that Pontif, and aſked his pardon, who not only forgave him, but made him his ſecretary. After he was exalted to the Pontificate, he likewiſe retracted them in a Bull, dated April 26, 1463, which is prefixed to the Collection of his Works, and may be ſeen in Father Labbè's *Collection of Councils*. tom. xiii. p. 1407. It may not be unentertaining, perhaps, to ſee in what manner he apologizes for his former conduct, and how much his ſentiments were altered with his circumſtances. He excuſes himſelf for having written thoſe pieces when he was young, and incapable of forming a right judgment of things. He owns, that he had been guilty of an error, and deſires the Univerſity of Cologne, to which he addreſſes his Bull, not to regard what he had ſaid in favour of the Council of Baſil, but to condemn Æneas Sylvius, and to follow the ſentiments of Pius II. "We are men, ſays he, and have erred as men. We do not deny that many things, which we have ſaid, or written, may juſtly be condemned. We have been ſeduced like Paul, and perſecuted the Church of God through ignorance. We now follow St. Auſtin's example, who having ſuffered ſeveral erroneous ſentiments to eſcape him in his writings, afterwards retracted them. We do juſt the ſame thing; we ingenuouſly confeſs our ignorance, being apprehenſive leſt what we have written in our

mon good of Chriſtendom, and maintain the reſpect due to the Church, laying aſide all private intereſts and paſſions, crowned Ferdinand King of Naples at the ſollicitation of the Duke of Milan; thinking it would be more eaſy to compoſe all differences in Italy by confirming one that was already in poſſeſſion, than either by favouring the French in their pretenſions to that Kingdom, or attempting to

youth, ſhould occaſion ſome error, which may prejudice the Holy See. For if it is ſuitable to any perſon's character, to maintain the eminence and glory of the firſt throne of the Church, it is certainly ſo to us, whom the merciful God, of his infinite goodneſs only, hath raiſed to the dignity of Vice-gerent of Chriſt, without any merit on our part. Upon all theſe conſiderations, we exhort and adviſe you in the Lord, not to pay any regard to thoſe writings, which in any wiſe injure the authority of the Apoſtolic See, or aſſert opinions that the Holy Roman Church does not receive. If you find any thing contrary to this in our Dialogues, or Letters, or in any other of our works, deſpiſe ſuch notions, reject them, follow what we now maintain; believe what we aſſert now we are in years, rather than what I ſaid when I was young; regard a Pope rather than a private man; in ſhort, reject Æneas Sylvius, and receive Pius II. *Nec privatum hominem pluris facite quam ſummum Pontificem; Æneam rejicite, Pium accipite.* That heatheniſh name was given me by my parents at my birth; but this Chriſtian name we aſſumed, when we were raiſed to the Apoſtolical Character: *Illud gentile nomen parentes indidere naſcenti; hoc Chriſtianum in Apoſtolatu ſuſcepimus.* And ſince it might be objected, that his Dignity was the only reaſon of his changing his opinion, he anſwers that, by giving a ſhort account of his life and actions, and of the Council of Baſil, to which he went in the year 1431, when he was very young, without experience, and, as he ſays, "like a bird juſt out of its neſt".

After he had filled many other great preferments, and diſcharged ſeveral embaſſies and negotiations, with much applauſe and reputation, he was made a Cardinal by Calixtus III. whom he ſucceeded in the Papal Chair, in the year 1458, and reigned ſix years within three days. Platina ſays, he was not only the beſt, but one of the moſt learned Pontifs that had worn the Tiara for many ages before him. His works are very numerous. A Catalogue of them may be ſeen in Mr. Henry Wharton's Appendix to Dr. Cave's *Hiſtoria Literaria*, and in the General Dictionary, vol. i. p. 295. Amongſt them, there is a remarkable letter (which is the fifteenth in the firſt book of his Epiſtles, and tranſlated in the General Dictionary, vol. i. p. 290.) wherein he gives his own father an account of an amour that he had with an Engliſh Lady, when he was Ambaſſador at Straſbourg, and of the fruits of it. Upon which, Mr. Wharton obſerves, in the work above cited, "that he is ſo far from lamenting his crime, that he even boaſts of it there." Indeed it is written with an air of much gaiety.—He likewiſe wrote another very extraordinary letter to Mahomet II. which, as Mr. Bayle ſays, has cut out ſufficient work for dealers in controverſy, and occaſioned a very warm diſpute betwixt the famous du Pleſſis Mornai and Coeffeteau, the particulars of which may be found under the article Mahomet II. Gen. Dict. vol. vii. p. 352. Where the reader will ſee upon what *pious* motives this *great and good* Pontif perſuaded the Sultan to turn Chriſtian.—Olearius ſays, that he regretted three things at his death: firſt, that he had written, The Hiſtory of two Lovers, Euryalus and Lucretia: 2. That he had canoniſed Catharine of Siena, who had been miſtreſs to one of his Predeceſſors. 3. That he had excited the Chriſtian Princes to a war with the Turk. *Bibliothec. Scriptor. Eccleſ.* tom. ii. p. 98. The two firſt articles ſeem probable; the laſt does not, and is directly contrary to what is ſaid of him by all other writers, who affirm, that he had that expedition very much at heart to the laſt breath of his life.

ſeize

ſeize upon it himſelf, as his predeceſſor had deſigned. Ferdinand in return for ſo great a favour, not only gave his natural daughter in marriage to the Pope's Nephew Antonio with the principality of Melfi for her dower, but likewiſe reſtored Benevento and Terracina to the Church. After which, the tranquillity of Italy ſeemed to be perfectly reſtored, and the Pope was uſing his utmoſt endeavours, as Calixtus the laſt Pontif had done before him, to unite all Chriſtian Princes in a league againſt the Turk; when ſome animoſities, which broke out betwixt the Fregoſi and John of Anjou the new Governor of Genoa, gave birth to freſh wars, and ſuch as were of much more importance too than any that had yet happened.

Pietro Fregoſo was then at a Caſtle belonging to him upon the Sea Coaſt, whither he had retired in great diſguſt that he and his family had not been rewarded according to their merits by John of Anjou; as they had been the principal inſtruments in making him Lord of Genoa. So that at laſt they came to an open quarrel; at which, Ferdinand was not a little pleaſed, and imagining that nothing could more effectually conduce to his eſtabliſhment in the Kingdom of Naples, he ſent him ſupplies both of men and money, in hopes that he ſhould be able by ſuch means to drive his competitor entirely out of theſe parts. But John having intelligence of this, immediately ſent into France for ſuccours to make head againſt his adverſary, who was grown ſo formidable by the reinforcements he had received, that John did not think proper to face him at that time, but kept cloſe within the walls of the City in order to ſecure that; which yet he could not do effectually. For Pietro having found means to enter it privately one night, ſeized upon ſome of the ſtrong poſts: but at the return of day light, being engaged by John's forces, he was killed himſelf, and all his men either taken priſoners or ſlain upon the ſpot.

Elated with this advantage, John now determined to make a deſcent upon the Kingdom of Naples: for which purpoſe he left Genoa in October 1459 with a powerful fleet, and ſteering his courſe directly thither he came to an anchor at Baia, [*f*] and from thence proceed-

[*f*] This City was famous for its hot baths and elegant buildings in the time of the ancient Romans; and here they ſtill ſhew the ruins of certain edifices, which they call the palaces of Cæſar, Pompey, Cicero, and other great men, who uſed to reſort thither. Horace tells us, it was the moſt delightful place upon earth.

"Nullus in orbe locus, Baiis præluceat amœnis."

The little plot of ground, called the Elyſian Fields, ſo much celebrated by the Poets, lies about a mile from this place, but has not much to recommend or make it admired at preſent. It is parted from Puteoli by an arm of the Sea about two or three miles broad, over which the Emperor Caligula built a bridge. *Suet. Tacit.*

ed to Seſſa, where he was received by the Duke of that place; and ſoon after his arrival, the Prince of Taranto, the people of Aquila, and many other Princes and Cities declared for him: ſo that the whole Kingdom was in a manner loſt. Ferdinand ſeeing this, had recourſe to the Pope and the Duke of Milan for aſſiſtance, and that he might have the fewer enemies to deal with, he came to an accommodation with Giſmondo Malateſta; at which, Giacopo Piccinino (who was an avowed enemy to Malateſta) took ſuch offence that he preſently quitted the ſervice of Ferdinand, and went over to the French. He likewiſe endeavoured to engage Frederic Lord of Urbino in his intereſts, by a conſiderable ſubſidy; and having aſſembled a pretty good army (for thoſe times) with as much expedition as poſſible, he advanced to meet the enemy: but coming to an engagement on the banks of the Sarni, he was totally routed, and moſt of his principal officers taken priſoners.

After this defeat, all the reſt of the towns revolted to John of Anjou, except Naples itſelf and ſome few other places, which ſtill adhered to Ferdinand. Piccinino adviſed John to purſue his victory and march directly to Naples; for when that was reduced, he ſaid, the whole Kingdom would immediately drop into his hands: but he determined, on the contrary, to ſtrip his competitor entirely of what little he had then left in thoſe parts, before he attacked the Capital; out of a perſuaſion that when he had cut off all ſupplies from the Country, he ſhould eaſily make himſelf maſter of the City: not conſidering that the members follow the motions of the head more naturally, than the head is directed by thoſe of the members. This reſolution however proved fatal to his deſigns, and overſet the whole expedition. For Ferdinand after his defeat had retired into Naples, where he received great numbers of his ſubjects who had been driven out of their poſſeſſions; and having raiſed ſome money amongſt the Citizens there by gentle and perſuaſive means, he by degrees formed a little army. He likewiſe ſollicited the Pope and the Duke of Milan for freſh ſuccours: each of whom ſent him ſpeedier and much more effectual ſupplies than they had done before; as they both began to be under very great apprehenſions that the Kingdom of Naples would be utterly loſt. Strengthened by theſe reinforcements Ferdinand marched out of Naples, and having retaken ſeveral of the towns which the enemy had ſeized upon, began in ſome meaſure to recover his credit and intereſt.

But whilſt the war was thus carried on with various ſucceſs on both ſides in the Kingdom of Naples, an event happened which robbed

John

John of Anjou of all his glory, and made him deſpair of any further ſucceſs in that enterprize. The Genoeſs being thoroughly ſick of the avarice and inſolence of the French, at laſt took up arms againſt their deputy Governor, and forced him to fly for refuge into the Citadel: and in this inſurrection both the Fregoſi and Adorni concurring, were aſſiſted with men and money by the Duke of Milan in their endeavours to recover and maintain their liberties. So that King Regnier, who ſoon after came thither to the relief of his Son with a body of forces on board ſome tranſports in hopes of preſerving Genoa, as the Citadel ſtill held out for him, was routed almoſt as ſoon as he had landed his men, and forced to return with great diſgrace into Provence.

When the news of this overthrow arrived in the Kingdom of Naples, John was not a little ſhocked at it: yet he did not abandon his undertaking, but carried on the war for ſome time, chiefly by the ſupport of ſuch of the Nobility as had revolted from Ferdinand and deſpaired of ever making their peace with him. At laſt however, after many other occurrences, the two armies came to a general engagement near Troia in the year 1463, in which John was defeated. But he was not ſo much hurt by this overthrow, as by the defection of Giacopo Piccinino, who went back again ſoon after into Ferdinand's ſervice: ſo that being now in a manner diſarmed, he retired into [g] Iſtria, and from thence into France. This war continued four years, and during the courſe of it, John of Anjou more than once loſt that by negligence and ſupineneſs, which had been honourably gained by the valour of his Soldiers.

The Florentines had not publickly taken either ſide in theſe diſputes; though indeed when they were importuned by Ambaſſadors ſent from John King of Arragon (who was lately called to the government of that Kingdom, upon the death of King Alphonſo) to ſuccour his Nephew Ferdinand, as they were obliged to do by their late treaty with his Father Alphonſo, they made anſwer, "that they did not think themſelves under any obligation to aſſiſt the Son in a war which his Father had commenced without their advice or concurrence; and therefore he might either continue or end it as he liked beſt, ſince he had nothing to expect from them." Upon which, the Ambaſſadors having charged them, in the name

[g] All the Italian Copies, that I have ſeen, ſay *Iſtria*; but it is a miſtake: for it was not Iſtria that he retired to, but Iſchia, a little Iſland in the Neapolitan Sea, fifteen miles Weſt of the City of Naples.

peace concluded betwixt them. Pietro's friends and aſſociates in the Government, oppreſs the Citizens. He entertains the City with two public ſpectacles. The death of Pope Paul II. *Sixtus* IV. *is elected in his room. His Character. Pietro de' Medici's exhortations and threats to his aſſociates in the Government. He dies. Tomaſo Soderini in great favour with the Florentines, but modeſtly declines the government of the City. It is voluntarily conferred upon Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici, the ſons of Pietro. A conſpiracy of the Nardi, who raiſe an inſurrection at Prato. Bernardo, the chief of them, is defeated, taken, and put to death. The Citizens of Florence fall into luxury, and other corruptions: made worſe, by the arrival of the Duke of Milan and his court there. The Church di Santo Spirito is burnt down. The fire occaſioned by a ſpectacle exhibited in it. Tumults in Volterra; and the cauſe of them. That town is taken and ſacked by the Florentines. The Pope chaſtiſes ſome of his rebellious ſubjects. The death and character of Cardinal di St. Sixtus, the Pope's baſtard ſon and miniſter. Italy divided into two great confederacies. Carlo, the ſon of Braccio da Montone, invades the Sieneſe; but is checked in his career by the Florentines. A conſpiracy againſt the Duke of Milan, who is aſſaſſinated. An account of the conſpirators, and their motives for engaging in it. They are apprehended and put to death.*

IN the courſe of the foregoing book, it may ſeem ſtrange, perhaps, to ſome, that an author, who profeſſes to write a hiſtory of Florence only, ſhould have been ſo diffuſe in relating what happened in Lombardy, and the Kingdom of Naples. I found it neceſſary, however, and therefore ſhall purſue the ſame method in the ſequel of this work; for though I did not promiſe, nor intend, indeed, to give a particular account of the affairs of Italy in general, yet, I think, I ought not to omit taking proper notice of ſuch remarkable tranſactions, and important events, as will make this Hiſtory more intelligible and entertaining: eſpecially, ſince many of the wars in which the Florentines found themſelves obliged to engage, were occaſioned by the proceedings of other Italian States and Princes. The war betwixt John of Anjou (for inſtance) and King Ferdinand, gave riſe to that bitter and implacable enmity which afterwards broke out betwixt Ferdinand and the Florentines, and particularly betwixt that Prince and the Houſe of Medici. For as the King had complained to no purpoſe, that, inſtead of giving him any aſſiſtance in that war, they had favoured his enemies, he reſented it in a manner that occaſioned infinite miſchiefs and diſturbances, as ſhall hereafter be ſhewn.

And

And ſince I have brought down my account of foreign affairs to the year 1463, it is neceſſary to look backwards ſeveral years, in order to give a clear narrative of ſuch broils and diſſenſions as happened at home, in the mean time. But I muſt premiſe, by way of introduction to this book (according to my cuſtom) that thoſe are much miſtaken who think any Republican Government can continue long united. Differences and Diviſions for the moſt part are prejudicial to Republics; and yet it is certain, there are ſome that are of ſervice to them. Thoſe indeed are hurtful that are attended with parties and factions: but when that is not the caſe, they tend to the benefit of the Common-wealth. As it is impoſſible, therefore, for any Legiſlator or Founder of a Republic entirely to prevent feuds and animoſities in it, it ought to be his chief care to provide againſt their growing up into factions. It muſt be conſidered then, that there are two roads to popularity in ſuch States, the one through public ſtations, the other through private life. In the former, it is acquired by gaining ſome ſignal victory, by the prudent and careful diſcharge of an embaſſy, or by giving wiſe and ſucceſsful advice in Council: in the latter, by beneficence to one's Fellow-citizens, by ſkreening them from the Magiſtrates, by ſupplying them with money, by promoting them to honours and employments, even when they do not deſerve them, by entertaining the people with plays and public ſpectacles, and by diſtributing largeſſes amongſt them. This manner of proceeding procures followers and partiſans: and as popularity thus obtained is dangerous to the State, becauſe it is commonly applied to ſerve private and ſelf-intereſted views; ſo the reputation that is acquired the other way is of credit and advantage to it (when not made a tool to party and faction) becauſe it conduces to the good of the whole. And though emulation and envy will always ſpring up even amongſt Citizens of the latter ſort, yet, as they have no partiſans that follow them for their own private ends, they cannot hurt the Common-wealth; on the contrary, they muſt of neceſſity be of ſervice to it: for this very emulation will naturally excite their utmoſt endeavours to excel each other in their merits towards their Country, and make them keep ſo ſtrict a watch over one another's actions, that none of them will have it in their power to tranſgreſs the bounds of good Citizens. But the diviſions that happened in Florence, conſtantly ended in factions, and therefore were always pernicious to the Republic; nor did any one of thoſe factions continue united any longer than it had ſubdued the adverſe party; for when once that was done, and conſequently all fear and reſtraint were at an end, it immediately ſubdivided and ſplit itſelf into others. Coſimo de' Medici's party got

the upper hand in the year 1434; but (as there were ſtill many very powerful men left on the ſide that was depreſſed) they yet ſtood in ſome awe of them, and therefore thought proper not only to continue united, but to behave themſelves with moderation; nor were they guilty of any miſconduct, or oppreſſive act, of conſequence enough to draw upon them the hatred of the people. So that whenever they had occaſion for the ſuffrages of their Fellow-citizens to renew their authority, they always found them ready to re-eſtabliſh the chiefs of their party, in any office they deſired; accordingly, from 1434, to 1455, a period of twenty one years, they were ſix times appointed by the general council to fill the Balia.

There were in theſe times two very powerful Citizens in Florence, as we have already obſerved more than once, Coſimo de' Medici and Neri Capponi: the latter of whom had acquired his reputation in the public way; ſo that he had many friends, but few followers, and partiſans. Coſimo, on the other hand, having gained his authority both by his public and private behaviour, had not only many friends, but partiſans and dependants alſo: and theſe two continuing ſtrictly united, never found any difficulty in obtaining whatſoever they aſked from the people, as their power was founded upon the favour of the publick. But Neri dying in the year 1455, and the adverſe faction being utterly ſuppreſſed, that adminiſtration met with much oppoſition when they went out of office, before they recovered their former authority; and chiefly from Coſimo's friends too, who being now grown very powerful in the State themſelves, and freed from all further apprehenſions of their enemies, were likewiſe deſirous to lower *his* popularity. This jealouſy gave beginning to the troubles that broke out in the year 1446; for thoſe that were then the leading men adviſed their fellow-Citizens, when they were aſſembled in the general Council to take the State of the Common-wealth into conſideration, not to create any more Balia's, but to reſume the Imborſations, and to chuſe their Magiſtrates by lot out of the purſes that had been formerly filled. To cure them of this phrenſy, Coſimo had no other remedy, but either to ſeize forcibly upon the government by the aſſiſtance of ſuch partiſans as ſtill adhered to him, and to cruſh all oppoſition at once; or to let things take their courſe, and wait till time ſhould convince his friends, that they were labouring only to deſtroy their own power and reputation, and not his. He choſe the latter expedient; for he knew he ſhould run no riſque in that, as the purſes were filled with the names of ſuch as were well affected to him, and that he might conſequently take the adminiſtration into his hands again whenever he pleaſed. He ſuffered them therefore

therefore to proceed to an Imborſation; but when the new Magiſtracy was drawn, and every one thought they had now fully recovered their former liberties, the Magiſtrates began to act in their reſpective departments, not according to the dictates and directions of thoſe leaders, but as they thought fit themſelves: ſo that ſometimes the friend of one great man, ſometimes the Creature of another met with an unexpected rebuff; and thoſe who before uſed to ſee their houſes filled with preſents and ſollicitors, now had neither ſubſtance ſufficient to live upon, nor even common ſervants to attend them. They likewiſe had the mortification to ſee themſelves reduced to a level with ſuch as they had uſed to look down upon with the higheſt contempt and diſdain; and thoſe who before were their equals, now ſuddenly advanced far above them. They had neither honour nor reſpect ſhewn them by any one: on the contrary, they were inſulted and abuſed wherever they went; and every body made ſo free with their private characters, and the conduct of the adminiſtration, that they ſoon began to be aware that it was not Coſimo, but themſelves that had loſt their authority.

Coſimo in the mean time took little or no notice of theſe things; but when any thing was deliberated upon that he thought would be agreeable to the people, he was the firſt that promoted the execution of it. But what ſtruck the greateſt terror into theſe Grandees, and gave Coſimo a fair opportunity of making them repent of their paſt behaviour, was the renewal of the Cataſto that took place in the year 1427; by which the taxes were regulated and proportioned by Law, and not levied according to the caprice or arbitrement of particular men. This law therefore being revived, and officers appointed to ſee it executed, the Grandees having had a conſultation together, went to wait upon Coſimo, and entreated him to uſe his endeavours to deliver both them and himſelf out of the hands of the Plebeians, and to new model the government in ſuch a manner that they might retrieve the reputation, which formerly had made him ſo powerful and them ſo much reſpected. To which Coſimo made anſwer, "that he would do what lay in his power for that purpoſe with all his heart, provided it could be brought about legally and quietly, and with the good will and approbation of the people; but that he never would conſent to violent meaſures or uſing force of any kind." They then endeavoured to get a law paſſed in the Councils for a new Balia; but finding it would not go down, they returned to Coſimo and beſought him in the humbleſt manner that he would make uſe of his intereſt to get it paſſed: but with this, Coſimo peremptorily refuſed to comply; being determined to make them ſenſible of their error

at laſt, and to ſuffer a while longer for their folly. Upon which Donato Coechi, who was the Gonfalonier of Juſtice, reſolved to ſet up a Balia without his concurrence: but Coſimo raiſed ſuch a ſpirit amongſt the reſt of the Magiſtrates, that they not only oppoſed him with the utmoſt vehemence, but laughed at him and treated with ſo much ſcorn and deriſion, that it drove him ſtark mad, and he was carried back to his own houſe raging and frantic. However, as Coſimo did not think it prudent to let the ſtream run ſo long in one channel that it would at laſt be out of his power to alter its courſe, Luca Pitti, a bold and reſolute man, being now made Gonfalonier of Juſtice, he reſolved to leave the management of that matter to him; ſo that if any miſcarriage ſhould happen, or any odium be incurred, it might be thrown upon the Gonfalonier and not upon him. Luca therefore having entered upon his office, was very importunate with the people to appoint a Balia; but perceiving it was to no purpoſe, he not only treated thoſe that were members of the Councils with great inſolence and called them opprobrious names, but threatened them, and ſoon after put his threats in execution. For having filled the Palace with armed men on the Eve of St. Lorenzo in the month of Auguſt 1453, he called the people together into the Piazza, and there compelled them by force of arms to do that which they would not ſo much as hear of before.

After they had thus reſumed the Government, they created a Balia; and the new Magiſtrates (at the inſtigation of a few particular perſons, who adviſed them to ſupport an authority with terror which they had uſurped by force) began their adminiſtration with ſending Girolamo Machiavelli and ſome others into exile, and depriving many more of their honours and employments. But Girolamo not obſerving the bounds that were preſcribed to him in his baniſhment, was afterwards declared a Rebel; and travelling about Italy to excite other States to make war upon his own Country, he was betraid and apprehended at Lunigiana by one of the Governors of that place, who ſent him to Florence, where he was put to death in priſon.

This Adminiſtration laſted about eight years, and was indeed a very tyrannical and inſupportable one; for Coſimo being now grown ſo old and infirm that he could not attend to public affairs with his uſual aſſiduity, the Government fell into the hands of a few inſolent and rapacious men, who knighted Luca Pitti for the good ſervices he had done the State; and he, not to ſhew himſelf ungrateful for the favour he had received, ordained, that the *Priori of the Arts*, ſhould now be ſtiled, the *Priori or Defenders of the public Liberties*; that ſo they might at leaſt enjoy the Title, of what, in fact, they had loſt.

loſt. He likewiſe ordained, that the Gonfalonier, who before uſed to ſit on the right hand of the Rettori, ſhould now ſit in the midſt of them. And to give glory to God for their ſucceſs in this revolution and the re-eſtabliſhment of their power, they appointed a ſolemn Proceſſion to be made, and thankſgivings to be publicly offered up in all their Churches. Pitti had alſo very rich preſents, not only from Coſimo and the Signiory but from all the principal Citizens, who vied with each other in their generoſity to him; ſo that it was thought he had above twenty thouſand Ducats given him at that time: after which, he became ſo popular, that the City was no longer governed by Coſimo de' Medici, but by Luca Pitti. This inſpired him with the vanity to build two magnificent or rather Royal Palaces, one in Florence, and the other at Ruciano, about a mile out of the City: that in the City indeed was ſo grand a one as no private Citizen had ever dared to erect before [a]. To finiſh theſe he had recourſe to very extraordinary means; for he not only extorted more and greater preſents from the chief Citizens, whom he obliged to furniſh him with all neceſſary materials, but made the Commonalty ſupply him with workmen and artificers: beſides which, all thoſe that were baniſhed had leave given them to return home, and ſuch as had been guilty of theft, or murder or any other crime that made them afraid of Juſtice, found a ſanctuary in theſe houſes, provided they could in any wiſe be uſeful to him there. The other Governors, though indeed they did not build Palaces like him, were not leſs oppreſſive and rapacious: ſo that notwithſtanding the Florentines had no wars abroad to diſtreſs them, they were ſufficiently harraſſed at home by their own Citizens.

During this period, the wars happened in the kingdom of Naples (as we have ſaid before) and thoſe alſo that Pius II. made upon the Malateſti, Lords of Rimini and Ceſena, with a deſign to ſtrip them of their dominions; in which, and his deſigns againſt the Turk, that Pontiff was almoſt wholly engaged as long as he lived. The City of Florence likewiſe relapſed into faction. The diviſions, indeed, which aroſe in Coſimo's party upon the foreſaid occaſion in 1455, were happily compoſed for ſome time by his moderation and prudence; but, in the beginning of the year 1464, he fell ſick, and ſoon after died. An event much lamented both by his friends and

[a] The reſidence at preſent of the Grand Dukes when they come to Florence. It has never been thoroughly finiſhed ſince that time. Here is a gallery, in which it is ſaid, there is one of the fineſt collections of curioſities in the world. Amongſt the reſt, there is a loadſtone, that weighs 5000 pounds, and a diamond of 138 carats and a half, which is near an inch in breadth, and two in length.

enemies; for thoſe that did not love him for reaſons of State, ſeeing their Governors ſo greedy and ravenous whilſt he was alive, and that they were only reſtrained by the reverence they bore to his perſon, from proceeding to open violence, began to fear now he was dead, that they ſhould be utterly ruined and devoured. They had but little hopes in his ſon Pietro, who, though a very worthy man, had ſo weakly a conſtitution, and was yet ſo raw and unexperienced in matters of government, that they thought he would be obliged to comply with their meaſures in ſuch a manner, that when there was no longer any body of ſufficient authority left to check their career, they would become every day more and more oppreſſive. The loſs of Coſimo therefore was univerſally regretted; and with great reaſon indeed: for conſidering that he was no ſoldier, he was the moſt renowned and illuſtrious Citizen, that Florence, or any other Republic, had produced in the memory of man. As he ſurpaſſed all others of his time in riches and authority, ſo he far exceeded every one in prudence, liberality, and magnificence; which great and amiable qualities deſervedly made him the head of his Country. His generoſity appeared more conſpicuouſly after his death than before: for when his ſon Pietro came to look over his writings, and enquire into the particulars of his eſtate, he found that there was hardly a Citizen of any degree whatſoever, to whom he had not either given or lent large ſums of money; and that when he knew of any perſon of diſtinction who had occaſion for aſſiſtance, he had often ſupplied his wants, even without aſking. The great number of public edifices which he erected, are ſufficient proofs of his munificence: for in Florence he built the Convents and Churches of St. Mark and St. Lorenzo, and the Monaſtery of St. Verdiana; the Church and Abbey of St. Jerome in the mountains of Fieſole, and the Church of the Minims [*b*] in Mugello, which he firſt repaired, and afterwards took down and rebuilt from the very foundations. He likewiſe raiſed Chapels and ſumptuous altars in the Churches of Santa Croce, the Servites [*c*], St. Agnoli, and St. Miniato; all which he decorated in a moſt ſplendid manner, and furniſhed them with Veſtments, Communion Plate, and every thing that was neceſſary for the celebration of Divine Service.

[*b*] An Order of Monks, founded by St. Francis de Paul; they were named *Bon hommes* at Paris, becauſe Lewis XI. and Charles VIII. called Francis de Paul and his companions ſo. They took the name of Minims out of humility.

[*c*] An Order of Monks who make a profeſſion of dedicating themſelves, more particularly than any others, to the Service of the Virgin Mary. The celebrated Paolo Sarpi (or Father Paul, as he is more commonly called) who wrote the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, was of this Order.

Beſides

Beſides theſe places of Worſhip, he built ſeveral houſes for his own uſe; one in the City, ſuitable to his quality; and four out of it, namely at Careggio, Fieſole, Caſaggio, and Trebbio; all of them fitter for Princes than private men. And that the fame of his magnificence might not be confined to Italy alone, he alſo founded an Hoſpital at Jeruſalem for the reception and relief of poor and infirm Pilgrims who ſhould come thither out of devotion; in all which edifices he laid out prodigious ſums of money. And though he ſhewed a truly royal ſpirit in theſe great works, and all his other actions, and was, in fact, the ſovereign of Florence; yet ſo remarkable were his prudence and moderation, that he never trangreſſed thoſe bounds of decency, which ought to be obſerved by a modeſt Republican. In his little parties of pleaſure, in his converſation, in his alliances, and in every reſpect he both acted and ſpoke like any other private Citizen; well knowing that pomp and pageantry and oſtentatious parade are not only of little real ſervice, but excite that envy amongſt men, which is not incident to ſuch actions as are done with an appearance of modeſty and humility. In diſpoſing of his Sons he did not endeavour to match them into the families of Princes, but married Giovanni to Cornelia degli Aleſſandri, and Pietro to Lucretia de' Tornabuoni: and of his two grand children, Bianca and Nannina, the daughters of Pietro, he gave the former to Guglielmo de' Pazzi, and the latter to Bernardo Rucellai.

No man of his time was better acquainted with the views and intereſts and State of the ſeveral Princes and republics of Italy, or had a more perfect knowledge of mankind in general. From whence he reaped this advantage, that in all the various revolutions of ſo fickle and fluctuating a Common-wealth, he maintained his authority for the ſpace of thirty one years: for as he was naturally very ſagacious, he foreſaw dangers afar off, and therefore either took timely care to prevent them, or was ſo well prepared, that when any troubles did happen, they could neither hurt nor diſcompoſe him. This happily enabled him not only to quell inteſtine diſcords, but to curb the ambition of many foreign Princes in ſuch a manner, that the States which were in confederacy with him and his Country, always either got the better of their enemies, or at leaſt came off upon equal terms with them, whilſt thoſe, on the contrary, that were at enmity with him, for the moſt part, threw away their time and money to no purpoſe, and ſometimes entirely loſt their dominions. Of which, the different ſucceſs of the Venetians in their wars may ſerve as a remarkable inſtance; for when they were in friendſhip and alliance with him and the Florentines, they were conſtantly above a match for Duke Philip:

but when they acted ſeparately from them, they were always as certainly worſted, firſt by Philip, and afterwards by Sforza. Again, when they joined King Alphonſo againſt the Florentines, Coſimo by his credit and intereſt ſo drained both Naples and Venice of their treaſure, that they were forced to ſubmit to ſuch terms of peace, as he thought fit to preſcribe. So that in all difficulties and troubles both within the City and without it, the event always proved glorious to him, of advantage to the Common-wealth, and ignominious to their enemies; for in the civil diſcords which happened in Florence, he ſtill acquired freſh authority, and they in their foreign wars, a greater degree of power and reputation: for by his means they added the Bourg of San Sepulchro, Montedoglio, Caſentino with its dependancies and the Vale of Bagno to their former dominions; and he at laſt, by his own virtue and good fortune, entirely ſuppreſſed all oppoſition from his adverſaries, and exalted his friends to the higheſt honours.

This great man was born on the Feſtival of St. Coſimo and St. Damien in the year 1389. The former part of his life was full of troubles and diſaſters; witneſs his impriſonment, his exile, the danger he was in of either being aſſaſſinated, or unjuſtly ſentenced to death, and the riſque he ran when he eſcaped in diſguiſe from the Council of Conſtance, after the depoſition of Pope John [d] whom he had

[d] This was John XXIII. who was choſen Pope in the year 1410, after the death of Alexander V. on condition, that if Gregory XII. and Peter de Luna, who was called Benedict XII. would quit their pretenſions to the Pontificate (to which they had both been elected) he ſhould do the ſame for the quiet of the Church. Hiſtorians ſay, that his diſpoſition would have become a ſoldier, better than a Pope, and that he forced his election. He afterwards repented of his engagement, however, and retired from the Council of Conſtance, diſguiſed in a lay habit. After he had been Pope five years, he was made priſoner at Fribourg, from whence he was carried to Conſtance, and being depoſed there, in the 12th Seſſion, was ſent priſoner to Manheim, where he continued till the election of Martin V. at which time he was diſcharged, and came to Florence, to throw himſelf at Martin's Feet, who received him kindly, made him Dean of the College of Cardinals, and Biſhop of Freſcati; ordaining, that in conſideration of what he had been, his ſeat in that aſſembly ſhould be higher than any of the reſt: but he died not long after, and was honoured with a moſt magnificent funeral, at the expence of his old friend Coſimo de' Medici, who alſo erected a fine monument to his memory, in St. John's Church. He wrote the following verſes on the Inconſtancy of Fortune, when he was in priſon, which indeed cannot be ſaid to do him much honour as a poet: but he was in confinement, and we may ſuppoſe his Muſe in no very gay humour.

Qui modo ſummus eram, gaudens et nomine, Præſul,
Triſtis et abjectus, nunc mea fata gemo.
Excelſus Solio nuper veriabar in aito,
Cunctaque gens pedibus oſcula prona dabat.
Nunc ego pœnarum fundo devolvor in imo;
Vultum deformem quemque videre piget.

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attended thither. But after the fortieth year of his age, fortune was ſo propitious to him, that not only all thoſe that adhered to him in the public adminiſtration of the Common-wealth were aggrandized and enriched by it, but ſuch as negotiated his private affairs abroad (as he had Factors in almoſt every part of Europe) acquired great wealth. So that many families in Florence raiſed immenſe fortunes under his influence, particularly the Tornabuoni, the Benci, the Portinari, the Saſſetti, and ſeveral others, who owed every thing they had entirely to his advice and aſſiſtance [*e*]. And though he was continually laying out vaſt ſums in Churches, and public buildings, and Charities of different kinds, he often uſed to lament in private with his friends, that he had not done half ſo much for the glory of God as he ought in duty and gratitude to his Divine Providence, when he conſidered the Bleſſings he had beſtowed upon him. He was of the middle Stature, his complexion rather ſwarthy and inclining to the Olive, but of a reſpectable preſence; not very learned, but naturally eloquent, and exceeding wiſe; compaſſionate to the poor, always ready to do any good office to his friends, inſtructive in converſation, deliberate in Council, ſwift in execution; and though for the moſt part grave in company, he was ſometimes facetious, and wanted neither wit nor repartee [*f*].

Omnibus a terris aurum mihi ſponte ferebant;
Sed nec gaza juvat, nec quis amicus adeſt.
Sic varians fortuna vices, adverſa ſecundis
Subdit, et ambiguo nomine ludit atrox. See Platina.

[*e*] As misfortunes are the lot of moſt men, at one time of their life or other, it is certainly more eligible (if it was in our own choice) to go through them whilſt we have ſtrength and reſolution, than to droop under the weight of them, when life and health are retiring, and our ſpirits begin to fail. In this circumſtance, therefore, as well as in many others, Coſimo ſeems to have been greatly favoured by Heaven, that he emerged out of adverſity at a time, when others more frequently ſink into it. For adverſity in the former part of one's life, is an excellent ſchool; it teaches us many uſeful leſſons, and to know ourſelves as well as other people. It leads us to acknowledge and rely upon an Almighty and over-ruling Providence: whilſt proſperity too often blinds us, and makes us *forget our Creator in the days of our Youth*. But it is a bitter potion in old age, and ſeldom attended with wholeſome effects, when the heart of man is grown hard, and his conſcience ſeared. There is much good ſenſe therefore, and ample room for moralizing, in the Scottiſh proverb, "Adverſity is a good breakfaſt, an indifferent dinner, but a very bad ſupper." *Fuiſſe felicem miſerrimum eſt.*

[*f*] Lewis Sforza uſed to ſay, "That wit was but an indifferent qualification for a Soldier," and did not care to admit any one into his ſervice, that pretended to it. *Silhon Miniſtre d'Etat*, liv. i. cap. 13. Marſhal de Gaſſion was of the ſame opinion. He was ſo offended at the Abbot de la Riviere for blaming the Duke of Orleans's conduct in raiſing the ſiege of Coutras, that he roughly ſaid to him, "Sir Abbot, your men of wit are but poor tools in matters of war." *Vie du Mareschal de Gaſſion*, tom. iv. cap. 4. They ſeldom ſucceed better in the finances, and whether Statesmen or Prime

Not long after Rinaldo degli Albizi was baniſhed, he ſent Coſimo word "that the Hen was hatching," to which he returned for anſwer, "that ſhe would have but a bad hatching time of it, ſo far from her neſt". And when ſome others of the Exiles gave him to underſtand "that they were not aſleep;" he replied "that he could eaſily believe that, for he thought he had ſpoiled their ſleeping." At the time that Pius II was exciting the Chriſtian Princes to a Cruſade againſt the Turk, he ſaid, "that his Holineſs ſurely could not be ſo old, as it was reported; for he had engaged in an enterprize that required the vigour of a young man." When the Venetians and King Alphonſo ſent Ambaſſadors to Florence to make complaints of the behaviour of that Republic towards them, he uncovered his head, and aſked them what colour his hair was of, and when they ſaid *White*; he replied, "it would not be long, he hoped, before the heads of their Senators were of the ſame colour." Not many hours before his death, his wife aſking him "why he kept his eyes ſhut," he told her "it was to accuſtom them to it." After he returned from exile, ſome of the Citizens remonſtrating, "that the Republic would be exceedingly weakened and God offended by the expulſion of ſo many good and pious men as he was ſending into baniſhment, he ſaid "it would be better for the Republic to be weakened than utterly ruined; that two or three yards of fine cloth made many a one look like a good man; and that States were not to be governed or maintained only by counting a ſtring of beads, or mumbling over a few Pater noſters:" which laſt expreſſions gave many occaſion to calumniate him as a man that loved himſelf better than his Country, and had more regard for this World than the next. Many other of his ſayings not unworthy of remembrance might be recited, but we ſhall omit them as not altogether neceſſary here.

Miniſters are the better or worſe for it, depends pretty much upon their other qualities. Certain it is, that ſatyrical wit is a very dangerous weapon in the hands of a perſon who does not know how to manage it: for ſuch a one indiſcriminately attacks the rich and poor, the brave man and the coward, the virtuous and the vicious. One of this caſt is the peſt of ſociety, and brings himſelf into endleſs dangers and difficulties: for as he ſeems to bid defiance to the whole world, he muſt of neceſſity create himſelf a great many enemies. On the other hand, when a man of honour, virtue, good ſenſe, and good nature, is in poſſeſſion of it, it becomes a moſt valuable talent, and may be applied to excellent purpoſes. Whilſt it is employed to ridicule vice and folly, it is a ſupport to virtue; the defence of which, ought to be the chief object of its care; though by a degree of corruption, peculiar to theſe times, it has been fatally perverted, to make vice reputable, and virtue ridiculous. But wh n a good man directs its point in a proper manner, he ought juſtly to be eſteemed a moſt valuable member of the community, ſince he contributes ſo much to the decorum of it. And in this light, it might well be numbered amongſt Coſimo's moſt ſhining qualities.

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He was likewiſe a great patron and benefactor to learned men, and firſt brought [g] Argiropolo to Florence (a Grecian by birth, and the greateſt Scholar of his age) to inſtruct the youth of Florence in the Greek tongue, and other uſeful erudition. He was at the expence of maintaining [h] Marſilio Ficino, the reſtorer of the Platonic Philoſophy, ſolely at his own charges; and had ſo great an eſteem for him, that he gave him a houſe and eſtate near his ſeat at Careggio, that he might purſue his ſtudies there with more convenience, and entertain him with his converſation at leiſure hours. So that his prudence, his beneficence, his great riches, and good fortune, made him not only beloved and reſpected by his Fellow-citizens, but wonderfully courted and careſſed by the Princes of Italy, and indeed of all Europe; and laid the foundation of that grandeur which enabled his poſterity to follow his noble example, to accumulate ſtill greater riches, and to extend their influence and authority to a much higher degree both in their own City and Country, and all over the Chriſtian World [i]. Nevertheleſs, in the laſt years of his life, he met with ſome piercing afflictions: for he had the misfortune to ſee his eldeſt ſon Giovanni die before him, who was a young man, of whom he had conceived the greateſt hopes; and left Pietro in ſo infirm and languiſhing a ſtate of health, that it was not poſſible he ſhould attend with ſuch a degree of application as was neceſſary either to the public, or even his own domeſtic affairs. So that after the death of the former, he often uſed to be carried through the different apartments of his houſe, and would ſometimes ſay with a ſigh, "Alas! this is too large a dwelling for ſo ſmall a family!" It ſeemed likewiſe to give him much concern, that he had not made a more conſiderable addition to the Florentine dominions; and he could not help regretting the confidence he had put in Count Sforza, when he found at laſt he had been ſo baſely deceived by him: for whilſt the latter was only Count Sforza, and ſtood in need of his aſſiſtance and ſupport, he promiſed him, that, whenever he made himſelf maſter of Milan, he would reduce Lucca for the Florentines: but that Prince,

[g] More generally called Argirophilus. Coſimo made him Preceptor to his Son and nephew. He dedicated his works to the Medicean family, *viz.* his *Tranſlation of Ariſtotle's ethics and phyſics*; his own book *De Regno. Conſolatio ad Imperatorem Conſtantinopolitanum. Monodia*, &c. *Paulus Jovius in Elog.* cap. xxvii. *Voſſ. de Hiſt. Græc.* l. iv. cap. xix.

[h] He tranſlated the works of Plato, and ſeveral other conſiderable authors, who wrote in defence of that philoſophy, as Plotinus, Iamblicus, Proclus, &c. His works were printed in two Vols. fol. at Baſil, in the years 1561 and 1570.

[i] Particularly Leo X. and Clement VII. who were both deſcendants of Coſimo, and very powerful Pontifs.

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on the contrary, ungratefully forgot his former obligations, and altered his reſolution with the change of his fortune; for when he had thoroughly eſtabliſhed himſelf in the Duchy of Milan, he reſolved, if poſſible, to enjoy that in peace, which he had gained by dint of arms, and after ſo many broils and diſtractions; nor did he afterwards trouble himſelf either about Coſimo, or any other perſon of State with whom he had entered into alliance or engagements, nor interfere in any war, but what was merely neceſſary for his own defence, and the preſervation of his territories. This gave Coſimo much uneaſineſs, when he reflected how much pains and treaſure he had unworthily beſtowed to aggrandize ſo perfidious and unthankfull a man! He perceived likewiſe, that his age and infirmities would no longer ſuffer him to attend to the management of the Commonwealth, or his own particular affairs with his former circumſpection and aſſiduity; and he ſaw both one and the other beginning to decline; the State going to wreck by the rapacity and diſſenſions of the Citizens, and his fortune being impaired by the neglect or miſconduct of his agents and ſons. Theſe circumſtances embittered the laſt days of his life, and made him ſpend them in diſquietude. Yet he died full of glory, and with the higheſt reputation. After his death, all the States and Princes of Chriſtendom ſent compliments of condolence to his Son Pietro; and his corpſe was attended with very great ſolemnity to the Church of St. Lorenzo, by the whole City, where he was interred; and afterwards had this inſcription engraved on his tomb, by a public decree; THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.

If in drawing the character of Coſimo, I have rather ſeemed to imitate thoſe who write panegyrics upon Princes, than the general manner of Hiſtorians, it ought not to be wondered at; for as he was a perſonage of ſuch rare and excellent qualities as had ſeldom or indeed never been ſeen before in our City, I thought myſelf obliged to do this juſtice to his memory.

Whilſt the affairs of Florence and of Italy in general were circumſtanced in the manner we have above related, Lewis XI King of France was embroiled in a troubleſome war which his Barons had raiſed againſt him, at the inſtigation of Francis Duke of Bretagne and Charles Duke of Burgundy [*k*]; which lay ſo heavy upon him that he could give no further aſſiſtance to John Duke of Anjou, in his deſigns upon Genoa and the Kingdom of Naples. On the contrary, as he found he had not only occaſion for all his own forces but the ſuccour of others,

[*k*] The war *for the public Good*, as it was called by thoſe that were the occaſion of it, though they had no other view in it than to gratify their own private intereſt and ambition.

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he withdrew thoſe that were ſtill in poſſeſſion of Savona [*l*] and gave it up to Sforza Duke of Milan; acquainting him at the ſame time, that if he had a mind to make himſelf maſter of Genoa, he was at liberty to proſecute any deſign of that kind if he ſo pleaſed, for he had given it up himſelf. Sforza therefore preſently undertook the reduction of that City, and ſucceeded in it without much difficulty, by the favour of the Adorni and the reputation which the friendſhip of the King of France had given him: in return for which, he ſent his Majeſty a ſupply of fifteen hundred horſe into France, under the Command of his eldeſt Son Galeazzo. By theſe means Ferdinand of Arragon became King of Naples, and Count Sforza Duke of Milan and Lord of Genoa; and having contracted family alliances together, they began to take all proper meaſures to eſtabliſh themſelves in their governments; that ſo they might enjoy them in tranquillity whilſt they lived, and ſecure them to their children when they died.

For this purpoſe it was judged neceſſary that the King ſhould in the firſt place make ſure of ſuch of the Nobility as had taken part with John of Anjou againſt him in the late wars; and that the Duke of Milan ſhould endeavour totally to ſuppreſs the Bracceſcan ſoldiery who were naturally enemies to his name and family, and began at that time to grow into great reputation again under the conduct of Giacopo Piccinino. For as Giacopo was one of the moſt able and experienced commanders in Italy and had no territory of his own; it behoved all thoſe that had, to keep a watchful eye over him; and eſpecially the Duke of Milan, who judging of others by his own conduct, thought he ſhould neither be able to maintain himſelf in poſſeſſion of the dominions he had uſurped, nor to leave them to his poſterity at his death, if Piccinino lived. The King therefore made uſe of every artifice to reconcile his Nobility to him, in which he at laſt ſucceeded: for they ſaw that, if they continued in arms againſt their Sovereign, they muſt inevitably be ruined; but if they came to an accommodation with him, or ſubmitted to his mercy, they might perhaps obtain a pardon: and as it is natural for all men rather to truſt to poſſibilities than run into certain deſtruction, Princes on ſuch occaſions, have it in their power to cruſh their helpleſs enemies

[*l*] Savona, or Sana, as the inhabitants affect to call it, is about fifteen miles weſt from Genoa, and, next to the metropolis, is the moſt conſiderable City in the Genoeſe dominions. It ſeems as if it had formerly made a much more conſiderable figure than it does at preſent, as there was a very commodious port there, which the Republic has ſuffered to be ſpoiled, leſt the Commerce of Genoa ſhould be impaired by it, and it is now ſo choaked up, that a barge of any conſiderable burden can hardly come into it.

with eaſe and ſecurity, after they have decoyed them into the net with fair promiſes. Theſe Noblemen accordingly, ſeeing their ruin unavoidable if they carried on the war, and relying upon the King's word, thought it the beſt way to make their ſubmiſſion to him, as they did immediately; but were afterwards all put to death at different times upon one pretence or other. Giacopo Piccinino, who then lay with his forces at Solmona, was not a little alarmed at theſe proceedings, and to avoid the ſame fate, endeavoured by the mediation of his friends, to make his peace with Duke Sforza: upon which, the Duke offering him honourable terms, he reſolved to accept them, and taking only an hundred horſe with him, he went to wait upon him at Milan. Giacopo and his brother had carried arms a long time under their father, firſt in the ſervice of Duke Philip, and afterwards of the Milaneſe, ſo that he had many friends and a pretty good intereſt in that City, which was ſtill increaſed by the circumſtances of the times: for the proſperity and preſent power of the Sforzeſcan party had excited much envy; whilſt, on the contrary, the low ebb of Giacopo's affairs and his long abſence, had not only moved the compaſſion of the Citizens there, but made them earneſtly deſire to ſee him again amongſt them. This plainly appeared at his arrival; for there were few of the Nobility who did not go out to meet him; the Streets through which he paſſed were crowded with people that longed for a ſight of him; and nothing was to be heard all over the City but acclamations and good wiſhes for his proſperity and that of his family. Theſe honours however, only haſtened his ruin; for they ſtill increaſed the Duke's jealouſy, and confirmed him in his reſolution to get rid of him by ſome means or other: but to do it the more covertly, he ordered that Piccinino's Marriage with Druſiana, his natural daughter (to whom he had long been eſpouſed) ſhould now be conſummated. After which King Ferdinand (as had been privately concerted betwixt them) invited him into his ſervice, and not only made him Commander in chief of all his forces, but advanced him the ſum of one hundred thouſand Florins for their ſubſiſtance. In conſequence of this appointment Giacopo, with an Ambaſſador from the Duke and his Lady Druſiana, ſet out for Naples, where he was received with very great honour, and his nuptials celebrated for many days with all ſorts of feſtivity and rejoycings. But not long after, having aſked the King's leave to go to Solmona where his troops lay, his Majeſty invited him and his Son to dine with him in the Caſtle before he went; where, after dinner was over, he cauſed

him to be made a priſoner, and afterwards put to death [*m*]. For ſuch was the mean jealouſy which the Italian Princes then entertained of any one that was poſſeſſed of thoſe virtues which they were conſcious they had not to boaſt of themſelves, that they ſtood in awe of them, and took all methods to ſuppreſs them as enemies: ſo that every ſpark of honour and bravery being in a manner extinguiſhed, the whole Province became expoſed to thoſe calamities with which it was ſoon after viſited, and indeed almoſt deſolated [*n*].

In the mean time Pius II having ſettled his affairs in Romagna, and ſeeing a general peace now eſtabliſhed, thought it a proper juncture to excite the Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turk; and for that purpoſe began to take ſuch meaſures as his predeceſſors had done before: in which all the Princes of Europe engaged to furniſh him with ſupplies, either of money or men: Matthias King of Hungary [*o*] and Charles Duke of Burgundy [*p*] in particular, promiſed to aſſiſt in perſon, and therefore were appointed Generals to conduct

[*m*] This perfidious and execrable breach of hoſpitality is thus repreſented by Paulus Jovius. "Fuere qui ei (Franciſco Sfortiæ) inexorabilis odii notam inurerent, quod perſequendæ Braccianæ factionis nunquam oblitus, Jacobum Piccinini filium ſummæ ſpei ducem, ſub quo Bracciana arma refloreſcere poſſe viderentur, nequaquam ſincerâ fide in generum aſciverit; ſcilicet ut eo vinculo pignoreque deceptum ad teterrimam necem Ferdinando Neapolitano regi proderet. Ab eo enim rege contra fidem, refricatâ veterum offenſionum memoriâ, vir impiger in carcere per Æthiopem ſervum averſâ ſecuri mactatus eſt, ſingulari quidem cum infamiâ tantorum principum, qui vindictæ libidinem ſacro-ſanctæ fidei & hoſpitalis menſæ religioni prætuliſſent".—*Elog. virorum bellica virtute illuſtrium.* lib. iii.

[*n*] One of the Citizens of Athens, who gave his vote for the baniſhment of Ariſtides, frankly told him, when he was aſked his reaſon for ſo doing, "that he did not know Ariſtides, but that he did not like him, becauſe he had taken ſo much pains to be ſurnamed *the Juſt.*" *Cornelius Nep. in vit. Ariſtidis.* A great many people are of this man's way of thinking (ſays Mr. Bayle) though they don't care to ſpeak their minds ſo freely. Every thing that excels, diſpleaſes them; they ſhew a more juſt regard for ſuch virtue as is very common, than for conſpicuous and remarkable merit; which they think eclipſes their own, if they have any, and makes them of ſmall account. But ſuch is human nature in all ages!

[*o*] Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and ſon to John Huniades. His courage acquired him the name of *Great.* He was not only remarkable for his valour, and the exploits he performed againſt the Turks, but for his great knowledge in foreign languages, as he could ſpeak all the languages in Europe, except the Greek and Turkiſh. He was a great Patron of learning, and collected a noble library at Buda, which he inriched with the moſt curious books, and rareſt manuſcripts. Antonius Theobaldus made the following epitaph upon him, mentioned by Paulus Jovius, in his Elogies:

"Corvini brevis hæc urna eſt, quem magna fatentur
Facta fuiſſe Deum, fata fuiſſe hominem."—

[*p*] He was reckoned one of the moſt warlike Princes of his age, and an inveterate enemy to Lewis XI. of France, with whom he was almoſt continually at war.

the expedition by his Holineſs, who was ſo ſanguine in the matter, that he left Rome and went to Ancona where all the troops were to rendezvous, and the Venetians were to ſend ſhips to tranſport them into Sclavonia. But ſoon after the Pope's arrival at that place, there was ſuch a confluence of people from every quarter, that they preſently devoured all the proviſions that were in the city, or could poſſibly be procured in the adjacent Country: ſo that the multitude was almoſt famiſhed. Beſides which, there was no money to pay the forces, nor weapons to arm them; and neither Matthias of Hungary, nor Charles of Burgundy came to the rendezvous: the Venetians indeed ſent a few gallies thither, but more out of oſtentation and to ſave appearances, than with any deſign to tranſport the Cruſaders. This diſappointment had ſuch an effect upon the Pope, who was likewiſe almoſt worn out with age and infirmities, that he fell ſick and died. After which, the whole army diſbanded, and every man returned to his reſpective home [*q*].

This Pontif dying in the year 1465, Paul II, a Venetian by birth, was elected in his room [*r*]. And the next year Franciſco Sforza,

[*q*] We have ſeen, ſays Voltaire, in his general hiſtory of Europe, vol. ii. p. 8. how the Cruſades diſpeopled and impoveriſhed Europe, before the fourteenth Century. Aſcending from theſe Cruſades to the times which ſucceeded the death of Charlemain, we find the ſame ſcenes of miſery, with a ſtill greater degree of barbariſm. The compariſon betwixt thoſe times and our own, ought to make us ſenſible of our happineſs, notwithſtanding that almoſt invincible proneneſs in human nature to commend the paſt in preference to the preſent times.

[*r*] Peter Barbo, Cardinal of St. Mark, Son of Nicholas Barbo, a noble Venetian, and nephew to Pope Eugenius IV. Moſt authors ſpeak very indifferently of this Pontif. He is accuſed of being privy to the death of Giacopo Piccinino, who was ſo baſely murdered by Ferdinand, King of Naples. As he was extremely ignorant and wicked himſelf, he hated learning, and cruelly perſecuted all learned and honeſt men, whom he uſed to brand with the name of *Hereticks and Traitors*, and adviſed the Romans not to let their children purſue the ſtudy of letters; telling them it was ſufficient if they could read and write. Platina in particular, and one Milverton, an Engliſhman, who was a Provincial of the Carmelites, were very ill uſed by him. He was ſaid to be guilty of Simony, and all other wicked means, by which he could raiſe money. Du Pleſſis Mornai, in his *Myſtere d' iniquite*, quotes this Epigram upon him from Janus Pannonius:

Pontificis Pauli teſtes ne Roma requiras,
Filia quam genuit, ſat docet eſſe marem.
Sanctum non poſſum, Patrem te dicere poſſum,
Cum video natam Paule ſecunde tuam.

The following was likewiſe made upon him by another poet.

Quum ſit filia Paule, ſit tibi aurum,
Quantum Pontifices habere raros
Vidit Roma prius, Pater vocari
Sanctus non potes, at potes beatus.

Duke

Duke of Milan likewiſe died [s], after he had been in poſſeſſion of that Dukedom ſixteen years, and was ſucceeded in his dominions

He was fond of pomp and pageantry, and often uſed to appear in great ſtate: upon which occaſions, he was ſo ridiculous as to paint himſelf, though he was naturally a very graceful man. Amongſt his other bad qualities, hard drinking is alſo laid to his charge. He cauſed drunken games to be celebrated in Carnival time, giving prizes to the victors. There are other crimes ſtill more unnatural, with which his memory is ſtained.—He reduced the term of the Jubilee to 25 years, but did not live to ſee it celebrated. Platina ſays, the Emperor Leo IV. took ſo much pleaſure in jewels, that he plundered the Veſtry-room of St. Sophia, at Conſtantinople, and cauſed a very rich crown to be made, which he wore ſo often, that either the weight, or the coldneſs of the precious ſtones, threw him into a diſtemper. I am apt to think, that the ſame happened in our time to Pope Paul II. who took ſuch delight in thoſe womaniſh ornaments, that having got together a vaſt quantity of jewels, at an immenſe price, from all parts, and almoſt exhauſted the treaſury of the Church, he appeared in public like the Phrygian Cybele, with a turret upon his head inſtead of a mitre. I imagine, that either his ſweating too much (for he was very fat) or the weight of the jewels, occaſioned the apoplectic fit of which he died ſuddenly, July 28th, 1471. Some ſay he was ſtrangled by a man who caught him in bed with his wife; and Peucer, in the fifth book of his Chronicles, gives a ſtill ſtranger account of the manner of his death, where he ſays, "Paulus Secundus ob ſpurciſſimam libidinem & artes dæmoniacas publice infamis atque execrabilis, utpote quem tandem in concubitu a Dæmone ſtrangulatum obtorti colli terribili ſpecie mortis genus oſtendiſſe fama eſt." *Platina. Wicelius in Epitom. Rom. Pontif.*——It may be added, that when Platina and ſeveral other men of letters had formed themſelves into a ſort of an academy, and aſſumed new names (according to the cuſtom of the Italians in thoſe caſes) Paul II. was perſuaded, that ſome great myſtery was concealed under it; and looking upon this aſſembly as a gang of conſpirators, he threw them into priſon, and had them put to the torture, with very great ſeverity.

[s] His father was a peaſant, but by a ſtrange ſeries of good fortune, and long ſervice, became one of the moſt renowned Generals of his time. His rival in reputation was the famous Braccio da Montone, with whom he ſerved in his younger days, under Alberigo da Barbiano. There was at firſt a very great friendſhip betwixt them, but after a while, they grew jealous of each other's merit, and became bitter enemies. They always took oppoſite ſides; ſo that when one of them was appointed General by any Prince, the other had the like employment in the State which was at war with that Prince. They took care, however, to ſell their ſervice very dear, and always protracted the war as long as poſſible, for the ſake of lucre; ſo that they made a downright trade of it, as Paulus Jovius juſtly obſerves. *Elog. virorum bellica virtute illuſtrium.* "Qui ab initio fraternâ charitate inter ſe conjuncti, pari ſpe, parique induſtriâ, & paribus inſignium laciniarumque coloribus militantes, uſque adeo inclaruere, ut fatali demum ambitione atque ſuperbiâ diducti diverſas militiæ ſectas de nomine conderent, ac æmulatione gloriæ atque potentiæ ex amicis hoſtes facti, ex adverſo ſemper arma tractarent; quâ diſſenſione potius quam ſimultate opimis ſtipendiis ſummiſque honoribus clari atque opulenti evadebant: quum ſeſe infami aſtu promercalique militiâ principibus Italiæ & liberis civitatibus venditarent, bellaque alere quam finire mallent; quod uterque de fortunâ ſuâ immodicè ſperandum putaret, & nihil impervium vividæ virtuti generoſe & fortiter agentibus arbitrarentur." And indeed it is generally obſerved, that this mercenary and ambitious ſpirit is common to almoſt all thoſe who do not command their own armies, but are ſtipendiary generals. But ſoldiers of fortune, and ſuch as are in the pay of a Prince whoſe ſubjects they are not, indulge themſelves much more in that kind of treaſon, which conſiſts in always leaving ſome reſource to a vanquiſhed enemy, and

by his Son Galeazzo: an event that not only added fewel to the animoſities that were rekindling in Florence, but occaſioned them to burſt out the ſooner into a flame. For after the death of Coſimo, his Son Pietro de' Medici being left heir to his riches and authority, thought proper to attach himſelf to Diotiſalvi Neroni, a man of very great power and reputation in the City, and of whom Coſimo had ſo great an opinion, that upon his death-bed he gave Pietro a ſtrict charge to conſult him, and to be guided entirely by his advice in every thing that related either to the management of his own eſtate, or the adminiſtration of the public. In conſequence of this command, Pietro ſent for him; and having told him how great a confidence his father had repoſed in him, he added, that as he had always obeyed him in every thing whilſt alive, he was likewiſe deſirous to follow his directions now he was dead; and therefore hoped he would aſſiſt him both in conducting his private concerns, and the government of the City: for which purpoſe, he would, in the firſt place, cauſe all his father's writings and accounts to be put into his hands; that ſo when he was acquainted with his circumſtances, he

affording him means to recover himſelf in ſuch a manner, that the war may not be ended. Sforza commanded Queen Jane's army in the kingdom of Naples, and was ſaid to have been very familiar with that Princeſs. He was drowned in paſſing the river Aterno, to relieve the City of Aquila, which was at that time beſieged by the troops of Alphonſo, King of Arragon, under the command of Braccio his rival. His natural ſon, Francis Sforza, was ſtill more fortunate, and as great a Commander: for after a long courſe of wars, in which he behaved with great valour and conduct, he at laſt made himſelf Duke of Milan, in the manner already related, though he had many powerful competitors to contend with. He kept poſſeſſion of that Duchy till his death, and governed it with great moderation, which made him conſidered as one of the moſt illuſtrious Princes of Italy. Monſieur Varillas, in his hiſtory of Lewis XI. liv. ii. ſays, that *no uſurper ever made a better ſovereign.* He had indeed many good qualities, and though he had never applied himſelf to ſtudy, he was very eloquent, and a friend to literature. John Simoneta wrote his Life, in thirty-one books, which was printed at Milan, in the year 1479. Paulus Jovius *in Elog. virorum bellica virtute illuſtrium*, l. iii. ſpeaks of him thus: "In hunc hominem, præter invictum corporis atque animi robur, ſumma etiam dona, quæ tribui poterant, natura contulerat; perſonæ ſcilicet dignitatem, os probum, & in omni congreſſu aſpectum ſine ſuperbia ſuis pariter atque hoſtibus venerabilem; ſic ut cuncti in eo ſæpius concionante facundiam abſoluto oratori parem admirarentur, eoque plenius quod nullas attigiſſet literas; & nihilo ſecius in omni civili militarique negotio efficacis prudentiæ divinique pene judicii vim expeditam & incredibilem afferret. Sed literarum decus, quum ſeſe ejus expertem ingenuo pudore ſæpe dolens fateretur, liberaliſſime tuebatur. Juſtæ ſiquidem & veræ laudis, quæ viventi ornamento eſſet, et tranſiret ad poſteros, erat avidiſſimus. A Johanne Simoneta namque inſigni hiſtorico, & a Philelpho poetâ percelebri res ſuas bello paceque geſtas perſcribi celebrarique jubebat, ſicuti etiam patris vitam Leodorix Cribellus ejus juſſu antea perſcripſerat." The animoſity, however, with which he laboured to exterminate the whole Bracceſcan faction, was judged to be too implacable; and the part he was ſuppoſed to act in the death of Giacopo Piccinino, will be an eternal blot upon his memory.

might

might be the better able to adviſe him in what manner to conduct himſelf. Diotiſalvi, on the other hand, promiſed to ſerve him faithfully and to the utmoſt of his power upon all occaſions. But when they came to examine Coſimo's books, they found his affairs in very great confuſion. Diotiſalvi therefore, who was more influenced by motives of ſelf-intereſt and ambition, than either by the friendſhip he had profeſſed for Pietro, or the remembrance of the obligations he lay under to his father, thinking he had now a fair opportunity of ruining that reputation and authority which Coſimo in a manner left him heir to, gave him a piece of advice, which, to all appearance indeed, ſeemed both equitable and neceſſary, but ultimately tended to his deſtruction. He repreſented to him in how great diſorder his affairs were at that time, and what large ſums of money he would have immediate occaſion for, if he intended to ſupport his family intereſt, and the reputation they had acquired of opulence and power in the Common-wealth; and that there could be no relief or expedient ſo proper as to call in the debts that were owing to him both from foreigners and his Fellow-citizens: for Coſimo, as we have ſaid before, out of his natural generoſity, and in order to eſtabliſh an influence at home and gain friends abroad, had always been ſo ready to open his purſe to every one who ſtood in need of his aſſiſtance, that thoſe debts aroſe to a prodigious amount [*t*]. To this propoſal, which ſeemed but juſt and reaſonable, Pietro very willingly conſented; and, like an honeſt man, reſolved to make uſe of his own ſubſtance only in that emergency. But he had hardly called upon two or three of his creditors before the whole City was in an uproar; every one upbraiding him with avarice and ingratitude, and loading him with all manner of reproaches and ignominious names; as if he had been come to plunder them of their own property, inſtead of demanding the payment of a lawful debt.

[*t*] Voltaire, ſpeaking of the Medici, in his general Hiſtory of Europe, vol. ii. p. 97. ſays, "Never was there a family in the Univerſe, that attained to power by ſo juſt a title; that is, by virtue and beneficence. Coſimo de' Medici, who was born in the year 1389, lived as a private Citizen in Florence, without ſeeking any title; but by commerce he acquired ſuch immenſe wealth, as might be compared to that of the greateſt Kings of his Time. The uſe he made of his riches was, in relieving the poor, in making himſelf friends amongſt the rich, by lending them money, in embelliſhing his Country with fine Structures, and in ſupporting the learned men amongſt the Greeks, who had fled to Florence after the taking of Conſtantinople. During the ſpace of thirty years, his Counſels were the laws of the Republic; and acts of benevolence his only intrigues. After his deceaſe, it appeared by his Papers, that he had lent vaſt Sums to his Country, the Payment of which he never aſked for again. He died lamented even by his enemies, and Florence, with one conſent, adorned his tomb with the the name of *Father of his Country*."

Diotiſalvi

Diotiſalvi ſeeing the general reſentment which his counſel had excited againſt Pietro, immediately turned his back upon him and entered into a combination with Luca Pitti, Agnolo Acciaiuoli, and Niccolo Soderini, to deprive him of all power and authority in the State. The end they all had in view was the ſame; but their motives to purſue it very different. Pitti was ambitious to ſucceed Coſimo de' Medici in the government of the Republic; and became ſo great after his death, that he diſdained the thoughts of ſtooping to Pietro. Diotiſalvi, who knew that Pitti was not equal to ſo great a charge, thought that if they could by any means get rid of Pietro, the chief power muſt, of neceſſity, in a ſhort time, devolve upon him. Soderini was deſirous that the City ſhould enjoy more liberty and be governed by the proper Magiſtrates, as it uſed to be in former times. But Acciaiuoli had a particular quarrel with the family of Medici upon the following account: His Son Raphael had ſome time before married Aleſſandra de' Bardi, with whom he had an immenſe fortune. This Lady was very ill treated, both by her huſband and father, either from ſome miſbehaviour of her own, or their moroſeneſs and ill nature: upon which, Lorenzo d' Ilarione, one of her relations, pitying her condition, came one night with ſeveral armed men, and took her by force out of Agnolo's houſe. Of this outrage the Acciaiuoli making heavy complaints, the matter was referred to Coſimo; who adjudged that the young Lady's fortune ſhould be returned, and afterwards it ſhould be left to her choice whether ſhe would go back again to her huſband or not. But Agnolo thinking Coſimo had not uſed him well in this award, and not being able to revenge himſelf upon the father, was now determined to do it upon the Son.

However, notwithſtanding their views were ſo different, they all availed themſelves of the ſame pretext, and ſaid, they neither deſired nor aimed at any thing further than that the Republic might be governed by lawful Magiſtrates, and not by a little Junto of particular perſons. The failure of ſeveral Merchants about that time likewiſe, ſtill increaſed the clamour that was raiſed againſt Pietro, and gave the people freſh occaſion to revile him; for they made no ſcruple of imputing the blame to him, and ſaid, that the ſudden and unexpected calling in of his money had been the occaſion of thoſe bankruptcies, to the great loſs and diſcredit of the Merchants in particular, and the prejudice of the whole City. Beſides all which, as he was going to marry Lorenzo, his eldeſt Son, to Clarice degli Urſini, every body took occaſion from thence to calumniate him; publickly declaring that ſince he could not think any match in Florence

rence good enough for his Son, it was plain he did not regard them any longer in the light of Fellow-citizens, but was taking his measures to make himſelf their Sovereign; for it was certain, they ſaid, that a man who thought them all ſo much his inferiors as to diſdain any alliance with them, muſt look upon them as fit for nothing but to be his ſlaves; and therefore he could not reaſonably expect they ſhould any longer be his friends. From ſuch a temper in the people, theſe Ringleaders of Sedition promiſed themſelves certain ſucceſs; eſpecially as the greater part of the Citizens were ſo bewitched with the name of Liberty, which they had made uſe of to varniſh over their private deſigns, that they cheerfully liſted under their banners.

But whilſt theſe ill humours were fermenting, there were ſome, who out of a real love for their Country, and abhorrence of civil diſcords, reſolved to try if they could not palliate them, for a while at leaſt, by turning the attention of the people upon ſome more entertaining object; conſidering that an idle populace is generally made uſe of as a tool to ſerve the purpoſes of ſuch as attempt any innovation or change of government. To employ them, therefore, in ſuch a manner, as might beſt divert their thoughts, and prevent them from entering into cabals and conſpiracies againſt the government, and, at the ſame time, to conſole them in ſome meaſure after their mourning for the loſs of Coſimo, who had now been dead a year, theſe Citizens thought it would be no bad expedient to revive the public ſpectacles, with which the people uſed to be entertained. For this purpoſe, they appointed two ſeaſons of holidays; in one of which, an hiſtorical Drama was exhibited upon the ſtage, repreſenting the coming of the three Magi from the Eaſt, by the guidance of a Star to the place of our Saviour's nativity [*u*]; and this was done with ſo much pomp

[*u*] Holland (ſays the honourable Mr. Walpole, in his *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors*, vol. i. p. 23.) affirms, that our King Edward VI. compoſed a moſt elegant Comedy, the title of which was, *The Whore of Babylon*. As elegant as it is ſaid to have been, I queſtion whether it ſurpaſſed the other buffooneries which engroſſed the theatres of Europe in that and the preceding Century. All the ſubjects were religious, all the conduct farcical. Biſhop Bale is ſaid to have compoſed above twenty of theſe ridiculous interludes.

It has never fallen in my way to ſee King Edward's *elegant Comedy*, nor have I ever met with any of thoſe ſaid to be written by Biſhop Bale, commonly called *Biliofus Balæus*, from his atrabilaire manner of writing, eſpecially againſt the Papiſts. There is a fragment of a book, called *Les pois pilez*, which may ſerve to ſhew the manner of their Dialogue, and what ſort of perſons they brought upon the Stage in thoſe times. It is to be met with in Daſſouci's *Avantures d'Italie*, p. 320. Our Saviour and St. Matthew are there repreſented as taking leave of each other in this wiſe.

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and magnificence, that the whole City was entirely taken up for ſeveral months in the performance, and making preparations for it. In the other, a grand Tournament was held, in which the young Gentlemen of the City challenged the moſt gallant Knights in Italy: and Lorenzo de' Medici, who was eſteemed the moſt accompliſhed Cavalier in Florence, eaſily carried away the prize from all others; not by popular favour, but by mere dint of merit and bravery. But as ſoon as theſe entertainments were over, the Citizens returned to their former machinations, and every one ſeemed to purſue his deſigns with more ardour and application than before; from whence aroſe great troubles and diviſions, which were ſtill much enflamed by two circumſtances: one was, that the authority of the Balia had expired; and the other, the death of Franciſco Sforza, late Duke of Milan. Upon which event, Galeazzo, the new Duke, ſent ambaſſadors to Florence, to confirm the treaty of alliance that had been concluded betwixt his father and the Republic; one article of which was, that the Florentines ſhould pay that prince a certain yearly ſubſidy. The principal of Pietro's enemies, therefore, took the opportunity which this demand furniſhed them with, of publickly oppoſing him in the Council, and refuſed to comply with it; alledging, that the contract was made with Franciſco, and not with Galeazzo; and that of conſequence it became void by his death: that there was no occaſion to renew it, ſince Galeazzo was not a man of ſuch weight and ſignificance as his father had been, and therefore they could not expect any great matter of advantage from an alliance with him; ſo that as they had reaped but little from one, they might look for ſtill leſs from the other: and that ſuch perſons as adviſed and promoted a continuation of that penſion, merely to ſupport themſelves in their own power and authority, were enemies to the wel-

C. Adieu Matthieu.
M. Adieu Dieu.
C. Prens ta lance & ton epieu,
Et t'en vas en Galilee.
M. Prendrai je auſſi mon epee?
C. Et quoy non?
M. Adieu donc.—

C. Adieu Matthew. M. God be with thee God. C. Take thy Lance and get away into Galilee. M. Shall I take my Sword too? C. And why not? M. Adieu then.

If it be poſſible that any thing can be ridiculous, and horrible at the ſame time, is not this ſo in the higheſt degree?

But there are many more ſpecimens of this ſtamp, too long to be inſerted here, which the reader may meet with, if he pleaſes, in ſome curious remarks upon the article *Lewis Choquet*, in the General Dictionary, vol. iv. p. 322. & ſeq. where there is a long account of this ſort of Entertainments.

fare and liberties of their Country. Pietro, on the other hand, repreſented, that it would be very imprudent to break ſo neceſſary an alliance through ill-timed parſimony; and that nothing could conduce more to the advantage of their Republic, and the welfare of all Italy, than to continue in league with the Duke: for when the Venetians ſaw them ſo ſtrictly united together, they could not flatter themſelves with the hopes of ever becoming Maſters of his Dominions, either by counterfeit friendſhip, or open war: but as ſoon as they found that the alliance betwixt them was diſſolved, they would immediately fall upon him; and as he was but a young man, hardly ſettled in his State, and without friends, they would certainly find means to accompliſh their ends, either by fraud or force; in which caſe, the ruin of Florence would be inevitable.

But theſe remonſtrances had no effect, and the ſpirit of faction beginning to ſhew itſelf more and more plainly every hour, the partiſans on both ſides had frequent meetings, at different places, in the night-time; the friends of the Medici aſſembling chiefly in a ſtreet, called the Crocetta, and their enemies in la Pieta; the latter of whom being determined upon Pietro's ruin, had now drawn numbers of the Citizens to embark in their deſign. At one of theſe meetings, they had a private conſultation how to regulate their future proceedings; and though they all agreed, that it was neceſſary to lower the power of the Medici, yet they were divided concerning the means of effecting it. Thoſe that were the moſt moderate of them, propoſed, that ſince the authority of the Balia was expired, it ſhould not be renewed: for as the government of the City would then of courſe revert to the Councils and ordinary Magiſtrates, Pietro muſt ſoon loſe his reputation and influence in the State, and conſequently his credit in mercantile affairs; ſince he was then in ſuch circumſtances, that if he was prevented from making uſe of the public money for his ſupport in that exigency, he muſt certainly be undone: and if that could be once effected, they would have no further occaſion to ſtand in any awe of his perſon, but might recover their liberties without having recourſe to baniſhments and executions; an event much to be wiſhed for by all good Citizens. But if they proceeded to violent meaſures, their ſucceſs would be very doubtful: for when a man was falling of himſelf, it often happened, that thoſe very perſons who would not ſtir a foot to his aſſiſtance in ſuch a caſe, were the readieſt to ſupport him (out of a ſpirit of oppoſition) when they ſaw he was perſecuted and oppreſſed by others [x]. Beſides, if no

[x] What Plutarch relates in the Life of Cimon, the Athenian, may ſerve in ſome meaſure to ſtrengthen this obſervation. The people, ſays he, were not a little pleaſed

extraordinary ſteps were taken to alarm him, very likely he might not think of arming or ſtrengthening his party with alliances; and if he did make ſuch an attempt, it would only be hurting himſelf, and raiſing ſuch jealouſies and ſuſpicions in every one elſe, as would ſerve to haſten and facilitate his ruin. But others proteſted againſt theſe delays, and ſaid, that time was more likely to be a friend to him than to them: that if they contented themſelves with proceeding in ſo cold and dilatory a manner, Pietro would ſecure himſelf, and they ſhould infalliby be ruined: for if even the Magiſtrates that were his enemies, ſuffered him to enjoy the government of the City in quiet, they might well expect that his friends would neglect no endeavours

to ſee him apply himſelf to matters of State, as they were diſguſted at Themiſtocles; in oppoſition to whom, and upon the account of Cimon's generoſity and frankneſs of ſpirit, which gained him the love of every one, they advanced him to the higheſt employments in the government. The man that contributed moſt to his exaltation was Ariſtides, who took all opportunities of encouraging the honeſt diſintereſted principles he ſaw him poſſeſſed of, and raiſed him on purpoſe to repreſs the inſolence of Themiſtocles. Here, ſays a very good Critic upon this paſſage, are two cauſes of Cimon's advancement very clearly aſſigned; his own merit, and the pleaſure which the people took in mortifying Themiſtocles. From this we may ſee the inconſtancy of mankind, and the effects of envy. People grow weary of careſſing the ſame perſon long together, and for that reaſon, ſeek for ſome new object of their favour and admiration. The Republic of Letters is not exempt from this ſpirit of fickleneſs and jealouſy. Sometimes a young author is cried up to the ſkies; not for any merit of his own, perhaps, but becauſe it is thought another has enjoyed the applauſe of the public long enough; or has his praiſe obtruded upon the people by ſome powerful and over-bearing Patron, whom yet they think neither better qualified to form a judgment of his excellencies, nor in poſſeſſion of a clearer title to recommend any one than themſelves. Ariſtides was eſteemed a very juſt and upright man, and perhaps would have contributed little or nothing to Cimon's advancement; nay, very likely, might have oppoſed it at another conjuncture; but upon this occaſion, when the great point was to counterpoiſe the power and authority of Themiſtocles, he took upon him to patronize a young man, who, notwithſtanding his many virtues, was in very indifferent repute on account of his criminal amours. See Plutarch, *an ſene ſit gerenda Reſpublica.* If we could penetrate into the motives which influence the greater part of the world in doing ſervices one to another, ſays the ſame Critic, we ſhould find, that the deſire of giving pleaſure to one man, has leſs ſhare in them than the intention of vexing another. They warmly recommend ſuch a one, they protect him, they advance him. Is it becauſe they love him for his own ſake, or are charmed with his merit? There are two anſwers to this queſtion; one from the mouth, the other from the heart. The firſt takes the affirmative, but the heart anſwers thus: I exalt this man to the utmoſt of my power, in order to depreſs that man: what weight I take out of one ſcale is, in effect, added to the other. The maxim of the Naturaliſts, *Generatio unius eſt corruptio alterius*, that is, *the Generation of one thing is the corruption of another*, may be extended to political actions. But though nature directly propoſes Generation, and tends to deſtruction by accident only, it ſeems that in the offices of civil life, deſtruction is directly propoſed: that is the end; Generation is but the mean to obtain it." As this may be thought a dubitable point, the deciſion muſt be left to every man's own experience.

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to make him in a manner abſolute Lord over it, to the utter deſtruction of his adverſaries, as had been the caſe in the year 1358. That if others gave different advice from motives of goodneſs and moderation, this was dictated by common prudence, and the principles of ſelf-preſervation. That the preſent was their only time, to get rid of his family, whilſt the reſentment of the people ran ſo high againſt him. That they ought to arm themſelves at home, and take the marquis of Ferrara, with ſome of his forces, into their pay; that ſo they might not be cruſhed on a ſudden, but ready prepared, when a Signiory was drawn, which they could depend upon, to riſe and provide effectually for their own ſecurity. It was agreed, therefore, at laſt, to wait for a new Signiory, and then to take their meaſures accordingly.

Amongſt the conſpirators, there was one Niccolo Fedini, who had been Chairman or Preſident at ſeveral of their conſultations. This man being tempted with the hopes of a greater and more certain reward, went and diſcovered the particulars of theſe proceedings to Pietro, and gave him an exact liſt of thoſe that had ſubſcribed to them. Pietro was aſtoniſhed at the number and quality of his enemies; and at the advice of his friends, reſolved to engage ſuch as he thought ſtill favoured his family, to ſign an inſtrument likewiſe, to ſupport him; the management of which, being committed to the care of ſome of his moſt faithful Confidants, he found the minds of the Citizens ſo variable and inconſtant, that many of thoſe very perſons who had ſigned a combination againſt him, now did the ſame in his favour.

In this fluctuating ſtate of affairs, the time came when a new Magiſtracy was to be drawn; and the office of Gonfalonier falling upon Niccolo Soderini, it was wonderful to ſee by what a prodigious concourſe, not only of the populace, but of the principal Citizens, he was attended to the Palace; in the way to which, they put an olive garland upon his head, to ſhew, that from him alone they expected the reſtoration of public tranquillity, and the liberties of their Country. From hence, and many other inſtances, which might be quoted upon this occaſion, if it was neceſſary, it may appear, that it is not an advantageous circumſtance for a man to enter upon any employment of importance, with too fond and partial an opinion in the people of his abilities; for if he ſucceeds, according to their moſt ſanguine wiſhes, he does nothing more than they depended upon; but if the times and circumſtances of affairs are ſuch, that he cannot poſſibly anſwer thoſe expectations, he goes out of office with contempt and deriſion.

There were two brothers of the Soderini, Niccolo and Tomaſo; the former was a ſpirited man, but the latter had the greater ſhare of prudence and underſtanding. Tomaſo, therefore, who was firmly attached to Pietro's intereſt, and ſo well acquainted with his brother's diſpoſition, that he knew he deſired nothing more than to ſee the liberty of the Common-wealth ſufficiently ſecured, and the government eſtabliſhed without prejudice to any one, adviſed him to make a new Imborſation; by which means, he might get the purſes filled with the names of ſuch Citizens as were of the ſame principles; and then he would be able to ſettle other matters as he thought fit, without tumult or ſedition, or injury to any particular perſon. Niccolo very willingly followed his brother's advice, as moſt agreeable to his own inclination: but whilſt he was vainly meditating theſe things, the term of his Magiſtracy elapſed; and the chiefs of the Conſpirators, who had narrowly obſerved his dilatory proceedings, and connived at them, were ſo far from regretting the expiration of his authority, that they rejoyced at it; for, at the bottom, they rather envied than depended upon him, and did not now deſire to ſee the Government eſtabliſhed upon another foundation by his means only, as they hoped that might ſtill be effected by the ſucceeding Gonfalonier. So that having formed many ſchemes, and carried none into execution, he went out of an Office with but little honour, which he had entered upon with ſo great expectations from the people.

This manner of proceeding very much ſtrengthened Pietro's party, as it not only confirmed his friends in the hopes they had conceived, but determined many of thoſe in his favour who before had ſtood neuter: and both ſides being thus pretty nearly balanced, things continued tolerably quiet for ſeveral months. But his enemies perceiving that he daily got freſh ground of them, began to be more and more alarmed; and after they had another conſultation amongſt themſelves, it was reſolved to do that by force which they had not been able to effect by the concurrence of the Magiſtrates. For which purpoſe, they deſigned, in the firſt place, to cauſe the Marquis of Ferrara to draw near to the City with a body of forces, and then to raiſe a tumult and kill Pietro, who, at that time, lay ſick at Careggi: after whoſe death, they were all to come armed into the Piazza before the Palace, and compel the Signiory to ſettle the Government according to their directions: for though there were ſome in the Palace that were not altogether at their devotion, they made no doubt of awing them into compliance. Diotiſalvi Neroni therefore, in order to conceal his deſigns the better, often went to viſit Pietro, and amongſt other topicks of converſation, gave him ſuch advice, as, he ſaid,

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would moſt effectually conduce, in his opinion, to the reunion of the City. But Pietro had ſufficient information of their machinations, and particularly from Domenico Martegli, who acquainted him, that he himſelf had been ſollicited to join them by Franciſco Neroni, Diotiſalvi's brother, and that Neroni repreſented their ſucceſs as certain, and the matter in a great meaſure already over. Upon this intelligence, Pietro reſolved to be before hand with them, and to take up arms firſt: in which, he thought he ſhould be ſufficiently juſtified by their practices with the Marquis of Ferrara. He therefore pretended to have received a letter from Giovanni Bentivoglio Lord of Bologna, with advice that the Marquis had already advanced to the banks of the Albo with a body of forces, and publicly gave out that he was marching to Florence. In conſequence of which, he immediately returned to the City, attended by a vaſt multitude of armed men; and, upon his arrival there, all thoſe that were of his party taking arms, his enemies alſo did the ſame, but not with ſo much order and readineſs as Pietro's followers, for one ſide was fully prepared, and the other in a manner ſurprized.

Diotiſalvi, whoſe houſe was near Pietro's, not thinking himſelf ſecure at home, haſted away to the Palace, and exhorted the Signiory to try all means to make Pietro lay down his arms; and from thence, he went to Luca Pitti's houſe, to encourage him and keep him ſteddy to his friends. But the moſt active of that party was Niccolo Soderini, who not only took arms himſelf, but raiſed all the Plebeians in his quarter, and went at the head of them likewiſe to Pitti's houſe, whom he earneſtly importuned to mount his horſe, and go to the ſupport of the Signiory, who, he aſſured him, ſtill continued firm to them; by which means the Victory would be certain on their ſide: but if he ſtaid in the houſe, he would either be knocked on the head by thoſe that were in arms, or ſhamefully given up and betrayed by thoſe that were not; and then he would repent of his folly when there was no remedy for it. That if he had a mind utterly to ſuppreſs Pietro and his whole party by dint of force, that was his time: but if he rather choſe peaceable meaſures, and to treat with him, it was certainly more honourable to preſcribe the conditions of peace himſelf than to have them dictated by others. But theſe remonſtrances made little impreſſion upon Pitti, who now had changed his mind and was drawn over to Pietro's ſide, by an alliance with his family and promiſes of other favours: for he had already married one of his nieces to Giovanni Tornabuoni. So that he adviſed Soderini to lay down his arms and go peaceably home again; ſince they ought to be ſatisfied, he ſaid, now the City was governed by its proper

proper Magiſtrates and would be ſo for the future: and therefore, inſtead of having recourſe to arms, it would be much better to refer their differences to the deciſion of the Signiory, amongſt whom, they had more friends than the other party. To which, Soderini made anſwer, "that though he perceived he was not able of himſelf alone to do his Country any good, deſerted as he was, yet he would take upon him to prognoſticate the evils that were coming upon it: for he might aſſure himſelf that the reſolution he had taken, would ruin the liberties of his Country, and not only make him loſe his own authority, but deprive his friends likewiſe of their honours and eſtates, and be the occaſion of ſending many others into exile:" after which, having no other refuge left, he returned to his own houſe.

At the beginning of this tumult, the Signiory had ſhut the gates of their Palace, and keeping cloſe there with the other Magiſtrates, did not intereſt themſelves on either ſide: and the Citizens (eſpecially thoſe that were followers of Luca Pitti) ſeeing Pietro's friends armed, and his enemies diſarmed, inſtead of giving him any further offence or provocation, began to think how to make their peace with him: ſo that many of the principal men in the City and the leaders of the different parties aſſembling together in the Piazza before the Palace, whilſt the Signiory were ſitting, began to enter into a conference with them concerning the State of the Republic and the means of reuniting it. But as Pietro de' Medici was indiſpoſed and could not be there, they all agreed to wait upon him at his own houſe, except Niccolo Soderini, who having firſt recommended his family and children to the care of his brother Tomaſo, retired into the country, and there ſtaid to ſee what turn things would take, though he expected the event would prove fatal both to himſelf and the Commonwealth.

Accordingly when the other Citizens were met there, one of them who was deputed to ſpeak in the name of the reſt, began with lamenting the diſturbances which had happened in the City, and ſaid, "they could not help imputing them to thoſe that had firſt taken up arms: that as they were not ſufficiently apprized of what he in particular expected or deſired (who had been one of the firſt that had done ſo) they were come thither to be informed by him in perſon; and that if what he demanded was conſiſtent with the welfare of the Republic, he ſhould be gratified in it." Pietro replied "that the perſon who had firſt taken up arms ought not in reaſon or juſtice to be looked upon as the author of the diſturbances they complained of, but thoſe who had made that expedient neceſſary: and that if they

they would ſeriouſly reflect upon their behaviour to him, they would have the leſs occaſion to wonder at what he had done merely for his own preſervation. That they would then find that their nocturnal meetings, their ſubſcriptions, and conſpiracies, not only to deprive him of his authority but his life, had forced him to take arms; of which, however, he had made no other uſe than to defend his own houſe; and thought *that* might ſerve for a ſufficient indication of his pacific intentions; ſince he had only endeavoured to ſecure himſelf, without injuring or offending any one elſe whatſoever. That he neither hoped for, nor deſired, any thing more than to live in peace and quietneſs, nor had ever ſhewn the leaſt ſigns of aſpiring to any thing further: for when the power of the Balia expired, he did not attempt to revive it by any extraordinary methods; but, on the contrary, was very glad to ſee the City governed by Magiſtrates to their own ſatisfaction. That they ought to recollect that Coſimo de' Medici and his Sons had always lived amongſt them, both when the Balia was in force and when it was not, with honour and reſpect; and that in the year 58 when its authority had expired, it was not their family, but others that had revived it. That if they did not chuſe one at preſent, he was as much averſe to it as they could be: but he plainly perceived *that* would not content them, and that they were poſſeſſed with an opinion they could not live ſafely in Florence whilſt he was alive: a circumſtance which he had always been ſo far from dreading, that he had never thought of it at all as either probable or poſſible, or in the leaſt imagined that a time would ever come when his father's friends and his own ſhould be afraid of living in the ſame City with him; ſince he had at all times uſed his utmoſt endeavours to approve himſelf a peaceable and undeſigning honeſt man." He then addreſſed himſelf more particularly to Diotiſalvi Neroni and his brothers, who then all happened to be there, and ſaid he could not help reproaching them (and with great reaſon and reſentment indeed) with the favours they had received from his father, the confidence he himſelf had repoſed in them, and the ungrateful return they had made for them: and this he did in ſo pathetic and affecting a manner, that it enflamed ſome of the aſſembly to ſuch a degree, that if Pietro himſelf had not checked their indignation, they would certainly have pulled them to pieces. He concluded, in ſhort, with aſſuring them "he would willingly agree to any meaſures which they and the Signiory ſhould think proper and convenient; and that for his own part, the only object of his wiſhes was to enjoy himſelf and his fortune with peace and ſecurity, in common with his Fellow-citizens." After which, there was much debate, and many things

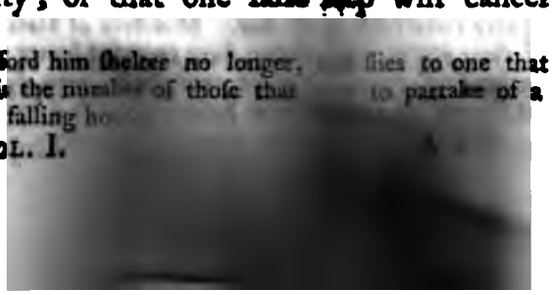
propoſed; but nothing concluded upon, except, *that there was an abſolute neceſſity for reforming and new modelling the Government of the Republic.*

Bernardo Lotti was at that time Gonfalonier of Juſtice; but as he was a man in whom Pietro did not put much confidence, the latter reſolved not to attempt any alterations till he went out of Office: which he thought would not make any material difference in his affairs, as his authority was near expiring. But when a new Signiory was drawn for the months of September and October, in the year 1466, and Roberto Lioni appointed Gonfalonier; as ſoon as he had entered upon that office, and made all neceſſary preparations for the execution of his deſign, he called the people together into the Piazza, and created a new Balia, which, conſiſting entirely of Pietro's friends, immediately choſe the other ordinary Magiſtrates according to his directions. Theſe proceedings ſtruck ſuch a terror into the heads of the oppoſite faction, that Agnolo Acciaiuoli fled to Naples; Diotiſalvi, Franciſco Neroni, and Niccolo Soderini, to Venice: but Luca Pitti continued at Florence, preſuming upon his late alliance, and the promiſes which Pietro had made him; upon which, all thoſe that had fled were declared Rebels, and the whole family of the Neroni diſperſed. Giovanni Neroni, then Archbiſhop of Florence, choſe a voluntary exile at Rome, to avoid worſe treatment; and many other Citizens, who had ſuddenly abſconded, were ſentenced to baniſhment in different places. Beſides all this, there was a ſolemn Proceſſion appointed, to return thanks to God, for the preſervation of the State, and the reunion of the City: during which, ſeveral other Citizens were arreſted, and put to the torture, and many more either executed, or ſent into exile. But amongſt all the changes that enſued upon this revolution, nothing was more remarkable than the caſe of Luca Pitti, who ſoon began to experience the difference betwixt proſperity and adverſity, betwixt living in authority, and falling into diſgrace. His houſe, which uſed to be crouded with ſwarms of followers and dependants, was now as unfrequented as a deſart: and his friends and relations were not only afraid of being ſeen with him, but durſt not even ſalute him, if they met him in the ſtreet; ſome of them having been deprived of their honours, others of their eſtates, and all of them threatened [*y*].

[*y*] There ſeems to be nothing very *remarkable* in all this. Miniſters of State, and other great men, in the fullneſs of their power, will always have crowded levees; and when they fall into diſgrace or adverſity, no body will come near them, *nemo, hercule, nemo* This is a daily ſight. In a ſhower of rain, a man naturally quits a tree that

The

The magnificent palaces which he had begun to build, were abandoned by the workmen; the ſervices he had formerly done to any one, were requited with injuries and abuſe; and the honours he had conferred, with infamy and taunts. Many who had made him valuable preſents, now came to demand them again, as only lent; and others, who before uſed to flatter and extol him to the ſkies, in theſe circumſtances, loaded him with contumely and reproaches of ingratitude and violence. So that he heartily repented, though too late, that he had not followed Niccolo Soderini's advice, and preferred an honourable death to a life of ignominy and contempt. Several of thoſe, however, who had been baniſhed, began to form Schemes, and contrive various means for their reſtoration to a Community, in which they had not the prudence before to live quietly, whilſt they were well. Agnolo Acciaiuoli having taken refuge at Naples, reſolved for his part, before he made any other attempt, to try how Pietro de' Medici ſtood affected, and whether there were any hopes left of making his peace with him: for which purpoſe, he wrote a letter to him, the contents of which were as follow. "I cannot help laughing, I confeſs, at the capriciouſneſs of fortune, when I ſee how wantonly ſhe ſports herſelf in turning friends into enemies, and enemies into friends. You may remember, that when your father was in exile, I not only incurred the ſame misfortune, but was in danger of loſing my life alſo, by reſenting the injuſtice that was done to him, without any regard to my own ſafety; nor have I ever, either whilſt Coſimo was alive, neglected any opportunity of honouring and ſerving your family, or done any thing with a deſign to injure you ſince his death. It is true, that your weakly conſtitution, and the minority of your ſons, filled me with ſuch apprehenſions, that I thought it my duty to uſe my endeavours to ſettle the government of the Republic upon ſuch a bottom, as might prevent it from falling to ruin, if you ſhould happen to die. Whatſoever I have done, was merely for that purpoſe, and not with the leaſt deſign of hurting you, but with a view to ſerve my Country: and if that be an error, it is ſuch a one, ſurely, as deſerves to be forgiven, when the uprightneſs of my intentions, and the merit of my paſt ſervices, are conſidered: for I cannot prevail upon myſelf to entertain any fears that I ſhall not find mercy in a family, which has had ſo long experience of my fidelity; or that one falſe ſtep will cancel the remembrance of ſo



can afford him ſhelter no longer, ... flies to one that is thicker of leaves: for very ſmall is the number of thoſe that ... to partake of a *raw and guſty day*, or to ſtand near a falling ho...

many former obligations and deſerts [z]. To this letter, he returned the following anſwer. "If you are ſo merry at Naples, as to laugh there, for my part, I am not ſorry for it: for if you had been in a condition to laugh at Florence, perhaps it would have been my fate to weep at that place. I grant that you was a well-wiſher to my father; and as you muſt own you have been gratified for it, you are more obliged to us, than we are to you, ſince good deeds are of much greater weight than either good words or good wiſhes: and if you have been rewarded according to your merits, you ought not to think it ſtrange or unreaſonable that you are now puniſhed for your offences as they deſerve. The pretence of acting as you have done, merely for the ſake of your Country, is a very poor one; for no body will believe that the Acciaiuoli would have ſhewn greater affection, or done more for it, than the Medici have done. Live, therefore, where you are, in diſgrace; ſince you had not ſenſe enough to live here, as you might have done, in reputation and honour."

Acciaiuoli, therefore, perceiving he muſt expect no favour, removed to Rome, where he joined the Archbiſhop, and other exiles, in their endeavours to ruin the credit of the Medici, which then ſtood upon a very tottering foundation in that City: and they had almoſt accompliſhed it; but Pietro, by the aſſiſtance of his friends, at laſt defeated their deſigns. Diotiſalvi Neroni, and Niccolo Soderini, on the other hand, uſed all poſſible means to embroil their Country in a quarrel with the Venetian Senate; imagining, that if the preſent Governors of Florence, who were not yet thoroughly ſettled in their power, and diſagreeable to many people, could by any means be drawn into a freſh war, they would not be able to ſupport themſelves. Giovanni Franciſco, the ſon of Palla Strozzi, who had been driven out of Florence with his father, in the change of government which happened there in the year 1434, was at that time at Ferrara, where he had gained great credit amongſt the Merchants, and was reckoned as rich a man as any in that City. Theſe new Exiles, therefore, began with repreſenting to him, with how much eaſe they might all reinſtate themſelves in their Country, and former honours, if they could engage the Venetians to eſpouſe their cauſe; which they thought might readily be done, provided they were ſupplied with ſome part of the money to defray the expences of a war. To theſe ſuggeſtions, Palla, who longed for an opportunity of revenging the

[z] "Vince animum; cave deformes multa bona & tot meritorum gratiam uno vitio corrumpas," is the concluſion of Scipio's rebuke to Maſſiniſſa for marrying Sophoniſba. *Liv.* lib. xxx. cap. 14.

injuries

injuries he had formerly received, lent a very favourable ear, and promiſed to contribute all he was worth to ſuch an undertaking. After this, they applied directly to the Doge and Senate of Venice, complaining bitterly of the hardſhips of an exile, which, they ſaid, they had brought upon themſelves, by no other offence than that of being deſirous to have their Country governed by laws, and the adminiſtration of affairs lodged in the hands of their proper and ordinary Magiſtrates, and not of a few particular perſons. Upon which account only, Pietro de' Medici, and his adherents, who had ſo long been uſed to perſecute and tyrannize over their Fellow-citizens, had ſuddenly taken up arms, and after they had artfully diſarmed them, as perfidiouſly ſent them into baniſhment. But that they were not ſatisfied with this; the Almighty was likewiſe to be mocked, and made acceſſary to their treachery; for in the midſt of Divine Service, after a Proceſſion, which they had cauſed to be made (the more effectually, it ſeemed, to draw them into their net) many other Citizens likewiſe who had ſtaid behind upon the moſt ſolemn aſſurances that they ſhould receive no manner of injury, were baſely ſeized upon, and either impriſoned, or cruelly put to death. That to chaſtiſe the authors of ſo execrable and nefarious an example, and avenge themſelves, they knew not upon whom elſe to depend, with ſo much confidence, as upon that illuſtrious Senate and Republic, which having always enjoyed the ſweets of liberty themſelves, muſt certainly compaſſionate thoſe that were deprived of ſo great a bleſſing. That they therefore implored their protection, as a free and generous Common-wealth, againſt the oppreſſion of mercileſs tyrants, and enſlavers of their Country: and exhorted them to remember, how the family of the Medici had ſnatched the dominion of Lombardy out of their hands, when Coſimo alone, in oppoſition to that venerable Senate, and contrary to the inclination and advice of all the reſt of his Fellow-citizens, had favoured and ſupported Count Sforza in his pretenſions. That, in ſhort, if the unmerited ſufferings of others could not excite their pity, certainly the ſenſe of the injuries they had ſuſtained themſelves, muſt inſpire them with a juſt reſentment and deſire of revenge.

The concluſion of this addreſs affected the whole Senate in ſuch a manner, that a war with the Florentines was unanimouſly reſolved upon; for which purpoſe, Bartolomeo Coglione, [a] the Commander in

[a] He was one of the moſt celebrated Commanders of his time, and born in the neighbourhood of Bergamo, where his whole family had been put to the ſword, during the quarrels betwixt the Guelphs and the Ghibelines. He had been a beggar till he was eighteen years of age; when being at Naples, and no man daring to diſpute the

chief of their forces, aſſembled an army with as much expedition as poſſible; which was joined by Hercole d' Eſte with ſome troops ſent by Borſo Duke of Ferrara. Their firſt attempt was upon the Bourg of Doadola, which they burnt, and committed ſome other ravages in the adjacent Country; as the Florentines were rather ſurprized and had not made any preparations to oppoſe them. After Pietro's enemies were driven out of the City however, they had entered into a new confederacy with Galeazzo Duke of Milan, and Ferdinand King of Naples, and appointed Frederic Count of Urbino their General: ſo that ſeeing themſelves well ſupported by this alliance, they made but little account of their enemies: for Ferdinand having ſent Alphonſo his eldeſt Son, and Galeazzo coming in perſon, (and both of them with a conſiderable body of forces) to their aſſiſtance, they aſſembled their whole army at Caſtracaro, a fortreſs belonging to the Florentines at the foot of thoſe mountains that divide Tuſcany from Romagna. But the enemy having retired in the mean time towards Imola, there only happened ſome few ſlight ſkirmiſhes betwixt them, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times; neither ſide having taken or ſo much as laid ſiege to any town, or given the other any opportunity of coming to an engagement: for both of them kept cloſe in their camps without daring to ſtrike the firſt blow; and, like two cowards, contented themſelves with only looking at each other at a diſtance. This dilatory manner of proceeding, was ſo diſagreeable to the Florentines, (who ſaw themſelves engaged in a war, which at that rate, was likely to be a very long and expenſive one, and attended with little or no advantage) that the Magiſtrates complained of it to the Commiſſaries whom they had appointed to conduct that expedition. The Commiſſaries remonſtrated that it was wholly owing to the Duke Galeazzo, who having more authority than experience, neither knew how to execute any thing of importance himſelf, nor would be governed by thoſe that did; and conſequently it was impoſſible that any advantage ſhould be gained, or ſucceſs hoped for,

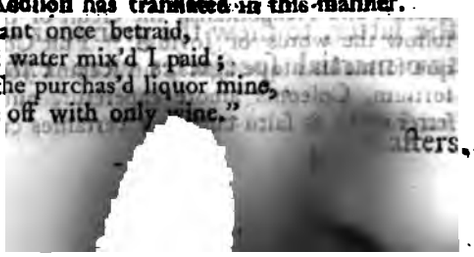
prize with him, either in wreſtling or running, on account of his prodigious ſtrength and agility, Jane II. Queen of Naples, who valued no man but for his bodily vigour, (and every man according to it) made choice of him for her minion. But he was ſoon tired of that baſe and ſcandalous way of life, and ſtealing away from Court, went to learn the art of war, under the famous Braccio da Montone. *Varillas anecdot. de Florence*, p. 35. The truth of this particular is confirmed by Paulus Jovius, in the third book of his Elogies. Otherwiſe (conſidering the national prejudices betwixt the French and Neapolitans) the credit of the French Hiſtorian might be ſuſpected. Here follow the words of Jovius: "Fuit Coleo corporis ſtaturâ erectâ atque habili, adeoque formoſus atque agilis, ut Regina Joanna, ingenio procaci mulier avidaque virorum fortium, Coleonis amore caperetur, quum eâ ſpectante cunctos in palæſtra jactuque ferrei vectis & ſaltu curſuque certantes cum magno ſpectantium plauſu ſuperaret."

whilſt he continued with the army. Upon this, they took occaſion to repreſent to the Duke, "that they were thoroughly ſenſible of how much ſervice his coming in perſon to their aſſiſtance had already been to them; ſince his very name and reputation only had been ſufficient to make their enemies retire. That they ought nevertheleſs to prefer his welfare and the ſecurity of his dominions to any private advantage of their own; for whilſt he was ſafe, every thing would go well; but if they loſt him, they had every thing to fear. They did not think therefore, it was conſiſtent with his uſual prudence, that he ſhould be ſo long abſent, and at ſuch a diſtance from Milan; eſpecially as he was not yet ſufficiently eſtabliſhed in his government, and had many potent and dangerous enemies, who would not fail to take the advantage that ſo favourable an opportunity afforded of doing him a prejudice. For which reaſons, they made it their earneſt requeſt to him that he would return to Milan for the preſervation of his own dominions with ſome part of his forces, and leave the reſt with them for the defence of their Republic." Galeazzo thought this advice was not to be diſregarded, and without troubling himſelf about the motives of it, immediately returned home.

The Florentine Commanders having got rid of this incumbrance, reſolved to ſhew their maſters that the tardineſs of their former proceedings ought not to be imputed to them, and advanced ſo near to the enemy that a battle preſently enſued which laſted half a day, but without any material loſs or advantage to either ſide: for there was not ſo much as one man killed, but a few horſes wounded, the number of priſoners very ſmall, and nearly equal on both ſides: and as the ſeaſon was now at hand, when their armies uſed always to go into winter quarters, Coglione, the Venetian General, retired towards Ravenna, [*b*] the Florentine forces into Tuſcany, and thoſe of the King and the Duke into the reſpective territories of their

[*b*] Ravenna is the capital of Romagna, and about ſixty miles north-eaſt of Florence. It is nothing like ſo conſiderable a city at preſent, as it was formerly. Its ancient ſituation reſembled that of Venice, as it was built upon ſeveral Iſlands: but the Sea has retired above three miles from it, and what was formerly a lake, is now a fine fruitful field. The ſoil about it, which has been made by the ſea, is ſo agreeable to vines, that they grow there to an incredible ſize; it is ſaid, that planks of twelve feet in length, and five in breadth, have been cut out of the trunks of them. There is of conſequence plenty of excellent wines; but as they have no freſh water, but what falls from the clouds, the town often labours under a great ſcarcity of it. Hence that Epigram of Martial, *Callidus impoſuit*, &c. which Mr. Addiſon has tranſlated in this manner.

"By a Ravenna Merchant once betraid,
So much for wine and water mix'd I paid;
But when I thought the purchas'd liquor mine,
The Raſcal fobb'd me off with only wine."



ters,

maſters. But this invaſion not having raiſed any commotions in Florence, as the exiles had aſſured the Venetians it would; and the latter beginning to want money for the pay of their troops, thought fit to propoſe ſuch overtures of peace as were readily agreed to, and it was ſoon after concluded. After which, the Florentine exiles, being deprived of all hopes of ever returning to their Country, diſperſed themſelves into different places. Diotiſalvi Neroni went to Ferrara, where he was received by Borſo, the Duke or Marquis of that State. Niccolo Soderini took ſhelter at Ravenna, and having a ſmall penſion allowed him by the Venetians, he lived there all the reſt of his days. He was eſteemed a brave and worthy man, but ſlow and irreſolute in all his actions; from whence it proceeded, that he loſt an opportunity of ſuppreſſing the Medici when he was Gonfalonier of Juſtice, which he never could recover after he went out of that office.

When a peace was concluded, thoſe that had got the upper hand in Florence not thinking their victory compleat, except they entirely ſuppreſſed not only their open and declared enemies, but thoſe alſo whom they ſuſpected of being privately ſo, prevailed upon Bardo Altoviti to deprive many other Citizens of their honours and employments, and to ſend ſeveral more into baniſhment: by which they exceedingly ſtrengthened themſelves in their own power, and ſtruck a ſtill greater terror into others: indeed they exerciſed their authority with ſo much rigour and intemperance that it ſeemed as if providence had entirely abandoned the City as a prey to them. But few of theſe grievances came to the ears of Pietro de' Medici, and even thoſe, his bad ſtate of health would not allow him to redreſs; for all his limbs were ſo contracted and debilitated, that he could not make the leaſt uſe of any of them, except his tongue: nor had he it in his power to apply any remedy but his advice, and exhortations to his Fellow-citizens to live in charity and peace with each other, and to cheriſh and ſupport their Country rather than be acceſſary to its ruin. But to cauſe ſome ſort of rejoycings in the City, he reſolved to celebrate the nuptials of his Son Lorenzo, (whom he had eſpouſed to Clarice a daughter of the family of Urſini) with the utmoſt ſplendor and magnificence; as he did indeed, in a manner every way worthy of a perſon of his high rank and diſtinction: for many days were ſpent in mirth and feſtivity of all kinds, beſides balls, and banquets, and public entertainments upon the Stage and otherwiſe. Amongſt the latter, to ſhew the grandeur and opulence of the Houſe of Medici, two martial ſpectacles were exhibited, one repreſenting an engagement

engagement betwixt ſome ſquadrons of horſe in the field; and the other, the ſiege and taking of a town. All which was performed with the utmoſt gallantry and good order imaginable.

Whilſt the affairs of Florence were in this ſituation, the reſt of Italy was in tranquillity; but yet not without terrible apprehenſions from the power of the Turk, who ſtill continued to harraſs and diſtreſs the Chriſtian Princes, and had made himſelf maſter of [*c*] Negropont to the very great ſcandal and prejudice of all Chriſtendom. About this time, Borſo Marquis of Ferrara died, and was ſucceeded in his State by Hercole his brother. Giſmondo Malateſta Lord of Rimini and a perpetual enemy to the Church, likewiſe died the ſame year, and left his Son Roberto heir to his dominions, who afterwards became one of the greateſt and moſt experienced Commanders in Italy. Theſe events were attended with the death of Pope Paul, in whoſe room Sixtus IV was exalted to the Pontificate, who before that was called Franciſco da Savona; a man of very low and baſe extraction, but raiſed by his own merit to be General of the Cordeliers or Franciſcans, and after that, to the dignity of a Cardinal. He was the firſt that began to ſhew the World what a Pope could do, if he pleaſed; and how things, which before his time had been looked upon as crimes, could change their names under the ſhelter and protection of the pontifical authority. He had two perſons in his family whoſe names were Pietro and Girolamo, and whom every body believed to be his baſtards; but he ſoon took care to give them more honourable titles: for Pietro, being a monk, was made Cardinal of Saint Sixtus; and to Girolamo, he gave the Government of Furli, which he had taken away by violence from Antonio Ordelaffi, whoſe Anceſtors had been Princes of that City for a long courſe of years.

This rapacious manner of proceeding, made him ſo dreaded by moſt of the Princes in Italy, that almoſt every one endeavoured to ſecure his friendſhip, and the Duke of Milan, in particular, gave

[*c*] An iſland in the Archipelago, on the coaſt of Europe. It was formerly called Eubœa and Chalcis: The Turks called it *Egribos*, and the Inhabitants *Egripos*. The Turks made a deſcent upon it in June 1469, with a fleet of three hundred ſail, and an army of 120,000 men, under their Emperor Mahomet II. The natives made a gallant defence, but at laſt were over-powered by numbers, and forced to ſurrender. Erizzo the Venetian Proveditore, however, retired into the City, and refuſed to give it up till Mahomet promiſed him his life: but that Prince broke his word, and cauſed him to be ſawed in two. His daughter was preſented to Mahomet, on account of her great beauty; but diſdaining his careſſes, ſhe incenſed him to ſuch a degree, that he cut off her head with his own hand. After which, the Turks exerciſed all manner of cruelties upon the garriſon and inhabitants of the City, putting all to the ſword that were above twenty years of age. The Venetians made two attempts to recover it, in the year 1668, but without ſucceſs. *Coronelli deſcription de la Morée.*

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his natural daughter Catherine in Marriage to Girolamo with the City of Imola for her dower, of which he had ſtripped Taddeo Alidoſſi. A new alliance was likewiſe contracted betwixt the Duke of Milan and King Ferdinand; for Giovanni Galeazzo the Duke's eldeſt Son, was married to Elizabeth, daughter to Alphonſo the King's Son and heir.

In the mean time, the Princes of Italy lived in tolerable tranquillity, and ſeemed to be chiefly employed in watching and guarding againſt each other, and fortifying themſelves with freſh alliances and confederacies. But in the midſt of this tranquillity abroad, the Florentines were grievouſly harraſſed and oppreſſed at home by the Tyranny and ambition of their Fellow-citizens; for Pietro de' Medici was ſo diſabled by his infirmities, that he had it not in his power to curb their inſolence, or provide any remedy. Nevertheleſs, in order to diſcharge his own conſcience and to ſee if he could make them aſhamed of their enormities, he ſent for the principal of them to his houſe, and upbraided them with their behaviour in the following manner.

"I little imagined I ſhould have lived to ſee the time when the conduct of my friends would make me want the aſſiſtance of my enemies; and when I ſhould wiſh, inſtead of getting the upper hand, to have been defeated by them: for I verily thought I had been engaged with men whoſe deſires would have been confined within the bounds of decency and moderation, and who would have been content to live in their own Country with honour and ſecurity; eſpecially after they had ſufficiently depreſſed their adverſaries and driven them out of the City. But I now have the mortification to find how miſerably I have been deceived by not being well enough acquainted with the ambition that is natural to all mankind, and more particularly with the limits of yours: for, it ſeems, you are not contented with being Governors of the Republic and having all the honours and emoluments of it divided amongſt a few of you, though they were ſufficient before to ſatisfy a much greater number. It is not enough to have the eſtates of your enemies confiſcated and ſhared amongſt you, nor to lay inſupportable taxes and burdens upon other people, whilſt you not only exempt yourſelves from them, but appropriate them to your own private uſes, and avail yourſelves of them to perſecute your Fellow-citizens with every kind of injury and oppreſſion. You plunder the poſſeſſions of your neighbours, you make a ſale of juſtice, you deſpiſe the authority of the laws, you trample upon good men and exalt the evil. I did not believe all Italy could have furniſhed ſo many examples of violence and avarice as there have lately been in this City. Do you think our Country has given us birth only to murder

murder others? have we been bleſſed with ſucceſs on purpoſe to deſtroy every body elſe? has it heaped honours upon us merely to bring ſhame and ignominy upon itſelf? I publicly declare to you upon the word of an honeſt man, which ought to be eſteemed ſacred and inviolable, that if you perſiſt in theſe courſes, you will make me forget the Victory we have gained, and oblige me to behave in ſuch a manner as perhaps may cauſe you to repent of having abuſed it."

After he had given them this ſevere reprimand, they made ſome fair promiſes of amendment, indeed, and then retired; but ſtill continued their violent manner of proceeding. Upon which, Pietro ſent privately to deſire Agnolo Acciaiuoli would come to him at Caſaggiolo; where they had a long conference together, concerning the ſtate of the Common-wealth: and it was generally believed, that if he had lived much longer, he would have recalled the Exiles to bridle the tyranny and rapaciouſneſs of thoſe who then governed the State. But death prevented theſe good deſigns; for being quite worn out with bodily infirmities, and vexation of mind, he died in the 53d year of his age, at a time when his merit and virtues were but juſt beginning to diſtinguiſh him amongſt his Country-men: as he had been in a manner eclipſed by his father Coſimo, whom he ſurvived but a few years; and thoſe too were clogged with ſickneſs and civil diſſenſions. He was interred in the Church of St. Lorenzo, cloſe by his father, with a funeral pomp and ſolemnity ſuitable to the rank of ſo great a Citizen. He left only two ſons, Lorenzo and Giuliano, both of them very promiſing, and who, there was the higheſt reaſon to hope, would ſome time or other, be an honour to their Country, if they lived; but as they were then both very young, their friends were under great apprehenſions for them.

Amongſt thoſe that were the principal in that Government (or rather much ſuperior to them all) was Tomaſo Soderini; who, for his prudence and authority, was in great reputation, not only at Florence, but with all the Princes of Italy; ſo that after the death of Pietro, he had the higheſt reverence and reſpect ſhewn him by all the Citizens, who daily reſorted in great numbers to his houſe; and other States directed their Secretaries to addreſs their letters to him as head of the Common-wealth. But as he was a wiſe man, and had thoroughly balanced his own fortune, and the circumſtances of his family, with thoſe of the Medici, he modeſtly declined returning any anſwer to thoſe letters, and gave his Fellow-citizens to underſtand, that it was not to him, but the Medici that they ought to pay their court. And to ſhew himſelf ready to practiſe what he had recommended to them by way of advice, he aſſembled the heads of all

the chief families of the City, in the Convent of St. Anthony, where, after he had likewiſe ſent for Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici, he repreſented to the audience in a long and weighty ſpeech, the preſent State of the Republic in particular, of Italy in general, and the different views, circumſtances, and temper, of all the ſeveral Princes in it: and concluded with ſaying, that if they were deſirous to live in peace and union at home, and ſecure from foreign invaſions, it was neceſſary to continue their obſervance to the Houſe of Medici, and to ſupport thoſe young Gentlemen in the authority which their anceſtors had enjoyed. That it was but natural to ſhew the ſame regard to the family which they had ſo long been uſed to do: and therefore it muſt rather be a pleaſure than a grievance to them: for if mankind were apt to be fond of novelties, they were for the moſt part as ſoon diſguſted with them. That it had always been found much more eaſy to maintain one in power, whoſe enemies were in a manner extinguiſhed by time, than to raiſe another, which muſt unavoidably be ſubject to new emulations, and ſpeedy ruin, from many other cauſes and unforeſeen accidents.

After Tomaſo had finiſhed his ſpeech, Lorenzo himſelf got up and addreſſed them; but with ſo much gravity and modeſty, though very young, that they were not afterwards diſappointed in the expectation they had conceived of him from this early ſample of his abilities. The Citizens, therefore, before the aſſembly broke up, ſolemnly engaged to be the Guardians of their youth; and they, on the other hand, as ſolemnly promiſed to reverence them at all times, as their Protectors and Parents. After which, Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici, were looked upon as the heads of the Republic; and putting themſelves under the guidance and direction of Tomaſo Soderini, the State ſeemed to be then perfectly compoſed, neither diſtracted by inteſtine diſcords, nor embroiled in foreign wars. When, all on a ſudden, an unexpected event happened, which diſturbed their tranquillity at that time, and ſerved as a prelude to many other troubles.

Amongſt ſeveral other families which were ruined by the fall of Luca Pitti, and his followers, was that of the Nardi; for Silveſtro and his brothers, the Heads of it, were firſt ſent into baniſhment, and afterwards (upon the war with the Venetians) declared Rebels. But Bernardo, who was one of theſe brothers, and a ſpirited young man, not being able to bear the poverty and hardſhips of exile, and ſeeing there was no proviſion made for his return at the concluſion of a peace, reſolved to take ſome method to kindle a new war; knowing that a ſmall beginning often produced great and unexpected conſequences; and that men were naturally more ready to embark

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in an undertaking, when it was once ſet on foot, than to be the firſt movers of it. He had a good acquaintance in Prato, and the Country round about Piſtoia, particularly with the Palandri, which, though a country family, was very numerous; and moſt of them (having been brought up like the reſt of the Piſtoians, in the profeſſion of arms) inured to blood and rapine. He knew very well, that they were highly provoked at the ill uſage they had met with from the Magiſtracy of Florence, in the late commotions; and was no ſtranger to the temper of the Prateſe, who had been ſo inſolently treated and oppreſſed by their Governors, that he thought, and indeed was informed by ſome of his correſpondents, they were ripe for an inſurrection. From theſe circumſtances, he flattered himſelf he ſhould be able to raiſe a flame in Tuſcany, by exciting the Prateſe to revolt, which many things afterwards would concur to blow up to ſuch a height, that the Florentines would not ſoon be able to extinguiſh it. This deſign, he communicated, in the firſt place, to Diotiſalvi Neroni, and aſked him, what ſuccours he would undertake to procure him from the other Princes of Italy, in caſe he ſhould ſucceed in his deſign upon Prato. But Diotiſalvi, after much conſideration, thought the enterpriſe ſo difficult and dangerous, that there was little or no probability of ſucceſs. However, as he had an opportunity of trying his fortune once more, at another man's riſque, he adviſed him to make the attempt, and aſſured him, he ſhould have ſufficient aſſiſtance both from Ferrara and Bologna, if he could get poſſeſſion of Prato, and maintain it for fifteen days. Elated with theſe promiſes and hopes, Bernardo found means to introduce himſelf privately into that town, where he opened the affair to ſome of his acquaintance; and finding not only many of the Citizens, but the Palandri likewiſe, ready to join him, they had a general meeting; and after they had made all neceſſary preparations, he ſent to inform Diotiſalvi of the time and manner in which they propoſed to execute their deſign.

Ceſare Petrucci was then Governor of Prato, for the Republic of Florence: and though he always kept the keys of the gates himſelf, yet, in times of peace, if any Citizen wanted either to come in, or go out of them in the night, and aſked his leave, he never refuſed it. Bernardo, who knew this, came therefore a little before day-light one morning, with the Palandri, and about an hundred armed men, to the gate that looks towards Piſtoia; and the chief of the conſpirators within the walls, having taken care to arm themſelves at the ſame time, according to appointment, ſent one of their accomplices to deſire the keys from the Governor, upon a pretence, that a par-

ticular friend wanted to come into the town. The governor, ſuſpecting no harm, ordered one of his ſervants to go with the keys: but when the man was got a little way from the palace, they ſecured him; and having poſſeſſion of the keys, immediately opened the gates, and let in Bernardo and his armed men. As ſoon as they had thus found means to enter the town, they were joined by their other friends, and divided themſelves into two parties; one of which, being conducted by Silveſtro —— [*d*], a native of Prato, ſeized upon the Citadel, whilſt the other, under the command of Bernardo, made themſelves maſters of the Palace, and put the Governor, with all his family, under the guard of ſome of their own men: after which, they ran about the Streets, crying out, *Liberty! Liberty!* By this time, the day-light began to appear, and the townſmen being alarmed at the out-cry, ran in great numbers into the main ſquare, where they were not a little aſtoniſhed to hear, that both the Palace and the Citadel had been ſurprized in the night, and the Governor and his family made priſoners; not knowing into whoſe hands they were fallen, or what could be the occaſion of ſo ſudden and unexpected an event. The Magiſtrates, however, aſſembled in the Town-hall, to conſider of what was to be done in that emergency: and Bernardo (who had run through the whole town with his party, but without much encouragement, or being joined by any conſiderable number of the people) being informed, that the Magiſtracy were in conſultation, went directly to them, and acquainted them with the motives of his undertaking. He repreſented to them, "That his only deſign was to deliver them and their Countrymen the Florentines, out of the miſery and ſervitude into which they had ſo unhappily fallen: and that they would not only recover their former liberties and privileges, but immortalize their reputation, by taking up arms, and joining him in ſo laudable and glorious an enterprize. He deſired them to compare their preſent condition with paſt times, and aſſured them, that if they would continue firm to him, but a few days, they ſhould have ſuccours that would defend them againſt all the forces the Florentines could poſſibly get together; as he had a ſtrong party in Florence, which would ſhew itſelf as ſoon as the City of Prato ſhould declare for them.

Theſe aſſurances and inſtigations, however, did not make any effectual impreſſion upon the Magiſtrates, who anſwered coldly, and in a few words, "that they ſhould not pretend to interfere in the affairs of the Florentines, or to take upon themſelves to judge whether

[*d*] The Surname is wanting in the original.

that

that Republic was in a ſtate of liberty or ſlavery: as it was a point in which they had no concern, and would not preſume to determine. That they knew very well, nevertheleſs, that they neither wanted nor deſired any thing more, for their own part, than to live in peace and poſſeſſion of the liberty they had till that time been ſuffered to enjoy by thoſe Magiſtrates whom the Florentines had ſet over them, who had never been guilty of any violence or oppreſſion that could juſtify their taking up arms. For which reaſon, they exhorted him to ſet their Governor at liberty, and to order his accomplices out of the town as ſoon as he could, if he had any hopes of eſcaping with impunity out of the danger into which he had plunged himſelf with ſo much raſhneſs and inconſideration." Bernardo, however, was not diſcouraged at this repulſe, but reſolved to uſe force, and try if he could fright them into compliance, ſince he ſaw arguments and expoſtulations had no effect. To ſtrike a terror into them, therefore, he determined to put the Governor Petrucci to death; and having cauſed him to be dragged out of the place where he was confined, he ordered him to be hanged out of one of the windows of the Palace. But when he was brought to the window, with a rope about his neck, and ſaw Bernardo Nardi there, buſy in giving orders for his execution, he turned round to him and ſaid, "Bernardo, you are going to put me to death, out of an imagination, that the Prateſe will then conform to your will and pleaſure; but you will find yourſelf deceived in that; for ſo great is their reverence for the Magiſtrates whom the Florentines have appointed to govern them, that when they ſhall ſee this violence offered to me, it will excite their reſentment in ſuch a manner, as will prove your deſtruction. It is my life, not my death, that muſt be of ſervice to you; for if I order them to execute your Commands, they will much ſooner obey me than you; and then, probably, you may ſucceed in your deſigns." Bernardo ſeeing he had no other expedient left, thought it the beſt way to follow his advice: and for that purpoſe, brought him into a balcony which looked into the Street, from whence, he made him addreſs himſelf to the people, and require their obedience to their new Maſter: after which, he was conducted back again into priſon. But the weakneſs of the Conſpirators being now diſcovered, a great number of Florentines that lived in the town, got together, with Georgio Ginori, a Knight of Jeruſalem, at their head (who was the firſt that took up arms and oppoſed the Enemy) whilſt Bernardo was running about the Streets, entreating ſome, and threatening others, if they did not join him: but being attacked by Ginori and his followers, he was not only defeated, but wounded and taken. After which, the Governor was releaſed.

releaſed without much difficulty, and all the reſt of Bernardo's followers, not being many in number, and diſperſed in different parties about the town, were ſoon either knocked on the head, or made priſoners. When the news of this inſurrection arrived at Florence, the circumſtances were not a little exaggerated: for it was reported, that Prato was ſurprized, the Governor and all his family killed, and the Exiles in full poſſeſſion of the town; that the people in Piſtoia were likewiſe in arms, and many of the Citizens there engaged in the conſpiracy. Upon which, the Signiory immediately aſſembled, and called all the principal Citizens together in the Palace, to conſult with them, what was to be done upon that occaſion. At laſt, it was reſolved to diſpatch one Roberto da San Severino (a Commander of great reputation, who then happened to be at Florence) with what forces he could get together, towards Prato, and inſtructions to advance as near that place as he could; that ſo he might ſend them a certain account how matters ſtood there, and afterwards proceed, as occaſion required, and he thought moſt proper. But he was hardly got to Caſtello di Campi, when he met a Meſſenger from Petrucci, who informed him, that Bernardo was taken, his accomplices either killed or diſperſed, and every thing quiet at Prato: upon which intelligence, he returned with his men to Florence, whither Bernardo was likewiſe ſoon after conducted; and being aſked by the Magiſtrates, what could induce him to embark in ſuch an undertaking, when he was ſo feebly ſupported, that there could be no probability of ſucceeding in it, he ſaid, "that as he choſe rather to die at Florence than live in exile, he was reſolved to attempt ſomething at leaſt, that ſhould make his death memorable.

After this inſurrection, which had been ſo ſuddenly raiſed, and as ſoon ſuppreſſed, the Citizens of Florence began to ſink into luxury and effeminacy, imagining, they might indulge themſelves with ſecurity in any ſort of intemperance and exceſs, now the government was quietly ſettled upon ſo good a foundation. From whence many of thoſe evils and inconveniencies enſued, which are uſually the attendants of a long peace [e]. For the youth growing more diſſolute

[e] Nunc patimur longæ pacis mala, Sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit, Juv. Sat. VI. 291.

For that Luxury, &c. are really evils to any State, is now paſt doubt, notwithſtanding what has been formerly ſaid on that ſubject to the contrary. "I cannot agree, ſays an ingenious writer, with the author of *the Fable of the Bees*, even in the fundamental principle of his whole book, viz. *that private vices are public benefits*. If he had gone no further than to ſay, that Luxury is inſeparable from what is called a rich flouriſhing nation, and that a proſperous people are generally vicious in proportion to their proſperity; perhaps his aſſertion might have been too well founded. But when he ſays their

than ever they had been before, and having nothing elſe to do, threw away their time and eſtates in dreſs, in feaſting, in gaming, and women, and ſuch other diſſipations. Their whole ſtudy and emulation was to ſurpaſs each other in fine cloths, in quaint expreſſions and repartees; and he was generally accounted the greateſt wit, who was the moſt ſatyrical. Theſe follies and extravagancies were ſtill increaſed, by the arrival of the Duke of Milan at Florence, whither he came about that time, attended by his Ducheſs and all his Court (to fulfil ſome vow, which, it was ſaid, he had made) and was received with all the magnificence and reſpect that were due to ſo powerful a Prince, and ſo great a friend to the Republic. It then happened to be the time of Lent; and though the eating of fleſh meat in that ſeaſon is ſtrictly forbidden by the Church, his Courtiers made no ſcruple of feaſting upon it every day, without any [*f*] diſpenſation or

vices and their luxury (in order to take off the odium of theſe two names) are the occaſion of their wealth and proſperity, I think he miſtakes the matter and carries his encomiums upon vice and Luxury too far. For though Luxury is too often the conſequence of proſperity, I cannot agree that it is always the ſource of it. I think it is the child of proſperity, but not the parent; and that the vices which grow upon a flouriſhing people, are not the means by which they become ſo. The Romans were originally a rough, hardy, robuſt, warlike, induſtrious people. From their induſtry and hardineſs they grew powerful; from being powerful, they grew rich; from their riches, they grew luxurious and vicious; and from a long courſe of vice and luxury, they degenerated ſtill further into the moſt ſcandalous and abandoned profligacy; till at laſt this degeneracy (enervated as they were both in body and mind) brought them to ſlavery, decay and ruin. But by this gradation it ſeems to me, not that they were rich and flouriſhing, becauſe they were vicious and luxurious; but that they were vicious and luxurious, from being rich and flouriſhing: and that this progreſs from lowlineſs to grandeur, and from grandeur to decay, ſhews that, though their vices proceeded from their opulence, yet their opulence proceeded from their virtues; and that luxury laid the foundation of their ruin. The ſame progreſs that appears in the revolutions and viciſſitudes of this great State, may often be ſeen too in the fortunes of particular perſons. A laborious, ingenious, induſtrious man of low birth grows rich; his riches produce plenty; plenty, indulgence; indulgence, repletion; and repletion, lazineſs and diſeaſes. And it would be juſt as fair and as well reaſoned to ſay, that this man's diſeaſes which were the effects of his riches, were the occaſion of them, as to ſay, that the luxury and vices of a State, which are the fruits of its proſperity, are the ſeeds of it. See a Pamphlet entituled, *Some remarks upon* the Minute Philoſopher *in a letter from a Country Clergyman to his friend in London* 1732. *p.* 45. *& ſeq.* where this matter is well diſcuſſed.

[*f*] Diſpenſations of this ſort are apt to put one in mind of that benevolent licence which Suetonius, in the life of Claudius, the fifth Roman Emperor, Chap. 32, ſays that Prince deſigned to have granted to his ſubjects for doing *a certain thing*, which yet they could not help doing, and therefore would be excuſed in it by neceſſity. Yet they are ſtill granted in the Church of Rome, and it is not very long ſince they have been thought neceſſary by ſome Proteſtants: for I have ſeen one of them which was granted to an Engliſh proteſtant Baronet by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe he lived in, and dated near the time of the Revolution, I cannot juſtly ſay whether before or after it, but moſt probably before. Perhaps it may not be amiſs to add, that Dr. Cozens, Biſhop, the

the leaſt regard either to the laws of God or man: a thing that was never ſeen in our City before. Amongſt many other ſpectacles that

of Durham from the year 1660 till 1671, granted many licences of this kind: and it may not be commonly known that by a Statute 5 Eliz. 5. ſtill in force, "none may eat fleſh on fiſh-days, without Licence from the Miniſter, under penalty of three pounds in money, or three months impriſonment without bail, and forty ſhillings forfeiture from him that conceals it." But this is declared to be *a mere political law*; and he who ſays it is *neceſſary* to abſtain from fleſh *for the Service of God*, ſhall be puniſhed, *as a ſpreader of falſe news*; that is, he *ſhall be impriſoned till he produces the author*. Stat. 34. Edw. III. Cap. i. and if he cannot produce the author, *he ſhall be puniſhed by the King's Council*. 12 Rich. II. Cap. xi. Bellarmine ſays, "the feaſts and faſts of the Church, *habent mitiſſimam obligationem*. See Johnſon's *Clergyman's Vade Mecum*. Chap. xx. Philibert de Cipierre, who commanded the Catholic army at the ſiege of Orleans, after the Duke of Guiſe was killed there, in the year 1563, demanded of the Cardinal of Ferrara, the Pope's Legate, who was then in the camp with the Queen Mother, that his ſoldiers might eat fleſh in Lent. "At which requeſt, ſays Brantome, the Legate ſeemed to be much ſhocked; eſpecially as they were at that very time engaged in a war againſt *Hereticks, the enemies of Lent*. So that after a little pauſe, he told Cipierre, *that no more muſt be ſaid of eating fleſh, for it would be a ſad example*; but that they might eat butter and cheeſe, or any thing that was made of milk. "Sir, replied the General, you muſt not pretend to govern our Soldiers in the ſame manner that you do your Eccleſiaſticks. There is a wide difference betwixt ſerving God and Bellona; and if I may freely tell you the truth, you ought not to raiſe ſuch ſcruples at preſent in this army, which is compoſed of various kinds of people: for as to your *butter and cheeſe, and things made of milk*, our French Soldiers will not be content with them in time of war and hard labour, though your Italians and Spaniards perhaps may be ſatisfied with ſuch food. The French muſt have good ſubſtantial fleſh meat to nouriſh them, and keep up their ſtrength upon ſuch occaſions: indeed they *will* have it, how ſtrongly ſoever it may be prohibited. I would therefore adviſe you to grant them a diſpenſation; for if they ſhould otherwiſe take the liberty of feeding themſelves with ſuch meat as they like and find neceſſary (as they certainly will) it would leſſen your authority; which, on the contrary will be greatly increaſed, if you indulge them in this requeſt; for then they will ſay, *that excellent man the Legate has given us a diſpenſation*, which will be much to your credit." The Legate could not help ſeeing the expediency of this ſenſible advice, and complied with Cipierre's demand. *Brantome Capit. Etranger.* tom. i. p. 132.

From hence it appears, that neither prohibitions, nor diſpenſations in this caſe, are of ſo much ſignificance, even amongſt the Catholics themſelves; though the latter are ſometimes ſollicited with much apparent eagerneſs, and great intereſt uſed to obtain them. Jean Bouchet, who publiſhed *the Annals of Aquitaine*, ſpeaking of the conference betwixt Clement VII. and King Francis I. at Marſeilles, in the year 1533, ſays, "during that interview betwixt the Pope and the King, at which all the Princes of the blood, and ſeveral other Lords and Princes, together with the Queen, and all her train, were likewiſe preſent, a trick was played upon three of the Queen's attendants, who were very virtuous, chaſte, and modeſt women. Theſe three Ladies, who were widows, of a weak conſtitution, and often ſick, were very deſirous of obtaining the Pope's leave to eat fleſh upon fiſh-days: for which purpoſe, they applied to the Duke of Albania, the Pope's near relation, who promiſed to uſe his good offices for them with his Holineſs; and ſoon after ſent for them to the Pope's Palace to preſent them. But before they were introduced, he addreſſed himſelf to the Pope in this manner: "Holy Father, there are three young Ladies who are widows, and ſtill capable of bearing children. They are

were

that were exhibited to ſhew him the greater honour, the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon the Apoſtles, was repreſented in the Church of Santo Spirito: and as there was an infinite number of candles lighted up upon that occaſion, the Church, by ſome accident, took fire, and was burnt down to the ground; which many thought was a [g] judgment upon the City; and that God being offended, had inflicted that puniſhment upon it as a mark of his diſpleaſure. In this ſtate of corruption and diſſolution of manners, the Duke found the City of Florence, and left it ſo much worſe at his departure, that the more ſober and conſiderate part of the adminiſtration thought it neceſſary to make a ſumptuary law to reſtrain theſe exorbitancies, in dreſs, in feaſtings, and other ſolemnities, and to regulate the expences of their Fellow-citizens, on thoſe occaſions, in ſuch a man-

ſtrongly tempted, it ſeems, by the luſt of the fleſh; for they have applied to me to beſeech your Holineſs, that they may have free commerce with men, and without marrying, whenever they have a mind." "How, Couſin! ſaid the Pope; this is repugnant to the word of God: I cannot diſpenſe with it." "I beg, Holy Father, replied the Duke, you would be ſo good to hear them, and to ſignify your pleaſure to them yourſelf." The Pope conſenting to this, the Ladies were brought into his preſence; where, falling upon their knees, and having kiſſed his feet, one of them ſaid, "Holy Father, we have deſired our friend the Duke of Albania to petition your Holineſs in our Behalf, and to repreſent to you our age, our frailty, and the quality of our conſtitutions." "Dear daughters, anſwered the Pope, your requeſt is not reaſonable; it is contrary to the laws of God." The widow, not knowing in what manner the Duke had repreſented their affair, replied, "Holy Father, we only deſire to be indulged three days in the week. "Indeed, ſaid the Pope, I cannot give you leave to commit fornication." The Lady being ſomething diſconcerted at this, made anſwer, as ſoon as ſhe had recovered herſelf, "we requeſt nothing more than to be allowed to eat a little fleſh meat three days in the week during Lent." Upon which, the Duke, who ſtood near them, ſaid, "I heartily beg pardon, I thought you had meant the uſe of *live Fleſh*." The Pope, at laſt, perceiving the joke, could not help giving the Duke this gentle reprimand, "Couſin, you have put theſe Ladies to the bluſh; the Queen, I am afraid, will take it ill, when ſhe is acquainted with it."—It occaſioned, however, much merriment at Court, till the truth of the matter came to be known. *Bouchet. Annal. d'Aquitain*, fol. m. p. 267. The ſame ſtory is related a little more at large in Brantome's Memoires, towards the end of the ſecond volume of the *Dames Galantes*. He did not know, one may ſuppoſe, that it was in the Annals of Aquitaine; for he ends his ſtory thus: "Theſe three Ladies, whoſe Names I have heard from the old men at Court, were Madame de Chateau Briant, Madame de Chaſtillon, and the Bailiffe of Caen's widow, all three women of ſtrict virtue and honour."

[g] I cannot ſee what occaſion there was to have recourſe to *a judgment* upon this event. Has not the Hiſtorian ſufficiently accounted for it? Beſides, who was puniſhed by it? We do not find that any body periſhed in the flames: nor can we ſuppoſe, that people in ſuch a ſtate of corruption and debauchery, as Machiavel ſays the Florentines were fallen into at that time, would much regret *the burning of a Church*, or think it a misfortune, any further than as they loſt a playhouſe by it, into which it ſeems it had been converted.

ner, that they ſhould not exceed the bounds of frugality and diſcretion [*b*].

But in the midſt of this general tranquillity, an accident happened, which gave birth to new diſturbances in Tuſcany. Some of the inhabitants of Volterra had diſcovered a Mine of Allum near that City; and being aware of the profit that might be raiſed from it, they gave a conſiderable ſhare to certain Citizens of Florence, in hopes they

[*b*] Sumptuary laws are for the moſt part ineffectual, as they are generally firſt broken by the very perſons that make them, and by others, whom they indulge, out of regard to their beauty, &c. The example ſoon ſpreads, and luxury again breaks through the wiſeſt regulations. It is a diſtemper to which may be applied what Tacitus ſays of Aſtrologers, "Genus hominum quod in civitate noſtrâ et vetabitur ſemper et retinebitur." They were continually ordered to quit the city, and yet they never left it. *Hiſt.* l. i. cap. 22.

Montaigne ſays in his Eſſays, vol. i. chap. 43. "The method by which our Laws attempt to regulate idle and ſuperfluous expences in meat and cloaths, ſeems quite contrary to the end deſigned. The right way would be to inſpire a contempt of gold and ſilks, &c. as vain and uſeleſs things: whereas, we add honour and value to them; which ſurely is a very improper way of creating a diſlike. For to enact, that none but Princes ſhall eat Turbot, or wear velvet or gold lace, and to prohibit theſe things to the people; is only to bring them into greater vogue, and to tempt every one more powerfully to eat and wear them. Let Kings therefore, in the firſt place, leave off theſe enſigns of grandeur: ſuch exceſſes are more excuſable in a ſubject than a Prince. We may learn better documents from the example of ſeveral other nations, for the external diſtinction of rank and quality, (which I conceive to be very requiſite in a State) without foſtering ſuch manifeſt corruption and inconvenience for this purpoſe.—It is ſtrange to ſee how ſuddenly, and with how much eaſe, Cuſtom eſtabliſhes itſelf, and becomes authority in theſe indifferent things. We had ſcarce worn cloth a year, for the court mourning of Henry II. when ſilks were fallen into ſuch univerſal contempt, that any man who wore them, was preſently concluded to be a *Shopkeeper*. How ſuddenly are the greaſy chamois doublets become the faſhion in our armies, whilſt all neatneſs and richneſs of habit is deſpiſed? Let Kings once begin to lay aſide theſe expences, and the ſame will be done quite through the kingdom, in a month's time: the people will follow them without an edict. It ought, however, to be proclaimed at the ſame time, that nobody ſhould wear ſcarlet or gold lace but *Whores and Tumblers*. Zaleucus took this method to reform the exceſſes of the Locrians. He enacted, that no free woman ſhould be allowed any more than one maid ſervant to attend her, *except ſhe was drunk*; nor was ſhe to ſtir out of her houſe in the night, or wear jewels, or an embroidered gown, *unleſs ſhe was a public and profeſſed Whore*. Nobody but Pimps were to wear a gold ring, nor to be ſeen in the effeminate garments that were woven in the City of Miletum. By which infamous exceptions, he wiſely reclaimed his Fellow-citizens from ſuperfluities and pernicious pleaſures; and it was a project of great utility, to attract men by motives of honour and ambition, to a performance of their duty. Kings may do what they pleaſe in ſuch external reformations; their inclination is a law in theſe caſes: "Quicquid principes faciunt (ſays Quintilian) præcipere videntur." What Princes do themſelves, they ſeem to preſcribe as a rule to others." Plato in his laws, lib. vii. ſays, "Nothing is of more peſtiferous conſequence to a City, than to allow the youth to introduce changes in their habits, geſtures, dances, ſongs, and exerciſes; as it only ſerves to corrupt their manners, and cauſe old inſtitutions to be nauſeated and deſpiſed."

would

would both maintain them with their authority in the poſſeſſion of the work, and furniſh them with money to carry it on. This ſeemed at firſt to be a matter of little account to the Governors of Volterra, as it generally happens in new projects: but after a while, when they began to be ſenſible of the prodigious profits that accrued from it, they wanted to get the mine into their own hands, when it was too late, though they might have had it without any difficulty or oppoſition before, if they had thought it worth their attention. The affair was laid before the Council, in the firſt place, where it was argued, that there was no reaſon that treaſure found on lands belonging to the public, ſhould be appropriated to the uſe of private perſons. After which, they ſent Deputies to Florence, who referred the deciſion of it to a Committee of Citizens there. But theſe Citizens either being bribed, or perhaps giving their opinion according to what they really thought fair and reaſonable, adjudged, that the Government of Volterra had no right to the allum, as it would be very unjuſt to deprive private people of the fruits of their own labour and induſtry; and therefore it belonged to thoſe who had diſcovered and worked the mine: but that they ſhould pay a certain annual ſum of money to the Government by way of quit-rent, or acknowledgment that the lands belonged to the Public. This deciſion rather increaſed than diminiſhed the differences and diviſions at Volterra; ſo that hardly any thing elſe was talked of there, either in public or private; the Governors ſtill claiming what they thought had been unjuſtly taken from them, and the other ſide being as ſollicitous to preſerve what they were poſſeſſed of, and had been confirmed to them by the award of the Florentines. Their diſſenſions at laſt roſe to ſuch a height, that one Pecorino, a Citizen of ſome eminence, and ſeveral others who ſided with him, were killed in a fray, and their houſes plundered and ſet on fire. Nor did the Magiſtrates fare much better whom the Florentines had ſent thither to govern the City: for the people were ſo exaſperated againſt them, that, in the firſt tranſports of their fury, they could hardly forbear pulling them to pieces, and it was with great difficulty that they eſcaped. But after their paſſions began to ſubſide, they thought proper to ſend Ambaſſadors to aſſure the Signiory of Florence, "that if they would ſuffer them to enjoy their ancient liberties and privileges, they, for their part, would likewiſe ſtill continue faithful and obedient to the Republic."

There were various opinions and long debates amongſt the Signiory concerning the anſwer that ſhould be returned to this meſſage. Tomaſo Soderini adviſed them to accept the ſubmiſſion of the Volter-

rans, and receive them upon any terms whatſoever; as he thought it very dangerous at that time to blow up a flame ſo near their own houſes: for he in ſome meaſure dreaded the ambitious and enterprizing diſpoſition of the Pope, and the power of the King of Naples; nor had he much confidence in the friendſhip either of the Venetians or the Duke of Milan, as he did not yet ſufficiently know whether the former might not be inſincere, and the latter want courage: for which reaſons he reminded them of the old proverb, *that a lean peace was better than a fat war.* On the other hand, Lorenzo de' Medici thinking this a favourable opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, and being ſupported in his opinion likewiſe by thoſe that envied the authority of Soderini, ſaid it would be much better, in his judgment, to fall upon the Volterrans immediately and chaſtiſe them as they deſerved for their inſolence; for if they were not corrected in an exemplary manner, the reſt of their ſubjects would throw off their allegiance and rebel upon every little trifling occaſion. The latter opinion at laſt prevailed, and the Deputies received for anſwer, "that they could not in reaſon hope for a continuation of privileges they had forfeited by violating the conditions upon which they were granted, and therefore, if they would not make their ſubmiſſion to the Signiory, they muſt expect an immediate war".

With this anſwer the Deputies returned to Volterra, where the people began with all expedition to prepare for their defence, fortifying their town, and ſending to ſollicit ſuccours from all the Princes in Italy. But in that, they met with very little encouragement; for nobody except the Sieneſe and the Lord of Piombino gave them any hopes of aſſiſtance. The Florentines, on the other hand, conſidering that the ſucceſs of their enterprize depended chiefly upon ſpeedy execution, preſently aſſembled ten thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, and ſent them into the territories of Volterra under the Command of Frederic Lord of Urbino, who ſoon over-run that Country and made himſelf maſter of it. After which, he ſat down with all his forces before the town: but as it is ſituated upon a hill, and the aſcent every where ſteep and craggy, it could not well be aſſaulted on any ſide, except on that where the Church of St. Aleſſandro then ſtood. The Volterrans had taken about a thouſand ſoldiers into their pay to enable them to make a vigorous defence: but when theſe mercenaries ſaw the Florentines making their approaches with great diſpatch and reſolution, they began to think they ſhould not be able to maintain the place, and not only grew careleſs and remiſs in their duty, but daily inſulted and abuſed their maſters. The poor Citizens therefore, being thus attacked by the enemy without their walls,

walls, and trampled upon by their own garriſon within them, were ſo diſpirited that they would willingly have ſurrendered upon certain conditions: but as thoſe could not be obtained, they were forced to throw themſelves upon the mercy of the Commiſſaries; who, having commanded the gates to be opened and brought the greater part of their forces into the town, went directly to the Palace where the Magiſtrates were aſſembled, and ordered them to return to their own houſes, with which they immediately complied; but as they were going thither, one of them was plundered and ſtripped (to ſhew the more contempt) by a common ſoldier. This example occaſioned the ruin of the town; for as mankind are naturally more prone to commit evil than do good, it was ſoon followed, not only by all the reſt of the enemy's ſoldiery, but even by thoſe very mercenaries that had been hired by the Citizens for their defence; who continued plundering it for a whole day with ſuch a degree of avarice and inhumanity, that they did not ſpare even the Women, nor ſhew the leaſt regard to conſecrated places. The news of this ſucceſs was received with very great joy at Florence; and, as it was an enterprize that had been undertaken chiefly by the advice and perſuaſion of Lorenzo de' Medici, he acquired much reputation by it. But when one of his friends upbraided Tomaſo Soderini with the counſel he had given whilſt it was under deliberation, and aſked him, *what he had to ſay now they had reduced Volterra?* he anſwered, "he did not think they ſhould be any great gainers by it: for if they had received it upon terms, it might have contributed to the advantage and ſecurity of the Republic; but now they were obliged to hold it by force, it would rather be a thorn in their ſides than otherwiſe whenever they were at war with any other State, and a heavy expence to them in time of peace."

About this time, the Pope, being reſolved to keep the territories of the Church in their duty, had ordered Spoletto to be ſacked, becauſe that town had rebelled againſt him at the inſtigation of ſome factious perſons who lived there; and afterwards laid ſiege to the City of Caſtello, which had alſo behaved in the ſame diſobedient manner. Niccolo Vitelli was Lord of that place, and one of Lorenzo de' Medici's moſt intimate friends, by whom he was furniſhed with ſome ſupplies; which though not ſufficient to ſupport him in his contumacy, ſerved however to excite an enmity betwixt Sixtus and the Medici, which afterwards produced very miſchievous effects, and ſuch as would have appeared much ſooner if they had not been retarded by the death of Pietro, Cardinal of St. Sixtus. For that Prelate having travelled all over Italy, and ſpent ſome time both at

Venice

Venice and Milan, under a pretence of honouring the nuptials of Hercole Marquis of Ferrara with his preſence, had ſecretly been tampering with other States, to ſee how they were diſpoſed to a rupture with the Florentines. But ſoon after his return to Rome he died there, not without ſuſpicion of being poiſoned by the Venetians, who, it was imagined, began to grow jealous of the Pope's power, and apprehenſive it would not be long before they felt the weight of it, eſpecially if he ſuffered himſelf to be influenced by a perſon of Pietro's reſolution and activity. For notwithſtanding he was of baſe birth, and had no better education than what a mean convent could afford; yet upon his promotion to the purple, it ſoon appeared that he had a much greater ſhare of pride and ambition than could have been expected in a Cardinal or even in a Pope: a ſhameleſs and remarkable proof of which, he gave in an entertainment that he made at Rome, which coſt him above twenty thouſand Florins, and would have been looked upon as extravagant in any temporal Prince [*i*].

[*i*] He was but ſeventeen years of age when the Pope made him a Cardinal; after which, he created him Patriarch of Conſtantinople, conferred the Archbiſhopricks of Sevil and Florence upon him, with ſeveral other very conſiderable benefices. This elevation made him forget the meanneſs of his birth, and the humility of a monk; and he ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far tranſported by his vanity, that nothing had been ſeen before ſo pompous and magnificent as his train. His extravagance was equal in all other reſpects. In ſhort, he was *Cardinal Nephew*, and firſt introduced what the Italians call *Nepotiſme*. Sixtus IV. who loved him paſſionately, appointed him Legate of Umbria, in 1473, and afterwards of all Italy. His entrance into the principal Cities, when he viſited them, was moſt magnificent; and they took that opportunity of flattering the young man, to ingratiate themſelves with the Pope. But he did not long enjoy theſe honours; for he died at Rome, in January 1474, and in the 29th year of his age. It was obſervable, that Sixtus IV. was much more generous to the Sons of his Siſters, than to thoſe of his Brothers; and that of all the Sons of his Siſters, he ſhewed the greateſt favour to this Pietro and Girolamo Riario. This would not have been a mere fantaſtical humour, as it is pretended it was, but a very natural affection, if it had been true, that he was their father, as is aſſerted by ſome authors. He had nine Nephews, ſays Varillas, *in his Anecdotes of Florence*, p. 67. five of whom, like him, took the ſurname *della Rovere*, and were the Sons of his three brothers, then dead; and four, who bore the name of Riario, Baſſo, and Sanſonino, which were the three families into which his Siſters, and one of his nieces, married. Sixtus ought, one would have imagined, to have ſhewn greater regard to the five Nephews, juſt now mentioned, than to the other four, who were related to him only by the women's ſide: and though Julian alone, the eldeſt of them, was adorned with all thoſe admirable qualities, which afterwards made him ſo famous, when he came to be Julius II. yet it is certain, he never could obtain his Uncle's leave to declare himſelf head of the family *della Rovere*, nor to perform the functions of Cardinal Nephew, nor to ſuffer his Brother, and his three Couſins, to take the advantage of what was refuſed him. Pietro and Girolamo Riario were Sons to the Pope's eldeſt Siſter. The former had been a Cordelier as well as his uncle; and perhaps was the more favoured on that account. He was made Cardinal the ſame day that Julian was, but had this advantage over him, that he was at the

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His Holineſs therefore, being deprived of this Miniſter, proceeded with more coolneſs and deliberation in his deſigns; which however, did not prevent the Florentines, the Duke of Milan, and the Venetians from renewing the alliance that ſubſiſted betwixt them; wherein they likewiſe offered to include the Pope and the King of Naples if they pleaſed. But Sixtus, on the contrary, entered into a league with King Ferdinand, and invited the other Princes of Italy to join in it: ſo that Italy was now divided into two great Confederacies, and every day produced ſome accident that contributed to enflame the jealouſy which each ſide had conceived of the other: and in particular a diſpute concerning the Iſland of Cyprus, to which the King of Naples pretended a right, though the Venetians were in poſſeſſion of it. Upon which account, the Pope and his Majeſty thought it behoved them to ſtrengthen their alliance with freſh articles, and engage themſelves in ſtricter bonds of amity.

Frederic Lord of Urbino was at that time reckoned the moſt able commander in Italy, and had been a long time in the ſervice of the Florentines. The Pope therefore and the King, in order to deprive them of his aſſiſtance, took great pains to detach him from their intereſts; and for that purpoſe, they gave him an invitation both to Rome and Naples, which Frederic accepted to the great mortification and aſtoniſhment of the Florentines, who made no doubt, but he would there meet with the ſame fate that Giacopo Piccinino had done. But it happened quite otherwiſe; for he returned ſafe from both places, after he had been received with great honour and appointed commander in chief of the confederated forces of thoſe two Princes, who likewiſe were ſecretly endeavouring to corrupt the Governors of Siena and Romagna, that ſo they might have it in their power the more effectually to annoy the Florentines. But the latter having intelligence of theſe practices, immediately began to take all

ſame time declared Cardinal Nephew, and appointed Biſhop of Trevigio, which Julian had aſked for himſelf; and had ſo many other great preferments afterwards heaped upon him, that he had a more numerous attendance than all the reſt of the Cardinals put together. The ſame author tells us, p. 69, that the Pope deſigned to make Girolamo his chief heir.—John Michael Brutus, in his Hiſtory of Florence, lib. vii. aſſerts, that Sixtus had theſe two Sons, when he was but a Cordelier; and that in order to conceal the matter, he brought them up under the Name of Nephews. Du Pleſſis Mornai, Volaterran, and ſome others, more than hint, that he was neither their Father nor Uncle, but that they were his Catamites, which was the reaſon that he did, and granted ſo many things upon their Account *præter fas jusque*, againſt all right both human and divine, eſpecially upon Peter's, who was a man ſo totally given up to luxury, that he ſeemed to be born only to diſſipate money; for in the ſpace of two years, he ſpent two hundred thouſand crowns in houſe-keeping only, left a debt of ſixty thouſand more, and died at the age of twenty-eight, quite rotten with the pox. *Du Pleſſis Mornai myſtere d'iniquite.* p. 555. *Volaterran.* l. 22.

neceſſary

neceſſary meaſures for their ſecurity, and to guard themſelves againſt the ambition of their neighbours: and as they had now loſt their General, Frederic of Urbino, they took Roberto da Rimini into their pay, renewed their alliance with the Perugians, and brought the Lord of Faenza into the confederacy. The Pope and the King of Naples pretended to be diſguſted at the Florentines for having endeavoured to create a jealouſy betwixt them and the Venetians, and to draw that Republic into a ſeparate league with themſelves: and his Holineſs was likewiſe apprehenſive that neither he himſelf ſhould be able to maintain the reputation and authority of the Church, nor Count Girolamo to keep poſſeſſion of the territory he had given him in Romagna, if the Florentines and the Venetians ſhould unite againſt them. The Florentines, on the other hand, ſuſpected that the Pope and the King wanted to ſeparate them from the Venetians, not with any deſign to join intereſts with the Common-wealth of Florence themſelves, but that they might have a better opportunity of cruſhing them both when they were divided.

In this ſtate of jealouſy and ſuſpicion of each other, the Princes of Italy continued two years before any public diſturbance happened. The firſt that broke out, though of no great importance, was in Tuſcany. Braccio da Montone, a ſoldier of very great reputation (whom we have often had occaſion to mention before) left two Sons Oddo and Carlo; the former of whom, the reader may remember, was killed in the Vale of Lamona, whilſt his brother was very young: but Carlo when he was old enough to bear arms was employed as a Commander by the Venetians out of gratitude to the memory of his father, and the hopes they had conceived of the young man himſelf. It happened about that time that the term of his Commiſſion expired, and he did not care to engage again in the ſervice of that Republic for the preſent, as he was in hopes of recovering his paternal eſtate in the Country of Perugia, either by dint of his father's reputation or his own arms: an enterprize to which the Venetians did not ſeem at all averſe, conſidering that they generally found means to gain one advantage or other themſelves in all changes and commotions. He therefore marched with ſome forces into Tuſcany; but finding that an attack upon Perugia would be attended with great hazard and difficulty, as the Governors of that State were in league with the Florentines; and thinking he ſhould loſe his reputation if he did not at leaſt attempt ſomething memorable now he had proceeded ſo far, he invaded the Sieneſe (pretending they were in his debt, on account of ſervices his father had done their Republic, for which he would be ſatisfied) and fell upon them with

ſuch fury, that he preſently over-ran all their territory. The Sieneſe ſeeing themſelves aſſaulted in this manner, and being naturally ſuſpicious of the Florentines, imagined that all this was done by their contrivance and approbation, and made heavy complaints of it to the Pope and the King of Naples. They likewiſe ſent Ambaſſadors to repreſent their ſufferings at Florence, and to inſinuate to the Signiory there, that they could hardly prevail upon themſelves to believe that Carlo would have dared to inſult them as he had done, without their knowledge and connivance. But the Florentines exculpated themſelves by aſſuring the Ambaſſadors in the moſt ſolemn manner, they had never given him the leaſt encouragement of any kind; and that on the contrary they were ready to aſſiſt them with their utmoſt endeavours in preventing him from doing them any further prejudice: beſides which, they wrote a letter to Carlo, dictated by the Ambaſſadors themſelves, wherein they peremptorily commanded him to deſiſt from all manner of hoſtilities againſt the Sieneſe. Carlo could not help making ſtrong remonſtrances to the Florentines againſt this injunction, which he ſaid, would not only prevent him from gaining great reputation in that enterprize, but deprive themſelves of a moſt valuable acquiſition, which from the cowardice of the Sieneſe and the pitiful defence they made, he had flattered himſelf he ſhould otherwiſe have ſoon given up into their hands, to be diſpoſed of as they pleaſed. But theſe ſuggeſtions having no effect, Carlo left Tuſcany and returned into the ſervice of the Venetians: the Sieneſe however, though delivered out of this danger by the good offices of the Florentines, were highly exaſperated at their behaviour, and thought themſelves very far from lying under any obligation to that Republic for reſcuing them out of a calamity, which they ſtill could not help ſuſpecting had been firſt brought upon them with their privity and concurrence.

Whilſt the affairs of Tuſcany were in this ſituation, and the Pope confederated with the King of Naples in the manner we have before related, an event happened in Lombardy which was of much greater importance, and attended with more diſaſtrous conſequences. One Cola, a Mantuan by birth and a perſon of great learning, but very ambitious, lived at that time in Milan, where he inſtructed ſeveral of the young Nobility in the Latin tongue. This man, either really deteſting the life and manners of the Duke, or influenced by ſome other motive [*k*], took an opportunity of declaiming againſt ſub-

[*k*] Machiavel ſays, *Cola Mantouano*; other Hiſtorians call him, *Cola Montanus Pædagogus*, *Cola Montanus*, *a School Maſter*. He had been tutor to the Duke, who remembring the ſmart of the laſhes he had received from him, when he was his pupil, cauſed

jection to a bad Prince in every company he came into, and of extolling their happineſs who had the good fortune to be born and brought up in a Common-wealth, affirming, that all the great men of antiquity had been educated under Republican Governments and not under Princes; the former of which always cheriſhed the virtuous and brave, whilſt the latter made it their buſineſs utterly to ſuppreſs them; as one availed themſelves of their merits and the other were jealous of them. The young gentlemen with whom he was intimate and familiar, were Giovanni Andrea Lampognano, Carlo Viſconti, and Girolamo Olgiati. With them, he often uſed to expatiate upon the wicked diſpoſition of their Duke, and lament their unhappineſs in being obliged to live under his government. In ſhort, he had by degrees gained ſuch an aſcendant over them, and ſo far inſinuated himſelf into their confidence and good opinion, that he made them take a ſolemn oath to deliver their Country, if poſſible, out of the hands of ſo tyrannical a Prince, as ſoon as they were old enough to conduct ſuch an undertaking. In this reſolution they perſiſted and ſeemed to be more and more confirmed in it as they grew up: but the enormities which the Duke committed every day, and the particular injuries he had done them, contributed to haſten the execution of it.

Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, was naturally cruel and laſcivious; of which, he had given ſo many proofs that he was become exceedingly odious to his ſubjects. Nor did he content himſelf with debauching the nobleſt Ladies in the City, but alſo took a brutal pleaſure in boaſting of it: and when he put any one to death, he did not think that ſufficient, if it was not done with ſome uncommon circumſtance of barbarity [*l*]. He was ſtrongly ſuſpected of having murdered

him to be publicly whipped one day upon the bare breech. "Hic Cola (ſays Jovius, Elog. lib. iii.) quondam Galeacci pædagogus, dirum in principem odium conceperat, inſolenti ejus contumeliâ percitus, quod ille puerilium verberum nimis memor poſtquam adolevit imperiumque ſuſcepit, ipſi Colæ tanquam immiti ſubagreſtique præceptori, acceptas olim plagas nudatis clunibus loro palam reſpendi juſſiſſet." At which, Cola being exaſperated to the laſt degree, took the method here related by Machiavel, to revenge himſelf upon the Duke: for Olgiati confeſſed upon the rack, ſays Jovius, that what he had done, was at his inſtigation. "Hujus Colæ diris cohortationibus conjurationem inchoatam ad exitumque perductam fuiſſe Olgiatus ipſe ex quæſtione perſcripſit: quippe Olgiatum pene imberbem leviſſimumque adoleſcentem inani ſpe parandæ gloriæ inflaverat, ſi occiſo tyranno patriam libertatem aſſereret; ſæpe Caſſium & Brutum magnis extollens laudibus, qui gloriâ ducti pulcherrimi facti conſilium olim ſuſcepiſſent."

[*l*] Is it not lamentable to reflect, that he does not ſtand alone in this claſs of tyrants; and that there have been many ſuch other monſters as have delighted in the torments of their Fellow creatures. Is this ſavage barbarity natural or acquired? ſurely not natural. "Tyrants, ſays Montaigne, Book ii. chap. 27. have racked their own wits to

his Mother: for as his power did not ſeem complete whilſt ſhe was alive, he behaved to her in ſuch a manner, that ſhe thought fit to retire to Cremona, where her dower lay; but being ſuddenly taken ill ſhe died upon the road, which gave many people great reaſon to think her death was owing to the Duke. He had highly provoked both Viſconti [*m*] and Olgiati by his behaviour to their wives and

invent the moſt lingering deaths for their enemies, at once to kill and make their cruelty felt. They will have them diſpatched, but not ſo faſt that they may not have leiſure to taſte their vengeance. But in this they perplex themſelves: for if the torments they inflict are violent, they muſt be ſhort; if long, they are not then ſo painful as they deſire: and thus they torture themſelves in contriving how to torment others. Of this, we have a thouſand examples in antiquity, and I cannot tell whether we ourſelves do not ſtill retain ſome traces of this barbarity. All that exceeds a ſimple death, ſeems downright cruelty; neither can our Juſtice expect men who are not afraid of dying by the axe or halter, ſhould be any more awed by the apprehenſion of a ſlow fire, burning pincers, or the wheel. And I know not in the mean time, whether we do not drive them to deſpair: for what condition muſt the ſoul of a man be in, who labours under the agonies of death, four and twenty hours together, whether he is broke upon the wheel, or nailed to the croſs?

[*m*] Viſconti was exaſperated againſt the Sforza's, in the firſt place, for uſurping the ſovereign power to the prejudice of his own family. In the next, he had a ſiſter whom Galeazzo had debauched, and whom he afterwards gave up to the luſt of a boy, who was his Ganymede. Germanæ ſororis probro, quam Galeaccius adamaret atque ſubigeret, permovebatur; tantoque indignantius quod eam decoro adoleſcenti, qui ætatis florem principi fruendum dediſſet, conciliaſſe & communicaſſe ſuſpicaretur. *Jovius Elog.* lib. iii. This Prince was reckoned to be ſo laſcivious, that men talked not only of his amorous intrigues, but even of his pimping: Principem enim in amore improbum atque adeo impudentem plerique vel falſo exiſtimabant, ut alienæ libidini lenocinii obſequium lubens præbere crederetur. *Ibid.* The deſcription which Paulus Jovius has left us of the corrupt morals of the women of Milan at that time, is ſhocking. They imagined, that chaſtity was inconſiſtent with good manners; they thought that the practice of virtue would make them look as if they did not know the world; it was, according to them, to behave like ignorant country girls. In ſhort, they did not think that to lie with a Prince, was doing any thing inconſiſtent with modeſty; they pretended, that the beſt method to raiſe their huſband's fortunes above thoſe of other men, was to make them wear golden horns. Galeazzo, who was an handſome young man, found his account in this. The words of Jovius are more expreſſive: His artibus quum boni ſplendidiſſimique principis nomen tueretur, premebant ejus famam intemperantes vagæque libidines. Nam ea tum erat ex multo otio luxuriantis ſæculi conditio, in ipſis præcipue nobilioris gradus matronis, ut totum pudicitiæ decus ab humanitate aulæ alienum prorſus & ſubagreſte putaretur; ideoque princeps ad licentiam libidinis proclinatus, & juventæ vigore venuſtateque oris ſupra omnes ſpectatu digniſſimus, procacibus fœminarum oculis & deſiderio cupidiſſimè deſerviret. Erat enim tum vulgatum inter fœminas, nullam ex principis concubitu fieri impudicam, earumque maritos, qui aliter hirci videri poſſent, ita excellere aureis cornibus, ut dignitate cunctos anteirent. *Ibid.* This was a corruption of manners with a witneſs; for if any thing can prevent the total expulſion of chaſtity, it muſt be the ſhame and diſgrace which purſues thoſe that are guilty of the oppoſite vice. This is one of the main barriers which Providence ſeems to have made uſe of to check the progreſs of laſciviouſneſs, and prevent its over-flowing the whole world like a general deluge.

other female relations; and diſobliged Lampogna, by refuſing to give him poſſeſſion of Miramondo, an Abbey of which he had obtained a grant from the Pope for one of his kinſmen [*n*]. Such injuries both private and public, ſtill enflamed theſe young men with a greater deſire of revenging themſelves and delivering their Country from his yoke; and made them hope, that if they could kill the Tyrant, they ſhould afterwards be ſupported not only by the Nobility, but by all the reſt of the people. Being fully determined in their purpoſe, therefore, they had frequent meetings; which however, did not occaſion any ſuſpicion, on account of their former intimacy: but at theſe meetings, their chief buſineſs was to concert all neceſſary meaſures for the accompliſhment of their deſign; and to make them more dextrous and hardy in the execution of it, they often uſed to exerciſe themſelves in ſtriking and (as it were) ſtabbing each other in the breaſt and ſides with the ſcabbards of the daggers which they had prepared for the intended aſſaſſination. At laſt, when they came to conſider of the particular time and place, they thought it would be dangerous to attempt it in the Palace, much more ſo when he was hunting, very difficult whilſt he was parading the Streets, and exceeding hazardous, if not impoſſible, to effect it in Council. Upon which account, they reſolved to diſpatch him at ſome public ſpectacle

[*n*] The account which Jovius gives of this matter, *Elog.* lib. iii. is as follows: Ad audendum immane uſque adeo & periculoſum facinus vehementer incitabat illata ſibi injuria a Caſtellioneo Comenſium antiſtite, a quo ſacri latifundii poſſeſſione, contra jus interruptâ locatione, ſe perinique ſpoliatum querebatur. Totum autem ejus injuriæ odiique venenum vertebat in principem, qui a ſe (ſuppliciter deprecante eam contumeliam) ſæpe rogatus, adverſarium in protrahendâ lite præpotentem, neque advertere, neque mollire voluiſſet. He was prompted to this bold and dangerous attempt by the injury he had received from Caſtellioneus Biſhop of Como, by whom he complained, that he had been unjuſtly deprived of the poſſeſſion of ſome Church-lands. He therefore turned the bitterneſs of his reſentment againſt this Prince, whom he had often humbly petitioned, but in vain, to do him juſtice, or at leaſt to intercede with his adverſary on his behalf, who being a man of great power, endeavoured to weary him out with a long and vexatious law-ſuit.—This is not unlike the caſe of Philip, King of Macedon, who was killed by Pauſanias, becauſe he could not prevail upon him to puniſh a man, by whom he had been outrageouſly abuſed. Pauſaniam Attalus mero onuſtum nefariis convivarum ludibriis expoſuerat, i. e. Pauſanias being in liquor, had been expoſed by Attalus to the laughter and contempt of the company. *Freinſhem. Supplem. in Quint. Curt.* l. i. cap. 9. He no longer thought of revenging himſelf upon the perſon who had abuſed him, but upon the Prince who had denied him redreſs. Adoleſcens - - - odium ab auctore injuriæ in negligentem ejus vindicem convertit. So dangerous it is in ſovereigns to provoke or refuſe juſtice to any of their ſubjects. There are few people, how mean or inconſiderable ſoever they may be, who have it not in their power one time or other, if they are ſo diſpoſed, to revenge themſelves even upon Princes.

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or feſtivity, where they ſhould be certain he would come, and might draw together many of their friends upon various pretences without being ſuſpected. It was likewiſe agreed, that if any of them ſhould be apprehended or prevented by any other accident from coming to the place appointed, the reſt ſhould proceed in the undertaking and uſe their utmoſt efforts to deſtroy him.

It was pretty near Chriſtmas in the year 1476: and as the Duke always uſed to go on St. Stephens day with great pomp and ſolemnity to the Church of that Martyr, they determined to make uſe of that time and place as moſt convenient for their purpoſe. Accordingly, in the morning of that feſtival, they prevailed upon ſome of their moſt faithful friends and ſervants to arm themſelves, and to go with them to the aſſiſtance of Giovanni Lampognano, who, (they ſaid) was turning a water-courſe into his eſtate, and apprehended he ſhould be forcibly oppoſed in it by ſome of his enemies. This being done, they led them to the Church, armed as they were, (upon a pretence of paying their compliments to the Duke before they went) and had got together ſeveral more of their friends and acquaintance there, by one means or other, in hopes that when the blow was given they would all join them, without any ſcruple or heſitation. Their deſign was to put themſelves at the head of thoſe armed men, as ſoon as the Duke was killed, and to run into that part of the City where they thought they could raiſe the populace with moſt eaſe, and make them take arms againſt the Ducheſs and Miniſters of State; which they made no doubt would be preſently effected, eſpecially as the people were out of humour with the Government on account of the ſcarcity of proviſions which the City at that time laboured under; to alleviate which, they intended to have delivered up the houſes of Cecco Simonetta, Giovanni Botti, Franciſco Lucani, and of ſome other leading men in the Adminiſtration to be plundered, or applied to what other uſes they pleaſed: hoping by theſe means to ſecure themſelves, and reſtore the liberties of their Fellow-citizens. When they had proceeded ſo far, they encouraged each other to behave like men; after which Giovanni Lampognano and his accomplices who had come firſt into the Church, having heard Maſs together, Giovanni turned himſelf to an Image of St. Ambroſe and addreſſed himſelf to that Saint in the following manner; "O bleſſed Patron of our City, who knoweſt our intentions and upon what account we expoſe ourſelves to this imminent danger; be propitious, we pray thee, to our undertaking, and by delivering the injured and oppreſſed,

oppreſſed, let the world ſee with what abhorrence thou lookeſt upon Tyrants [o]!"

Many things happened before the Duke came to Church which ſeemed to preſage his death: for when he dreſſed himſelf in the morning he put on a coat of Mail which he uſually wore; but on a ſudden (either thinking it troubleſome, or that it did not become him on ſuch a ſolemnity) he pulled it off again and laid it aſide. He had a mind to have heard Maſs in his own Chapel, but his Chaplain was gone to St. Stephen's: he then deſired the Biſhop of Como to officiate for him, but he excuſed himſelf upon ſome reaſonable occaſion; ſo that he was in a manner neceſſitated to go to the Church. Before he went, he cauſed his two Sons Giovanni Galeazzo and Hermes to be brought to him, and when they came, he kiſſed and embraced them ſeveral times, and ſeemed very loath to part from them, as if he had known he ſhould never ſee them again: at laſt however, he reſolved to go, and being attended from the Palace by the Ambaſſadors of Mantua and Ferrara, he walked towards St. Stephens. The conſpirators in the mean time to give leſs ſuſpicion, and to avoid the cold which was then very ſharp, had retired into an apartment belonging to the Arch-prieſt, who was their acquaintance: but when they heard the Duke was coming, they went into the Church Porch, where Lampognano and Olgiati placed themſelves on the right hand, and Viſconti on the left. After thoſe that marched before the Duke had entered, the Duke himſelf advanced with a great number of attendants and other people who always reſort to ſuch ſolemnities. The firſt that moved, were Lampognano and Olgiati, who pretending to make way for the Duke, preſſed cloſe up to him, and having drawn the daggers which they had concealed in their ſleeves, they fell furiouſly upon him: Lampognano gave him two wounds, one in the belly and the other in the throat; Olgiati likewiſe wounded him in the neck and breaſt; but Viſconti who ſtood nearer to the door, and by whom the Duke had paſſed before he was attacked by his accomplices, not having a convenient opportunity to ſtrike him in the fore part of his body, gave him a ſtab in the back and another in the ſhoulder. All this was executed with ſuch expedition, that

[o] Voltaire in his ſecond volume of the General Hiſtory of Europe, p. 96, ſays, "Galeazzo Sforza was murdered in the Cathedral of Milan, on St. Stephen's day. I mention this circumſtance, which in other reſpects might appear frivolous; but here it is of great importance. For the murderers prayed to St. Stephen and St. Ambroſe, with a loud voice, to give them courage enough to aſſaſſinate their ſovereign. Poiſonings, aſſaſſinations, and ſuperſtition, formed at that time the Characteriſtic of the Italians; they knew how to be revenged, but not how to fight; they had bands of murderers, and but few ſoldiers."

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the Duke was down upon the ground before any one was aware of the attempt: nor did he utter a word as he fell, except that he once called upon the Virgin Mary. But as ſoon as he was thus diſpatched a prodigious tumult enſued, and every one drawing his ſword (as it commonly happens in ſudden and unforeſeen commotions) ſome ran one way and ſome another in the utmoſt confuſion without knowing what had happened, much leſs the occaſion of it. Thoſe however that ſtood neareſt to the Duke when he fell, and perceived who they were that had killed him, immediately ruſhed forwards to ſeize them: and whilſt the conſpirators were endeavouring to make their eſcape out of the Church, Lampognano, having run amongſt the women who were there in great numbers upon their knees, was ſo entangled and embarraſſed with their petticoats, that he was overtaken and knocked on the head by a Moor who was one of the Duke's footmen [p]. Viſconti likewiſe preſently after ſhared the ſame fate: but Olgiati having got out of the Church and diſengaged himſelf from the crowd, hearing his accomplices were ſlain, and not knowing whither elſe to fly, ran directly to his own houſe, where his father and brothers refuſed him admittance. His mother alone, being moved with compaſſion at his diſtreſs, recommended him to the care of a Prieſt, who being an old friend of that family, procured another dreſs for him, and took him home with him to his own lodgings, where he ſtaid two days, in hopes ſome change might happen in his favour. However, when he found himſelf diſappointed in that expectation, and began to be afraid of being taken if he continued there any longer, he endeavoured to make his eſcape in diſguiſe: but being diſcovered and apprehended, he was brought before the Magiſtrates, to whom he gave a full and circumſtantial detail of

[p] Ipſius Lamponiani cadaver ſolum linguâ & dentibus commordens jacebat: tandem inſultantis plebis & puerorum turbæ ad ludibrium conceſſum injecto laqueo per cunctas urbis regiones raptatum eſt. He lay upon the ground, licking the duſt and biting the earth. At laſt, his carcaſe was delivered up to the rabble, who having tired themſelves with abuſing it, dragged it all round the city in a halter. *Jovius Elog.* lib. iii. Peter Crinitus has ſome verſes upon this aſſaſſin, in the ſecond book of his poems. They are entituled, *De virtute Joannis Andreæ Lamponiani Tyrannicidæ.* The ſix firſt Lines are as follow:

Parabat olim ſacra Bruti manibus
Antiqua virtus Italum,
Ac forte lectam dum rependit hoſtiam
Marti dicatam vindici,
Frontem retorſit illico ad acres Inſubres
Mirata fortem dexteram.

Cola the School-maſter, ſome time after fell into the hands of Lorenzo de Medici, who cauſed him to be hanged.

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the conſpiracy, and of the motives that induced him to embark in it.

Olgiati was but twenty three years of age; yet he ſhewed no leſs reſolution upon the ſcaffold than he had done in the perpetration of the fact for which he ſuffered; for when he was ſtripped and the executioner ſtood ready with the axe in his hand to give the ſtroke, he ſaid in Latin, as he was a man of ſome literature, *Mors acerba, fama perpetua, ſtabit vetus memoria facti.* i. e. *My death is untimely, but my fame will be immortal* [q]. The conſpiracy was conducted with wonderful ſecrecy and executed with great reſolution by theſe unhappy young men; and miſcarried at laſt only for want of their being ſupported in it by thoſe in whom they had put too much confidence, who did not give them the leaſt aſſiſtance. This example ought to be a warning to all Princes, to reign in ſuch a manner, as to make themſelves honoured and beloved by their ſubjects; that ſo no one may hope to kill them with impunity: and let others learn from hence, how vain it is to truſt to the multitude, which, though perhaps diſcontented to the laſt degree, will ſeldom or never ſtir a foot to their aſſiſtance in time of diſtreſs or neceſſity. All Italy was in aſtoniſhment and conſternation at this accident, but in much greater at what ſoon after happened in Florence, which effectually put an end to the public tranquillity after it had laſted twelve years; as we ſhall relate in the next book, which will begin with the narration of a very tragical and bloody event, and conclude with that of a cataſtrophe no leſs deplorable.

[q] Olgiatus ipſe, mirum viſu audituque, veſanâ conſtantiâ obſtinatum animum in conſpectu carnificis gerens, ſeſeque in ipſa morte confirmans, hæc contumaci ore protulit verba; *Collige te, Hieronyme, ſtabit vetus memoria facti; mors quidem erit acerba, ſed tormentum breve atque ejus fama perpetua.* He wrote the following verſes whilſt he was in priſon, which are a proof of his boldneſs, and an abuſe of the Prince he had murdered.

Quem non mille acies, quem non potuere phalanges
Sternere, privata Galeaz dux Sfortia dextra
Concidit, atque illum minime juvere cadentem
Aſtantes famuli, nec opes, nec regna, nec urbes.
Hinc patet humanis quæ ſit fiducia rebus,
Et patet hinc, ſævo tutum nil eſſe tyranno.

Jovii Elog. lib. iii.

The End of the SEVENTH BOOK.

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THE HISTORY OF FLORENCE.

BOOK VIII.

ARGUMENT.

The animosities betwixt the Pazzi and the Medici. A conspiracy against Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici. An Account of the principal persons concerned in it. Rinato de Pazzi dissuades them from it, but in vain. How it was put in execution. Giuliano is assassinated, but Lorenzo escapes. Salviati, Archbishop of Pisa, and many of the chief conspirators are apprehended and put to death. The whole family of the Pazzi is dispersed. The Pope and the King of Naples make war upon the Florentines. Lorenzo de' Medici's speech to the citizens of Florence. The Venetians refuse to send the Florentines any succour. The city of Genoa rebels against the Duke of Milan. The Duchess dowager gives up the Citadel of Genoa to Battistino Fregoso. The Florentines send Ambassadors to the court of Rome to compromise matters with the Pope, but they are not admitted to an audience. They likewise send Ambassadors into France to sollicit an aliance with the French King; and others to the Luccheſe for the same purpose: the latter are ill treated. The Venetians at last send the Florentines some supplies. Dissensions arise in the army, which occasion it to divide. An engagement betwixt the Florentine forces and those of the Pope; in which

the latter are defeated. The Florentines afterwards run away at the approach of the Duke of Calabria with his army, and leave all their baggage, ammunition, artillery, and carriages in the hands of the enemy. The city of Florence in great conſternation at this event, and the ſickneſs with which it was then viſited. The Duke of Calabria's army makes great havock in their territories and takes Colle. Lorenzo de' Medici goes to Naples in order to conclude a peace with King Ferdinand. Troubles at Milan. Ludovico Sforza makes himſelf guardian of the young Duke. Lorenzo makes a peace with the King of Naples, and gains great reputation by it. The Pope and Venetians offended that they are not included in the treaty. A reformation in the State. The Iſle of Rhodes unſucceſsfully invaded by the Turks: after which, they make a deſcent upon the Kingdom of Naples and take Otranto. The Florentines in great danger of loſing their liberties. They ſend Ambaſſadors to the Pope, who treats them in a haughty manner. He is reconciled to them at laſt, but impoſes heavy conditions upon them. Two confederacies formed; one betwixt the Pope, the Venetians, the Genoeſe and Sieneſe; the other betwixt the King of Naples, the Florentines, the Duke of Milan and the Bolognese. The Venetians have a deſign upon Ferrara. The forces of the King of Naples ravage the Pope's dominions and advance under the command of the Duke of Calabria towards Rome, which city is full of faction and diſcord. The Duke's army defeated by the Pope's. The Florentines take Caſtello from his Holineſs. A peace concluded betwixt the Pope, the King of Naples, and the Florentines; to which the Venetians are invited to accede, but refuſe it; and having defeated the Duke of Milan's forces, lay ſiege to Ferrara. The forces of the new League deſtroy the Venetian fleet. The Venetians come to an agreement with Ludovico Sforza: at which his confederates are offended, but at laſt conſent to a peace. Caſtello beſieged by the Pope's army. Quarrels betwixt the Colonni and Urſini at Rome. The Archbiſhop of Genoa makes himſelf Lord of that city. The Pope dies and is ſucceeded by Innocent VIII. *Serezana ſurprized by Auguſtino Fregoſo, who gives it up to the Company of St. George. An account of that Company. The Florentines, in order to recover Serezana, lay ſiege to Pietra Santa, but are repulſed, and raiſe the ſiege; but ſoon return to it and take the town. A ſickneſs in the Florentine camp obliges them to retire into winter quarters. Lorenzo de' Medici is taken ill; which prevents their making any further attempt upon Serezana in the ſpring. Aquila rebels againſt the King of Naples. The occaſion of the rebellion. The Pope undertakes the protection of that city. The King demands the aid of the Florentines,*

rentines, who ſend him ſuccour. He gets the better of the Pope in all places. A peace concluded betwixt them. The Pope is reconciled to the Florentines, and marries his baſtard Son Franciſco to one of Lorenzo de' Medici's daughters. He perſuades the Genoeſe to give up Serezana to the Florentines; but they refuſe it and renew hoſtilities againſt them. The Florentines deſerted by their allies; come to an engagement with the Genoeſe army, which they defeat, and take Serezana. The Germans make war upon the Venetians and rout their forces near Trent. An inſurrection at Furli. Count Girolamo murdered there. The reſolution of the Counteſs in revenging his death. Galeotto Lord of Faenza murdered by the contrivance of his wife. The Florentines take upon them the protection of that city, and of young Aſtorre, Galeotto's Son. The magnificence of Lorenzo de' Medici: his death and character.

THE period where we ſhall reſume the thread of our hiſtory happening in an interval betwixt two conſpiracies (one at Milan, which has been already related, and the other at Florence, which ſtill remains to be told) it may perhaps be expected that (according to our cuſtom of prefacing) we ſhould here ſay ſomething concerning the nature and importance of conſpiracies: and we ſhould certainly have taken this opportunity of doing it, if the ſubject had been leſs copious or not ſufficiently diſcuſſed in another place [*a*]. But as that matter would require a larger diſcourſe than is conſiſtent with the brevity of our introductions, and has been amply treated of elſewhere, we ſhall ſay nothing further of it at preſent, but proceed in our Narrative, and ſhew that when the Medici had humbled all thoſe that *openly* oppoſed them, and afterwards aſpired to take the reins of government ſolely into their own hands, it became neceſſary likewiſe, for the accompliſhment of that purpoſe, to depreſs all ſuch as were *ſecretly* plotting and combining againſt them. For as long as they continued upon any ſort of equality with other families of authority and reputation, who envied their growing power, thoſe Citizens might publicly oppoſe them, and without either fear or danger of being cruſhed in their firſt attempts, whilſt the Magiſtrates were ſtill free and independent, and their party not utterly ſuppreſſed. But after the Medici had gained ſuch an aſcendant by the defeat of their enemies in the year 1466, they grew ſo powerful that they in a manner engroſſed the government of the Republic wholly to themſelves; and their power was ſo great, that ſuch as were diſaffected to their adminiſtration, were either obliged to ſubmit to it with patience, or en-

[*a*] See his political Diſcourſes. Book iii. Chap. 6.

endeavour to ſhake off the yoke by clandeſtine machinations and conſpiracies; which being attended with great difficulties and dangers, for the moſt part, end in the ruin of the conſpirators, and only ſerve to aggrandize and ſtrengthen thoſe ſtill more againſt whom they are formed, from whence it almoſt always comes to paſs, when a Prince is attacked in that manner (except he is killed, as the Duke of Milan was, which very rarely happens) that he acquires a greater degree of power and often becomes a tyrant, if he was not ſo before. For ſuch cabals make him afraid of his perſon; theſe fears determine him to uſe all means to ſecure himſelf; and thoſe means frequently obliging him to uſe violence, create hatred and diſguſts which commonly prove fatal to him in the end. And thus conſpiracies, generally ſpeaking, prove the immediate deſtruction of the contrivers, and at the laſt, ſeldom fail to ruin the object of them.

Italy (as we have ſaid before) was at that time divided into two confederacies; the Pope and the King of Naples were on one ſide; the Venetians, the Duke of Milan, and the Florentines on the other: and though war was not yet formally declared betwixt them, yet daily provocations were given on both ſides; the Pope, in particular, taking all opportunities of affronting and inſulting the Florentines. So that when Philip de' Medici Archbiſhop of Piſa died, his Holineſs appointed Franciſco Salviati to ſucceed him, who was an enemy (he knew) to the family of the Medici, and otherwiſe ſo much diſliked by the Florentines, that they refuſed to give him poſſeſſion of the See: which ſtill added to the animoſities that were kindling betwixt them, and produced freſh quarrels. Beſides all this, the Medici were brow-beat and diſcountenanced upon all occaſions at the Court of Rome; whilſt the greateſt reſpect and partiality were ſhewn there to the Pazzi, a family indeed which at that time was one of the richeſt and moſt powerful in Florence. The Head of it was Giacopo Pazzi, who, on account of his great wealth and the ſplendour of his houſe, was knighted by the People. He had no children of his own except one natural daughter; but his brothers, Pietro and Antonio, had ſeveral, amongſt whom were Guglielmo, Franciſco, Rinato, Giovanni, Andrea, Niccolo, and Galeotto. Coſimo de' Medici, conſidering their opulence and quality, had married his grand daughter Bianca to Guglielmo de' Pazzi, in hopes of uniting the two families more ſtrictly, and preventing all jealouſies and emulation betwixt them by ſuch an alliance. But (ſo vain and fallacious are all human deſigns) the event proved quite contrary; for ſome of Lorenzo de' Medici's friends having inſinuated to him that it would be dangerous and a diminution of his own authority, to throw any

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more power into the hands of that family, he would not ſuffer Giacopo, nor any of his brothers or Nephews to enjoy ſuch honours and offices as they ſeemed to deſerve in common with their fellow Citizens. The Pazzi, therefore, were ſo exaſperated at this uſage, that the Medici began to be afraid of them, and the apprehenſions of the one ſeemed to increaſe in proportion to the reſentment of the other; for in all competitions for places of honour or profit, the Pazzi, how much ſoever they might be favoured by the ſuffrages of the people, were always ſure to be ſet aſide and rejected by the Magiſtracy: nay, things were carried ſo far, that *the Council of Eight* ſummoned Franciſco de' Pazzi to return immediately to Florence from Rome, (whither he happened to be gone upon ſome private affairs of his own) without ſhewing him the leaſt reſpect or treating him even with common decency, much leſs with the deference that was due to a Citizen of his rank. Of this, the Pazzi could not help complaining every where in ſuch terms as ſtill heightened the ſuſpicions of the governors, and made them ſtill more rigorous and oppreſſive. Giovanni de' Pazzi had married the daughter of one Giovanni Borromeo, a man of a prodigious eſtate, which (as he left no Sons when he died) was to have deſcended to that daughter, but Carlo, his nephew, having got poſſeſſion of one part of it, a law ſuit was commenced, and when the matter came to an iſſue it was adjudged that the whole eſtate belonged to Carlo; by which deciſion Giovanni's wife was entirely deprived of it, and chiefly, as the Pazzi thought, by the influence and ſecret practices of the Medici. Giuliano de' Medici himſelf however was ſo offended at this violent manner of proceeding, that he often uſed to remonſtrate againſt it, and told his brother Lorenzo, "he was afraid they ſhould loſe what they already had by graſping at too much." But Lorenzo in the full career of youth and power, paid little regard to theſe admonitions, being determined to govern according to his own will and pleaſure, and that every one ſhould acknowledge what they had as proceeding from his favour.

The Pazzi, therefore, thinking it intolerable, that people of their rank and fortune ſhould be treated in that injurious manner, began to meditate revenge. The firſt that actually took any meaſures for that purpoſe, was Franciſco, who being a more reſolute and high ſpirited man than any of the reſt of his family, reſolved to hazard the loſs of what he already poſſeſſed, to obtain what he ſtill wanted: and as he could not bear to live in Florence, under a government that he deteſted, he reſided for the moſt part at Rome, where, like other Florentine merchants, he employed great ſums of money in trade. This Franciſco being intimately acquainted with Count Girolamo,

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the Pope's natural Son, often uſed to complain to him, in private converſation, of the proceedings of the Medici, in which he himſelf likewiſe was not a little concerned: ſo that after many conferences, and much diſcourſe in general upon that head, they ſeemed to be perſuaded at laſt, that one of them could not enjoy his poſſeſſions in quiet, nor the other live with ſecurity in Florence, except the adminiſtration was changed there; which yet they thought could not be effected without diſpatching Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici; though they flattered themſelves that both the Pope and the King of Naples would readily concur in any meaſures to bring ſuch a change about, if they could be convinced it was practicable. When they had conſidered the matter, therefore, with more attention, they communicated their thoughts to Franciſco Salviati, Archbiſhop of Piſa, who being naturally an ambitious man, and full of reſentment againſt the Medici, on account of the oppoſition they had ſo lately made to his promotion, readily embarked with them in their deſign. But in concerting proper meaſures to facilitate the execution of it, they judged it abſolutely neceſſary to engage Giacopo Pazzi to join them, without whoſe aſſiſtance, they were afraid, the whole undertaking would prove abortive. For this purpoſe, it was concluded, that Franciſco de' Pazzi ſhould go directly to Florence, and that the Count and Archbiſhop ſhould continue at Rome; that ſo they might be ready at hand to communicate the affair to his Holineſs, when things were ripe for execution. However, when Franciſco arrived at Florence, he found Giacopo de' Pazzi much more cool and reſerved in the matter than he expected; of which, he took the firſt opportunity to inform his friends at Rome; and as they found it neceſſary to employ ſome perſon of greater influence and authority to work upon him more effectually, the Count and the Archbiſhop applied to Giovanni Battiſta da Monteſecco, Commander in Chief of the Pope's forces, to whom they gave a particular account of their proceedings and intentions.

Monteſecco was eſteemed a ſoldier of great experience and abilities, and though he lay under conſiderable obligations, both to the Pope and Count Girolamo, he raiſed many doubts and objections, and ſaid upon the whole, "it was too dangerous an undertaking;" but theſe difficulties the Archbiſhop took upon himſelf to obviate, by repreſenting the certainty of effectual ſuccours, both from his Holineſs and the King of Naples; the hatred which the Citizens of Florence bore to the Medici; the powerful alliances and intereſt of the Pazzi and Salviati; that there could be no riſque in aſſaſſinating two or three perſons who often walked the Streets without any arms, or guards,

guards, or the leaſt apprehenſion of danger; and that when they were once diſpatched, the Government of Florence might eaſily be new modelled, in ſuch a manner as they thought fit. But theſe arguments and inſinuations did not make any great impreſſion upon Monteſecco; eſpecially as he had very different accounts of the diſpoſition of the Florentines from other hands.

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, and canvaſſed in this manner by the different parties, it happened that Carlo, Lord of Faenza, was ſeized with ſo ſudden and violent a fit of ſickneſs, that his life was deſpaired of by the Phyſicians. This event gave the Count and the archbiſhop a fair opportunity of ſending Monteſecco to Florence, and from thence into Romagna, under a pretext of repoſſeſſing himſelf of the territories which that Prince had taken from them. But at the ſame time, the Count gave him inſtructions to wait upon Lorenzo de' Medici, and deſire his advice how to proceed in the affairs of Romagna: after which, he was to confer privately with Franciſco de' Pazzi, and endeavour to bring his Uncle Giacopo into their deſigns. And to add more weight to theſe negotiations by the Pope's authority, he was ordered likewiſe to attend his Holineſs before he ſet out upon his journey; that ſo he might give them authentic aſſurances of his good diſpoſition and readineſs to aſſiſt them; which the Pope accordingly promiſed to do with all his power. Monteſecco, therefore, upon his arrival at Florence, went directly to Lorenzo de' Medici, who received him with the utmoſt courteſy, and returned ſuch prudent and ſatisfactory anſwers to the queſtions he aſked him concerning the affairs of Romagna, that he was ſurprized to find him ſo different a perſon from what he had been repreſented, and thought him not only a very humane and wiſe man, but well affected to the Count. However, as he was ordered to confer with Franciſco de' Pazzi, he went to his houſe; but being informed he was gone to Lucca, he waited upon Giacopo, whom he found at firſt very cold, and averſe to their undertaking. But before he left Florence, he made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, by urging the Pope's example and authority, that he began to waver, and told Monteſecco, he might purſue his journey into Romagna, and call upon him at his return, by which time Franciſco would be come back again to Florence, and then they would conſider the matter more particularly. Monteſecco accordingly, at his return, went again to Lorenzo de' Medici, upon a pretence of acquainting him with what he had done in Romagna, relating to the Count's affairs; after which, he had a private conference with Giacopo and Franciſco de Pazzi;

upon

upon the former of whom, he wrought ſo effectually in the end, that he embarked with them in their deſign.

The next conſideration was, concerning the manner of putting it in execution. Giacopo was of opinion, that it was not practicable, whilſt both the Medici were in Florence, and adviſed them to defer the matter till Lorenzo was departed for Rome, whither it was reported he intended to go in a ſhort time. Franciſco did not diſapprove of this advice, but added, that in caſe Lorenzo ſhould not go to Rome, as it was expected, they might find an opportunity of diſpatching both the brothers at ſome public diverſion or ſolemnity. As for foreign aſſiſtance, they thought the Pope might eaſily get ſome forces together without ſuſpicion, under a pretence of taking Caſtello di Montone from Count Carlo, who had given him ſufficient provocation, by the diſturbances he had ſo lately raiſed in the territories of Siena and Perugia. Nothing, however, was thoroughly agreed upon at that time, except that Franciſco Pazzi and Monteſecco ſhould return to Rome, and ſettle the affair there more particularly with the Pope and Count Girolamo.

When the matter came to be diſcuſſed at Rome, it was concluded, after they had, in the firſt place, determined upon the expedition againſt Caſtello di Montone, that Giovanni da Tolentino, a Commander in the Pope's ſervice, ſhould go into Romagna, and Lorenzo da Caſtello, into his own Country; and that both of them ſhould hold themſelves in readineſs to act in conjunction with the provincial forces, as they ſhould be directed by the Archbiſhop Salviati and Franciſco de' Pazzi, who were to come to Florence with Monteſecco, to prepare every thing neceſſary for the execution of their deſign; in which, the King of Naples, by his Ambaſſador, likewiſe promiſed them any manner of aſſiſtance that lay in his power. Soon after the Archbiſhop and Franciſco arrived at Florence, they drew Giacopo Poggio into their party, a young Gentleman of letters, but of great ambition, and very deſirous to ſee a change of government; they likewiſe engaged two more of the name of Salviati, one of them brother to the Archbiſhop, and the other his near relation. They were joined alſo by Bernardo Bandini, and Napoleone Franceſi, two ſpirited young men, who lay under great obligations to the family of the Pazzi; and by two other foreigners, Antonio da Volterra, and one Stefano, a Prieſt, who lived in Giacopo de' Pazzi's houſe, and inſtructed his daughter in the Latin tongue. But Rinato de' Pazzi, a wiſe and conſiderate man, being apprehenſive of the conſequences that uſually attend ſuch undertakings, refuſed to have any hand in this:

this: on the contrary, he ſeemed to deteſt it, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade the reſt from proceeding any further.

The Pope had educated Raphael di Riario, Count Girolamo's nephew, at the Univerſity of Piſa; and whilſt he was engaged there in the ſtudy of the Canon Law, his Holineſs ſent him a Cardinal's hat. The Conſpirators, therefore, thought it highly neceſſary to bring this Prelate to Florence, the better to conceal their deſign, and to facilitate the execution of it; as many of their accomplices, whoſe aſſiſtance they would have occaſion for, might take the opportunity of conveying themſelves into the City, without notice or ſuſpicion, in his train. For this purpoſe, he came to Montughi, a Country Seat near Florence, that belonged to Giacopo de' Pazzi, at whoſe invitation, he took up his reſidence there, to the great ſatisfaction of the Conſpirators, who imagined they ſhould then be able, by his means, to draw Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici both together, in ſome place where they might effectually do their buſineſs. To effect which, they ſo contrived matters, that the two brothers gave the Cardinal an invitation to their Villa at Fieſole: but Giuliano, as it happened, was either prevented by buſineſs, or ſome accident, and did not come thither: ſo that their deſigns being diſappointed for that time, they reſolved to invite the Cardinal to Florence, where they thought both the brothers would be in a manner obliged to wait upon him, and muſt, therefore, inevitably fall into their hands. The day appointed for this entertainment was Sunday, the twenty-ſixth of April, 1478: and the Conſpirators being fully determined to kill them at dinner, had a meeting the night before, to make every thing ready for ſtriking the blow. But in the morning, Franciſco de' Pazzi was informed, that Giuliano would not be there: upon which, the heads of the Conſpirators had another conference, wherein it was concluded, to put an end to all delays, ſince there was ſo many now concerned in it, that it would be impoſſible to conceal it any longer. It was reſolved, therefore, to aſſaſſinate them that very day, in the Cathedral Church of St. Reparata, where the Cardinal was to perform his devotions, and (they made no doubt) would be attended by both the Brothers: Monteſecco (according to the diſpoſition they had made) was to have had the charge of diſpatching Lorenzo, whilſt Franciſco de' Pazzi, and Bernardo Bandini fell upon Giuliano. But Monteſecco, being either mollified by the reſpect which Lorenzo had ſhewn him, or reſtrained by ſome other motive, now declined that office, and ſaid, he had not courage enough, he confeſſed, to perpetrate ſuch a deed in a Church, and to add ſacrilege to treachery. This refuſal proved the ruin of their enterprize: for as the time was ſhort,

and the neceſſity preſſing, they were forced to aſſign Monteſecco's part to Antonio da Volterra and Stefano, the Prieſt, two perſons utterly unfit for the purpoſe, both on account of their profeſſion and diſpoſition. For certainly, if ever a firm and intrepid reſolution, and a hand inured to bloodſhed by frequent exerciſe and practice, are neceſſary, it muſt be upon ſuch occaſions as this; in which it has often proved, that the courage even of thoſe has failed, that have been brought up to arms, and accuſtomed to ſlaughter.

After this point was ſettled, it was reſolved, that the time of execution ſhould be, when the Prieſt, who celebrated high maſs, ſhould receive the Sacrament himſelf; at which inſtant, the Archbiſhop Salviati and Giacopo Poggio, with their followers, ſhould alſo ſeize upon the public Palace; that ſo the Signiory might either be compelled, or prevailed upon by other means, to declare for them, as ſoon as the two brothers ſhould be killed. With this reſolution, they all went to Church, where the Cardinal and Lorenzo de' Medici were already arrived. The Church was crowded with people, and Divine Service begun; but Giuliano de' Medici was not there. Upon which, Franciſco de' Pazzi and Bernardo Bandini, who were appointed to diſpatch him, went to his houſe, and after much perſuaſion, and many other arts, prevailed upon him to go with them to Church. It is very remarkable, and worthy of notice, that they could conduct themſelves with ſuch compoſure and tranquillity, whilſt they harboured ſo much malice and revenge in their hearts; for all the way as they walked along, they were full of jokes and youthful converſation: and Franciſco played the hypocrite ſo well, that under a ſhew of careſſing and embracing him, he took the opportunity of feeling whether he had a coat of mail, or weapons of any kind, under his other cloths. Both Giuliano and Lorenzo, however, very well knew how the Pazzi really ſtood affected towards them; and that they would be glad to ſee them deprived of all authority in the government; but as they thought whatever attempt was made againſt them would be done in a judicial manner, and according to law, they did not ſuſpect them of offering any violence to their perſons, and therefore pretended as much kindneſs for the Pazzi, as the Pazzi did for them.

The aſſaſſins being all ready, ſome of them preſſing cloſe up to Lorenzo, and others to Giuliano (as the crowd was ſo great, that they were not in the leaſt ſuſpected) at the time agreed upon, Bernardo Bandini drew a ſhort dagger, which he had provided on purpoſe, and ſtabbed Giuliano into the breaſt, who, after he had advanced a ſtep or two forwards, dropped down to the ground: upon which,

which, Francisco de' Pazzi likewise throwing himself upon him, stabbed him in several other places, and with so much force and inveteracy, that one of the stabs having missed his body, he struck the dagger into his own leg, and gave himself a very deep and dangerous wound.

On the other hand, Antonio da Volterra, and Stefano the Priest, attacked Lorenzo, and though they made many thrusts at him, they only gave him one slight wound in the throat: for as they were faint hearted, and inexpert in the use of arms, and he defended himself with great bravery, his own courage, and the interposition of his attendants, saved his life, and rendered all their further efforts so ineffectual, that they took to flight in the greatest terror, and hid themselves, some in one place, and some in another: but being soon discovered, they were all put to death in the most ignominious manner, and their bodies afterwards dragged through the Streets by the populace.

After Lorenzo had escaped out of their hands, he shut himself up with several other friends, in the vestry: and Bandini, as soon as he saw Giuliano was dead, immediately rushed upon Francisco Nori, a great friend to the Medici, and killed him also, either out of an old grudge that had subsisted betwixt them, or because he had endeavoured to assist Giuliano. Not content with this, however, he then ran to seek for Lorenzo, with a resolution to finish a work, which, either the want of courage or strength, or dexterity in his accomplices had left but half performed: but finding he had secured himself in the Vestry, he was disappointed in that expectation. In the midst of this tumult and uproar, which was so great, that it was thought the Church would have been pulled down upon their heads, the Cardinal took refuge at the altar, and was, with much difficulty, protected there by the Priests, till the commotion began to subside, when he was conducted by the Signiory to their Palace, where he continued some time in very great fear and suspicion, but at last was dismissed [*b*].

[*b*] This Cardinal was son to Valentina Riario, Sister to Cardinal Pietro. His Uncle Pope Sixtus IV. substituted him in the room of that Nephew, made him take his name, and gave him a Cardinal's Cap in the year 1477, though he was but seventeen years of age. He also conferred upon him at different times the Bishopricks of Imola, Lantrigues, Osimo, and Cnensa; the Archbishopricks of Cosenza, Salerno, and Trent; together with the Abbeys of Monte-Cassino and Cave. It is said, he was so frighted upon this occasion, that it quite changed his complexion, and he was pale all his life after. He contributed much to the election of Alexander VI. and thought the merit of that service would secure his Cousins (the Sons of his Uncle Count Girolamo Riario, then deceased) in the principalities of Imola and Forli, which Sixtus IV. had given their

There was then a great number of Perugians in Florence, who had been lately baniſhed from their own City after ſome diſturbances which happened there; and theſe exiles being drawn into the conſpiracy by a promiſe from the Pazzi of reſtoring them to their own Country, the Archbiſhop Salviati, who was gone (with Giacopo Poggio, the reſt of the Salviati, and others of their party) to ſeize upon the Palace, had taken them with him for that purpoſe. But when he came there, he left part of them below with orders to ſecure the gate upon the firſt noiſe or buſtle they ſhould hear within; whilſt he himſelf went up ſtairs into the higher apartments with the reſt of them; and finding the Signiory at dinner (as it then began to grow lateiſh in the day) he and ſome few of his attendants were introduced ſoon after by Ceſare Petrucci, the Gonfalonier of Juſtice. The greater part of his followers not being admitted into the ſame room, walked into the Chancery and ſhut the door of it: by which accident they made themſelves priſoners, the lock being ſo contrived, that when the door was once ſhut, it could not by any means be opened again either on the inſide or the out, without the help of the key. The Archbiſhop in the mean time, having deſired the Gonfalonier to withdraw with him into another apartment, under a pretence that he had ſomething to communicate to him from the Pope, began to enter into converſation with him, but in ſo incoherent and confuſed a manner, and with ſuch agitations in his geſtures and countenance, that the Gonfalonier ſuſpecting ſome miſchief, immediately ran out of the room to call the guards; and meeting Giacopo Poggio at the door, he caught hold of him by the hair of his head and delivered him into the cuſtody of the Serjeants. Upon this, the Signiory preſently took the alarm, and ſnatching up ſuch arms as lay next at hand, they and their attendants fell upon thoſe that had come up ſtairs with the Archbiſhop: and as ſome of them were in a manner already priſoners, and the reſt too few to make any conſiderable defence, they were all either knocked on the head, or thrown alive out of the Palace windows; except the Archbiſhop, the two other Salviatis, and Giacopo Poggio, who were hanged. Thoſe that were left below, had not only forced the guards, but poſſeſſed themſelves of the gate and

father. But he was miſtaken, for Alexander deprived them of both, and impriſoned their mother Catherine, who was a natural daughter of Galeazzo Sforza. The Cardinal, therefore, was forced to take refuge in France; from whence he afterwards returned to the Elections of Pius III. Julius II. and Leo X. under the Pontificate of which laſt, he joined in a conſpiracy with Cardinal Petrucci, to aſſaſſinate the Pope: for which he was ſecured in the Caſtle of St. Angelo, and confeſſing his crime, was generouſly forgiven by Leo. After this, he retired to Naples, and there died in 1521.

Onuphrius.

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all the avenues, in ſuch a manner, that the Citizens who ran to the Palace upon the firſt alarm, could not be of any aſſiſtance to the Signiory either in one way or another. In this interval, Franciſco de' Pazzi and Bernardo Bandini ſeeing Lorenzo de' Medici had eſcaped, and one of themſelves (upon whom the ſucceſs of the enterprize in a manner wholly depended) ſo dangerouſly wounded, began to be greatly diſcouraged. The latter, however, acted with as much reſolution in providing for his ſafety as he had done in attacking the Medici, and took his meaſures ſo well, when he ſaw all their hopes were at an end, that he made his eſcape. And Franciſco returning to his houſe, wounded as he was, endeavoured to get on horſeback, in order to ride round the town, and excite the people to take up arms for the recovery of their liberties, as had been agreed on before amongſt the Conſpirators; but his wound was ſo painful, and he had loſt ſuch a quantity of blood, that when he found he could not mount his horſe, he pulled off his cloths and went to bed, earneſtly entreating his Uncle Giacopo de' Pazzi to do that which he ſaw he was then diſabled from doing himſelf. Giacopo, though far advanced in years and not uſed to ſuch undertakings, reſolved however to make another attempt to retrieve his fortune: and having put himſelf at the head of about an hundred armed men on horſeback, who were kept in readineſs for that purpoſe, he rode with them towards the Piazza of the Palace, crying out *Liberty*! *Liberty*! and calling upon the people to join him. But ſuch was the influence of the Medici, and ſo much were they beloved on account of their liberality and other princely qualities, that the reſt of their Fellow-citizens did not deſire to ſee any change of government; ſo that nobody regarded Giacopo's exhortations or offered to riſe: on the contrary, when he and his followers drew near to the Palace, the Signiory and thoſe that ſtill had poſſeſſion of the upper apartments, pelted them with ſtones, and endeavoured to terrify them as much as they could with threats of the ſevereſt puniſhment if they did not deſiſt from their undertaking. Giacopo, not well knowing what reſolution to take next, happened in this ſtate of ſuſpence to meet his brother-in-law Giovanni Sariſtori, who in the firſt place ſharply upbraided him with the tumult which he and his party had raiſed, and the miſchief they had already done: after which, he adviſed him to get back again to his own houſe if he could, as there were other Citizens, he ſaid, who had full as much regard for the welfare and liberties of the People as he and his accomplices. Deſpairing therefore of ſucceſs, ſince Lorenzo de' Medici was ſtill alive, his Nephew Franciſco ſo grievouſly wounded, and he himſelf in a great meaſure without any friends or followers, or

other reſource, he at laſt determined to ſave his life at leaſt, if poſſible, by flight; and having gathered all thoſe together that had been with him in the Piazza, he left Florence with a reſolution to retire into Romagna.

In the mean time the whole City was raiſed, and Lorenzo de' Medici ſafely conducted by a great number of armed men to his own houſe: the Palace was recovered by the people, and all thoſe that had ſeized upon it, either taken or killed. The ſtreets reſounded with ſhouts of *long live the Medici!* whilſt the limbs of the conſpirators that had been killed, were either carried about upon the halberds, or dragged round the City; every one endeavouring to ſhew his reſentment both in words and actions againſt the Pazzi: for they not only plundered their houſes, but hurried Franciſco naked out of his bed to the Palace, and there hung him up cloſe by the Archbiſhop and his aſſociates. Yet notwithſtanding all the inſults and abuſe that were offered him by the way and at the place of execution, they could not extort ſo much as one word from him: for putting on a ſtern countenance, and fetching a ſigh or two, he reſolutely ſuffered death without any other complaint or lamentation. Guglielmo de' Pazzi, brother-in-law to Lorenzo de' Medici, took ſhelter in Lorenzo's houſe, and having been guilty of no offence had his life ſpared at the interceſſion of his wife Bianca [*c*]: and ſo great was the favour and intereſt which the family of the Medici had gained amongſt the people by their prudence and liberality, that there was not a Citizen of any degree whatſoever, who did not go to Lorenzo and make him an offer both of his perſon and fortune in this exigency. Rinato de' Pazzi was in the Country when this event happened, and endeavoured to make his eſcape in diſguiſe as ſoon as he heard of it; but being diſcovered upon the road, he was taken and brought to Florence. Giacopo was likewiſe apprehended as he was paſſing the mountains into Romagna: for the mountaineers having heard the news of what had happened at Florence, and finding he was running away, laid hands upon him and ſent him back again thither: nor could he prevail upon them (though he often and very earneſtly requeſted it) to kill him upon the road. Four days after their arrival they were both condemned and put to death. But amongſt all thoſe that were executed (and they were ſo many that the ſtreets and highways were full of their limbs) nobody was much lamented except Rinato, who had always been eſteemed a prudent good man, and void of that family pride which was laid to the charge of all the reſt.

[*c*] Siſter to Lorenzo de' Medici.

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To ſtigmatize the remembrance of this conſpiracy, therefore, with ſome peculiar mark of infamy, Giacopo de' Pazzi who at firſt had been buried in a vault where his anceſtors lay interred, was pulled out of that grave and tumbled into a hole without the walls of the City as if he had been excommunicated: out of which his body was taken up a ſecond time, and dragged naked through the City, in the halter, with which he had been hanged: and as the perſons that had treated him in this manner did not think his bones worthy of being ſuffered to reſt upon the land, they at laſt threw him into the Arno, upon which there was at that time a great flood. A terrible example indeed of the inſtability of fortune! to ſee a man of his great opulence and authority, and in the full enjoyment of every bleſſing, thus ſuddenly thrown head-long from ſuch a height of proſperity, into the loweſt abyſs of miſery and ignominy. He was ſaid to have been guilty of many vices, particularly of gaming and ſwearing, and that to a degree beyond the greateſt reprobates of his time; but on the other hand, he had ſome good qualities; for he was exceeding charitable to the poor, and bountiful to religious houſes. It ſhould likewiſe be mentioned to his commendation, that the day before this plot was to be put in execution, he paid all his debts, and conſigned all the merchandizes belonging to other people, which he had either in the Cuſtom-houſe or in his own poſſeſſion, to their right owners, with the greateſt care and exactneſs imaginable; that ſo nobody might partake of his misfortunes, if he miſcarried in the attempt. Giovanni Battiſta Monteſecco, after a long examination, was condemned to have his head cut off; Napoleone Franceſi made his eſcape; Guglielmo de' Pazzi was ſent into baniſhment, and all the reſt of his kinſmen, who ſtill were left alive, cloſely impriſoned in the Citadel at Volterra.

After the conſpiracy was totally ſuppreſſed and the authors of it thus puniſhed according to their deſerts, the funeral of Giuliano de' Medici was ſolemnized with great pomp; for he was attended to his grave by all the Citizens, who exceedingly lamented the untimely death of a perſon whoſe humanity and liberality and other amiable qualifications were in all reſpects equal at leaſt to the ſplendour of his family and fortune. He had only one Son, who was born ſome months after his death, and named Giulio [*d*]; a man whoſe virtues and fortune have been ſo remarkable, that he is known to the whole world, and of whom (if it pleaſes God to ſpare my

[*d*] He was his natural Son, and afterwards Pope Clement VIII.

life

life ſo long) I ſhall have much to ſay, when I come to treat of our own times.

The forces which had been got together by Lorenzo da Caſtello in the Vale di Tevere, and by Giovanni Franciſco da Tolentino in Romagna, to ſupport the Pazzi, were already upon their march towards Florence: but as ſoon as they heard that enterprize had miſcarried they turned back again. The Pope, however, and the King of Naples when they were diſappointed of bringing about a change of government in Florence by underhand machinations, as they had vainly flattered themſelves, now reſolved to attempt it by open war: for which purpoſe, they both aſſembled all the forces they had with the utmoſt expedition, in order to invade the territories of Florence; giving out, that they did not deſire to make any alteration at all in the conſtitution of that Republic, but merely to remove Lorenzo de' Medici from the adminiſtration, who was the only one of all the Florentines with whom they had any ſort of quarrel or miſunderſtanding. Ferdinand's army had paſſed the Tronto and the Pope's was in the Country of Perugia: and as his Holineſs determined to attack the Florentines not only with temporal but ſpiritual weapons, he excommunicated their City and put it under an interdict. On the other hand, the Florentines ſeeing they were going to be invaded by ſo great a force, began to make all neceſſary preparations for their defence: and Lorenzo de' Medici (becauſe the war was ſaid to be commenced upon his account only) in the firſt place called the Signiory and all the principal Citizens together in the Palace, to the number of three hundred or more, where he addreſſed them in the following manner:

"I cannot well tell, moſt venerable Signiors and illuſtrious Citizens, whether I have greater reaſon to rejoyce or to be afflicted at what has lately happened. For when I reflect with what a degree of malice and hypocriſy I have been attacked, and my brother actually aſſaſſinated, it pierces my heart and ſoul and I am overwhelmed with inſupportable ſorrow. But when I conſider, on the other hand, with how much zeal and alacrity, with what affection and unanimity in the whole City, I myſelf have been protected, and my brother's death revenged, it fills me not only with joy, but with triumph and exultation. For though indeed I have found by experience that I had more enemies in this City than I could poſſibly have imagined; yet I have alſo the pleaſure of being convinced that I have more and warmer friends than I could expect. Suffer me therefore to congratulate myſelf upon your favour and eſteem, whilſt I grieve at the injuries that have been offered me by others; with which I confeſs,

I cannot

I cannot help being deeply affected, as they are of ſo unexampled and unheard of a nature, and I have done ſo little to deſerve them. Conſider, I beſeech you, illuſtrious Citizens, the melancholy ſituation to which the malevolence of fortune had reduced us, when we were not ſecure in our own houſes, amongſt our friends and relations, nor even in the houſe of God itſelf. Thoſe that are in fear or diſtreſs, have always recourſe to their kindred and acquaintance for protection; but we had the misfortune to find our neareſt friends and allies ready armed for our deſtruction. Such as are perſecuted either by public or private rage, uſually find an aſylum in the Church: but places that afford refuge to all others, were marked out and deſtined for our utter extinction: and where even parricides and aſſaſſins meet with ſhelter, the Medici were doomed to be murdered. The Almighty, however, who never abandoned our family in times paſt, is graciouſly pleaſed to preſerve it at preſent, and has taken upon himſelf to vindicate the juſtice of our cauſe: for what injury have we ever done to any man, that could enflame him with ſo diabolical a thirſt of revenge? we never offended thoſe, in any reſpect, either publicly or privately, who lately ſhewed ſo inveterate and particular an enmity againſt us: for if we had been ſo diſpoſed, we could long ago have put it out of their power to hurt us. If they complain of any hardſhips they have received from the public, as owing to our influence (in caſe they have really met with ſuch, which I declare I know nothing of) that ought to be conſidered as an inſult upon the Majeſty of this Palace and the government in general, rather than an affront to our family in particular; ſince it would be plainly and directly accuſing you of being our creatures, and ready at any time to oppreſs your Fellow-citizens at our inſtigation or command: an imputation than which nothing can be more falſe. For if that had actually been in our power, and we had found you weak enough to have proceeded blindly and implicitly according to our dictates, we would never nor upon any account have required it; as it will manifeſtly appear upon a candid examination of things, that our family has been careſſed and promoted with ſuch a general unanimity amongſt the Citizens, for no other reaſon but becauſe we have always endeavoured to exceed every other perſon in acts of humanity and beneficence. If then we have behaved with ſo much tenderneſs and reſpect upon all occaſions, towards people with whom we were no otherwiſe connected than as Fellow-citizens, how can it be reaſonably ſuppoſed, we ſhould be guilty of injuring or abuſing others that were united to us by the cloſeſt ties of friendſhip and affinity? But if they

themſelves were incited to break theſe bonds, and make the late attempt by an inordinate luſt of power (as their entering the Piazza with a number of armed men, and afterwards ſeizing upon the Palace by force, have fully demonſtrated) the deſign was ſo baſe and deteſtable, the end of their ambition ſo atrocious, and the proofs of it ſo clear, that they are more than ſufficient to juſtify the puniſhments that have been inflicted upon them. If it was jealouſy, or envy, or fear of our authority, that prompted them to ſuch a deed, their proceedings were not ſo properly a reflection upon us, as yourſelves, who conferred it upon us. Power, indeed, uſurped by violence, naturally and juſtly inſpires mankind with apprehenſion; but ſurely there is nothing to be dreaded from a perſon to whom it is freely given by others, as a reward for a long and uninterrupted courſe of liberality and good actions. You very well know, illuſtrious Citizens, that none of my anceſtors ever arrived at any degree of greatneſs or honour, which they were not in a manner forced to accept, by the concurrent deſire and importunity of yourſelves and the Signiory. My Grandfather Coſimo did not ſeek to return from baniſhment by violence and force of arms, but came back with the general conſent and invitation of the whole City. My Father, when grown old and infirm, and not in a capacity to defend the State againſt ſo many enemies, was yet ſufficiently ſupported by your authority and benevolence: and I myſelf, who was but a child in a manner when he died, could not, by any means, have maintained the dignity of our family, if I had not been aſſiſted by your favour and counſel: and certain it is, that none of us ever have been, or ever will be, able to govern this Republic without your countenance and co-operation. I cannot ſee, therefore, what occaſion any one could have, either to hate or envy us: they ought rather to have vented their indignation upon the memory of their own anceſtors, whoſe inſolence and avarice have diſappointed them of that honour and reputation which ours acquired by their goodneſs and generoſity. But let us ſuppoſe we had injured them in the moſt grievous manner, and that they had ſufficient reaſon to ſeek our ruin. Yet what have the Signiory done to offend them? why did they inſult the Palace? what could induce them to enter into a confederacy with the Pope, and the King of Naples, to ſubvert the conſtitution and liberties of their Country? what motives could tempt or provoke them to diſturb the tranquillity which Italy had ſo long enjoyed? There might, indeed, have been ſome appearance of juſtice, in endeavouring to revenge themſelves upon people that had done them any injury: but why ſhould the public be involved in private quarrels and reſentments?

For

For their Proceedings there can be no excuse. From hence it comes to paſs, that we are threatened with theſe dangers, though the perſons that brought them upon us are extinct. To their inſtigations it is owing, that we are now invaded by the Pope and the King of Naples, who pretend, truly, that it is only againſt me and my family, that they have engaged in this war; and I heartily wiſh that was true; for then there would be a ſpeedy and certain remedy to be found; as I am not ſo bad a Citizen as to prefer my own private welfare to that of the public: on the contrary, I would preſently extinguiſh the flame, though I periſhed in it myſelf. But as it is generally the cuſtom of powerful and ambitious Princes to varniſh over the injuſtice of their wicked deſigns with ſome fair and plauſible pretence, they have taken this method at preſent, to excite your reſentment againſt me: and if you think I deſerve it, venerable Fathers, and illuſtrious Citizens, I am in your hands, and ready to be diſpoſed of entirely according to your wiſdom. You are my parents and protectors; whatſoever you command, I ſhall always obey, not only with chearfulneſs, but with joy; and if it be your pleaſure, I will willingly be the victim that ſhall put an end to a war which has begun with the ſacrifice of my brother."

The aſſembly could not refrain from tears, whilſt Lorenzo was ſpeaking; and when he had done, one of them, who was deputed by the reſt for that purpoſe, made anſwer in the name of them all, with great tenderneſs and reſpect, "that they were thoroughly ſenſible, both of his merit, and that of his anceſtors; and therefore deſired him not to be diſcouraged, for they would exert themſelves with the ſame alacrity to maintain his reputation and authority, that they had done to preſerve his life, and revenge the death of his brother: that they would ſtand or fall together; and that he ſhould enjoy the government of the State as long as the State ſubſiſted." And to convince him of their ſincerity and affection, they appointed a guard, at the public expence, to ſecure his perſon againſt any future attempt. After which, they began to prepare for war, raiſing money, and aſſembling forces, with as much expedition as poſſible. They ſent to demand ſupplies of the Duke of Milan and the Venetians, in conſequence of the confederacy betwixt them: and as the Pope had ſhewn himſelf a Wolf rather than a Shepherd, they took all neceſſary meaſures to prevent his devouring them: by publiſhing manifeſtos to juſtify themſelves, in which they complained to all the reſt of the Italian Princes, of his treachery and injuſtice, and made no ſcruple of ſaying, that he exerciſed his power in the ſame wicked manner that he had obtained it, having ſent even ſuch as he had advanced to

the purple, in company with traitors and parricides, to perpetrate the higheſt of all crimes in the Houſe of God, in the midſt of Divine Service, and during the celebration of the Sacrament; and afterwards, when he had not ſucceeded in his horrid deſign of butchering their principal Citizens, of ſubverting their government, and of ranſacking the City, he had put it under an interdict, and was endeavouring to ruin it, with his pontifical maledictions and excommunications. But as God was infinitely juſt and offended at violence, he muſt certainly be diſpleaſed at ſuch outrageous enormities in his Vicar, and not look upon it as ſinful in men who were oppreſſed, and had no other refuge, if they had recourſe to him.

In the mean time, the Florentines refuſed to receive the interdict, and paid ſo little regard to his excommunication, that they forced their prieſts to perform Divine Service as uſual. They likewiſe aſſembled a Council at Florence, of all the Tuſcan Prelates that were under their juriſdiction, and from thence appealed againſt the tyranny and injuſtice of the Pope to a general Council.

The Pope, for his part, was not wanting to himſelf upon this occaſion, but endeavoured to ſet a good face upon the matter, by variety of ſpecious pretexts. He alleged, that it was the Duty of a good Pontif to pull down tyrants, to humble the wicked, and to take all opportunities of exalting the good; but that Secular Princes had no right to impriſon Cardinals, to put Biſhops to death, to hang, draw and quarter Prieſts, and to maſſacre both the guilty and innocent, without any diſtinction. Nevertheleſs, amongſt theſe complaints and reproaches on both ſides, the Florentines at laſt releaſed Cardinal Riario from his confinement, and ſent him back to the Pope; after which, the Pope laying aſide all further reſerve, immediately fell upon them with all his forces, in conjunction with thoſe of the King of Naples. Theſe two armies (conducted by Alphonſo, King Ferdinand's eldeſt Son, and the Duke of Calabria, under the Command of Frederic, Count of Urbino) having marched into the territories of Chianti, through the dominions of the Sieneſe, who favoured their undertaking, ſoon made themſelves maſters of Radda, with ſeveral other fortreſſes; and after they had committed great ravages in the adjacent Country, at laſt ſat down before Caſtellina.

The Florentines, ſeeing themſelves attacked with ſuch fury, were in no little conſternation, as they had but few forces of their own in readineſs, and the ſupplies which they expected from their friends came in but ſlowly; for though, indeed, the Duke of Milan ſent them ſome ſuccours, yet the Venetians peremptorily refuſed to furniſh them with any; alledging, that it was a private quarrel, and as

the

the war was made only upon particular perſons, they were not obliged by treaty, to take any ſhare in it, nor to contribute towards the expences that might be occaſioned by ſuch petty animoſities. In order, therefore, to prevail upon the Venetians to alter their reſolution, the Florentines ſent Tomaſo Soderini Ambaſſador to the Republic of Venice; and in the mean time, having raiſed what forces they could, they made Hercole, Marquis of Ferrara, their Commander in Chief. But whilſt they were making theſe preparations, the enemy had reduced Caſtellina to ſuch diſtreſs, that the garriſon deſpairing of relief, ſurrendered after a ſiege of forty days: after which, their army marched towards Arezzo and inveſted Monte San Sovino.

The Florentine army, however, at laſt took the field, and advancing towards the enemy, encamped within three miles of San Sovino, in a ſituation from whence they harraſſed them in ſuch a manner, that the Count of Urbino ſent to deſire a truce for a few days, which was imprudently granted, to the great diſadvantage of the Florentines, and the ſurprize of thoſe that had requeſted it. For if it had been refuſed, the enemy muſt have been obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and decamp with loſs and diſgrace; but availing themſelves of that interval to reinforce their troops, they renewed the ſiege as ſoon as the truce expired, and took the place in ſight of our army, notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts to prevent it. But the winter ſeaſon now approaching, the enemy retired into the territories of Siena, to provide themſelves with good quarters, and the Florentines into ſuch other places as beſt ſuited their convenience; and the Marquis of Ferrara, having done the Republic no material ſervice, returned with little reputation to himſelf, into his own dominions.

About this time, Genoa rebelled againſt the State of Milan, upon the following occaſion. After the death of the late Duke, his Son Giovanni Galeazzo being left a Minor, and unqualified to hold the reins of Government himſelf, a diſſenſion aroſe amongſt his Uncles Sforza, [e] Ludovico, Ottaviano, Aſcanio, and Madonna Bonna, his mother, concerning the guardianſhip of him, till he ſhould be at age, to which every one of them aſpired, and claimed a diſtinct right. In this conteſt, Madonna Bonna, the Ducheſs Dowager, at laſt defeated the pretenſions of all the other competitors, by the advice and aſſiſtance of Tomaſo Soderini, at that time reſident Ambaſſador from the Florentines, at the Court of Milan, and of Cecco Simonetto, who had been Secretary of State to the late Duke. Upon which, the Sforzeſcan family and party immediately fled from Milan; but Ottaviano.

[e] Commonly called Lewis *the Moor*.

viano.

viano was drowned in paſſing the River Adda, and the reſt diſperſed into different places; amongſt whom was Roberto da San Severino, who, during theſe troubles, had deſerted the Ducheſs, and gone over to the other party. Theſe fugitives, ſeeing the commotions that were riſing in Tuſcany, began to entertain hopes that ſome event would happen in the courſe of them, which might give a more favourable turn to their fortune; and leaving the ſeveral places where they had taken ſhelter in their exile, every one took ſuch meaſures as he thought were moſt likely to reſtore him to his Country.

The King of Naples perceiving that the Florentines had received no ſuccours in this exigency, from any other State but Milan, reſolved to deprive them of this reſource alſo, by cutting out ſuch work for the Ducheſs herſelf, as ſhould prevent her from ſending any ſupplies to her neighbours. For which purpoſe, he excited ſuch a revolt at Genoa, by the practices and co-operation of Proſpero Adorno, Roberto San Severino, and the other Milaneſe Exiles, that only the Citadel continued firm to the young Duke; by the help of which, however, the Ducheſs ſtill hoped to recover the town. With this view, ſhe ſent a good body of forces that way, to make the attempt; but they were ſoon after defeated by the Rebels. So that when ſhe ſaw what danger ſhe herſelf, her ſon, and his dominions, were in, as Tuſcany was in a manner turned upſide down, and the Florentines (who were the only allies ſhe had to truſt to) ſo embroiled themſelves that they could give her no aſſiſtance, ſhe determined to make the Citizens of Genoa her friends, though they would not be her ſubjects. She, therefore, privately entered into an agreement with Battiſtino Fregoſo (betwixt whom and Proſpero Adorno there was inveterate and implacable enmity) and engaged to deliver up the Citadel to him, (by which means he might make himſelf Lord of Genoa) provided he would drive Proſpero out of that City, and ſhew no favour to the Milaneſe Exiles. Theſe terms being accepted, the Citadel was accordingly given up to him; by the help of which, and his own party within the walls, he ſoon got poſſeſſion of Genoa, and took the government of it into his own hands. After this, the Sforzeſe in Exiles, and San Severino, being expelled that State, retired with ſome forces that followed their fortune, into Lunigiana: and the Pope and King Ferdinand ſeeing the troubles in Lombardy compoſed, reſolved to take advantage of this opportunity, and employ theſe Exiles to make an incurſion into the territories of Piſa; which they thought would make a diverſion on that ſide, and weaken the Florentines, by obliging them to divide their forces. In conſequence of this reſolution, as ſoon as the Winter Seaſon was over, they prevailed upon San

Severino to march with what forces he could muſter, towards Piſa; which he did, with great expedition, and not only threw the whole Country into terror and confuſion, but took and plundered ſeveral places, and made excurſions up to the very gates of the City.

About this time, Ambaſſadors from the Emperor of Germany, the King of France, and the King of Hungary, arrived at Florence in their road to the Court of Rome. Theſe Miniſters perſuaded the Florentines to ſend an embaſſy likewiſe to the Pope, and promiſed to aſſiſt them with all their credit and intereſt in endeavouring to compoſe their differences and put an end to the war by an honourable accommodation. With this the Florentines readily complied, as they thought it would have a good aſpect in the eyes of the World, and ſhew, that for their parts they were deſirous of peace. But their Ambaſſadors returned without effecting any thing: and the Florentines ſeeing themſelves attacked by ſome of the Italian States and abandoned by the reſt, reſolved to have recourſe to the King of France, and ſhelter themſelves under the reputation of an alliance with that Prince: for which purpoſe, they ſent Donato Acciaiuoli into France, a man very learned in the Latin and Greek languages, whoſe anceſtors had always been much eſteemed and filled the chief employments in the Common-wealth. But he died upon his journey at Milan; and the City of Florence, out of gratitude to his family and to do honour to his memory, not only ordered him to be buried with great magnificence at the public expence, but granted ſeveral privileges and immunities to his Sons; and gave handſome fortunes to his daughters when they married [f]. After his death,

[f] He was of royal extraction, being deſcended by the father's ſide from Juſtus, nephew to Juſtinian, Emperor of Conſtantinople, and alſo from the Dukes of Athens, Corinth, and Bohemia. His anceſtors had enjoyed very honourable poſts in the Kingdom of Naples, and been vicetoys of Sicily, Generals and Cardinals. Some of them had likewiſe poſſeſſed very high employments in the Republic of Florence; had been ſent upon ſeveral Embaſſies to different powers of Europe; were related to all the Princes of the Morea, and the adjacent Iſlands; had erected ſeveral religious houſes, and other noble Edifices in Florence, Naples, &c. and ſignalized themſelves by the moſt glorious actions. Amongſt the reſt, were the Acciaiuoli's, of Vaſconcellos, who went into America. Donato himſelf was held in as great eſteem as any man of his time. The ſmall fortune he left his children is a ſufficient teſtimony of his probity and diſintereſtedneſs. His daughters, like thoſe of Ariſtides formerly, were married at the public expence; which is a proof that his Country thought well of his ſervices. He was a man of Letters, and publiſhed a Latin tranſlation of Plutarch's Lives, and the *Life of Charlemain*, written by himſelf; which being ſometimes bound up together, occaſioned Wicelius to commit a ſtrange blunder; for he gave out, that the Life of Charlemain was written by Plutarch: ſo admirably was he verſed in the hiſtories of different ages. *Hagiolog. apud Voſſ. de hiſt. Lat.* He alſo publiſhed *Commentaries upon Ariſtotle's Ethics. Libri tres de anima. Rei familiaris cura*, and many other works. See however,

however, they ſent Guido Antonio Veſpucci (a man of great knowledge in the Civil and Canon laws) as Ambaſſador to the King of France.

The incurſion which San Severino made into the territories of Piſa was ſo ſudden and unexpected that it very much embarraſſed the Florentines: for as they were vigorouſly attacked likewiſe on the ſide of Siena, they found it ſo much the more difficult to provide for the ſecurity of other places. Nevertheleſs, they ſent officers, and all other proviſions that were neceſſary for the defence of Piſa: and to prevent the Luccheſe from ſupplying the enemy either with money or any thing elſe that they might want, they ſent Pietro the Son of Gino Capponi, Ambaſſador to Lucca. But he was received there with much coolneſs and reſerve, as the Luccheſe looked with an evil eye upon the Florentines on account of the injuries they had formerly received, and the continual apprehenſion in which they ſtood of them: ſo that Capponi was often in danger of being knocked on the head by the populace, and his going thither was ſo far from producing any good effect, that it only ſerved to revive their former animoſity. The Florentines likewiſe took the Marquiſes of Mantua and Ferrara into their ſervice again, and earneſtly ſollicited the Venetians to let them have Count Carlo, the Son of Braccio da Montone, and Deifobo the Son of Giacopo Piccinino, which after many cavils and demurs was at laſt granted by the Venetians, who having concluded a truce with the Turk had no pretence left to excuſe their not complying with thoſe importunities, and began to be ſomething aſhamed that they had ſo notoriouſly violated the articles of the confederacy betwixt them. Count Carlo, therefore, and Deifobo came into Tuſcany with a conſiderable body of horſe, and being joined by as many forces as could well be ſpared from the

Iſtoria degli Scrittori Fiorentini del P. Giulio Neri. In the Library belonging to the family of the Strozzi at Florence, is preſerved a manuſcript folio volume of original Letters written by this Donato, none of which have yet been publiſhed, except one to Alamanno Rinuccini, dated March 24, 1454. Several of his works are now loſt. He was in high eſteem with the Cardinal of Pavia, as is manifeſt from the Letters he received from him, which are publiſhed amongſt thoſe of his Eminence. He died at Milan, in the thirty-ninth year of his age; from whence, his body was carried back to Florence, and buried in the Church of the Carthuſians, at the public charge. A very eloquent Oration was ſpoken at his funeral by Chriſtopher Landini; and his memory honoured with the following Inſcription, written by Politian:

Donatus nomen, patria eſt Florentia, gens mi
Acciauola domus; clarus eram eloquio.
Francorum ad regem, patriæ dum orator abirem,
In ducis Anguigeri mœnibus occubui.
Sic vitam impendi patriæ, quæ me inde relatum
Inter majorum nunc cineres ſepelit.

Marquis

Marquis of Ferrara's army, which was ſent to oppoſe that under the Duke of Calabria, they immediately marched together in order to give battle to San Severino, whoſe forces were encamped upon the banks of the Serchio: and though that Commander at firſt ſeemed determined to engage our army, yet when it drew near, he thought proper to file off, and returned to the quarters in Lunigiana where he had lain before he invaded the territories of Piſa: after which, Count Carlo ſoon retook all thoſe places which the enemy had made themſelves maſters of in that country.

The Florentines being now freed by the retreat of San Severino from all apprehenſions on that ſide, collected their forces into one body and encamped betwixt Colle and St. Giminiano. But as there were many both of the Bracceſcan and Sforzeſcan parties in their army after their junction with Count Carlo, the animoſity that had ſo long ſubſiſted betwixt thoſe two factions began to revive in ſuch a manner, that it was apprehended, if they had continued much longer together, they would certainly have come to an open rupture: to prevent which, it was thought proper to divide the army again, and that one part of it ſhould march into the confines of Perugia under Count Carlo, and the other take poſt near Poggibonzi, where they ſhould encamp and throw up ſuch lines and entrenchments as might effectually hinder the enemy from penetrating any further into the Florentine dominions. By this ſtep they hoped likewiſe, either to divide the enemy's forces, or to gain ſome other conſiderable advantage: for they thought that if they did not divide, Count Carlo would be able to make himſelf maſter of Perugia (in which place it was reported he had a very great intereſt) and if they did, the Pope muſt be obliged to ſend a powerful army to the relief of that town: and to embarraſs his Holineſs as much as it was poſſible by all other means, they alſo furniſhed Niccolo Vitelli (who had been driven out of Caſtello after an unſucceſsful conteſt with Lorenzo Vitelli for the government of that place) with a body of forces ſufficient to ſupport his pretenſions, and ordered him to advance as near as he could to the town, and uſe his utmoſt endeavours either to reduce it into his own power, or at leaſt, upon any terms, to throw off its obedience to the Church.

In theſe meaſures fortune ſeemed at firſt to favour the Florentines: for Count Carlo made no inconſiderable progreſs in the territories of Perugia: and Vitelli (though he could not reduce Caſtello) was maſter of the whole Country round about it, which he plundered without any oppoſition. The forces that were encamped at

Poggibonzi likewiſe made daily excurſions up to the very walls of Siena.

Thus far the undertakings of the Florentines ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs: but their hopes were ſoon damped. For in the firſt place, Count Carlo died juſt at a time when they had conceived the greateſt hopes from his conduct; nevertheleſs his death would have been of ſervice to them, if they had known how to improve the Victory which they gained in conſequence of it. For as ſoon as it came to be known, the Commanders of the Pope's army which had already marched towards Perugia, thinking that event would furniſh them with an advantageous opportunity of attacking the Florentines, immediately advanced towards them and encamped upon the banks of the lake at the diſtance of about three miles from them. On the other hand, Giacopo Guicciardini, commiſſary of the Florentine army, by the advice of Robetto da Rimini, who, after the death of Count Carlo, was eſteemed the beſt and moſt experienced Commander they had, determined to wait for the enemy and give them battle, as they pretty well gueſſed at the cauſe of their forwardneſs to engage: ſo that they ſoon after came to an action near the Lake, [g] (in the very ſame place where Hannibal the Carthaginian formerly gave the Romans ſo memorable a defeat) in which however, the Pope's forces were totally routed. The news of this Victory was received with great joy at Florence both by the Magiſtrates and common people; and it would have been of conſiderable advantage as well as reputation to their arms, if that had not been prevented by the diſſenſions which aroſe amongſt the reſt of their forces at Poggibonzi, and the progreſs that one army had made been rendered ineffectual by a mutiny that happened in the other. For as the latter had committed great depredations in the Country round Siena, a quarrel aroſe betwixt the Marquiſes of Mantua and Ferrara about the diviſion of the plunder; which was carried to ſuch a height that their forces attacked each other ſword in hand: ſo that the Florentines, finding there was no good to be expected from them whilſt they continued both together, gave the Marquis of Ferrara leave to return home with thoſe that were under his command.

The Florentine army being thus weakened and deprived of one of its Generals, ſo great diſorder and confuſion enſued in the camp, that the Duke of Calabria, who then lay with the Neapolitan forces

[g] Anciently called *Lacus Trafimenus*, at preſent *the Lake of Perugia*, near which, Flaminius, the Roman Conſul, with fifteen thouſand of his men, were killed in battle, and the reſt of his army routed by Hannibal. *Liv.* l. xxii. cap. 6, 7.

near

near Siena, taking courage from these discords and divisions boldly advanced towards them with a resolution to try the fortune of a battle: upon which, the Florentines not trusting to their arms, nor their numbers (though much superior to the enemy) nor the situation of their camp, which was exceeding strong, without waiting for their approach, ran away at the first sight of the dust which they raised in their march, and left their baggage, carriages, and artillery behind them, all which fell into the hands of the Duke: for such was the [*b*] the poltroonery and want of discipline in their armies at that time, that the turning of a horse's head or tail often determined the success of an enterprize. This rout greatly enriched the Neapolitan soldiers, and struck a terror into the Florentines, as the City at that time not only laboured under the burden of the war, but was invaded by so dreadful a pestilence, that the Citizens were forced to fly into the Country; which added much to the consternation occasioned by the late shameful behaviour of their soldiery.

[*b*] The Italian word is *Poltroneria*. Whether *poltroonery* may be admitted into the English language, I can't tell. The learned Mr. Johnson, in his excellent Dictionary, allows of *Poltroon*, or *Poltron*, (as he spells it) from the Italian *Poltrone*, and the French *Poltron*; from whence they derive *poltronnia* and *poltronerie*. Why then may not this word be admitted as well as others of the same family, as *roguery* from *rogue*, and *knavery* from *knave*, &c.? If we can find a word in another language more expressive than any in our own, why should it not be adopted? In short, what is the English tongue in general, but a mass of borrowed words? If every nation was to take back its own, I am afraid we should make as poor a figure as the Daw, when she was plucked of her fine feathers. If we stop here, we shall be considerable gainers. "Single words, says Mr. Johnson, in his preface, may enter by thousands, and the fabrick of the tongue continue the same; but new phraseology changes much at once; it alters not the single stones of the building, but the order of the columns." Significant words, therefore, of foreign growth, ought rather to be cherished, than rudely and inhospitably thrust out of doors, to our great reproach: and I was glad to meet with so good a word as *quarrelsome*, lately introduced, or rather revived, by the Honourable Mr. Walpole, who may be stiled, without flattery,

"Non fordidus auctor
Naturæ verique."

"Such men as Cæsar and Cromwell (says he, in his *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors*, vol. ii. p. 32. *second edit.*) are not *quarrelsome* to a Commission of Oyer and Terminer."—How could our language have expressed that so well in one word? I suppose, nobody would be hardy enough to say *bringable*. I said *revived*, because Mr. Johnson quotes the authority of Sir John Davies, for the use of it before; and I have been told, that it was formerly a Law-term at Newmarket. It seems, however, to be springing up into day-light again, after it has been long buried in silence and oblivion, and laid aside, not because a better, or indeed so good a one, substituted in its place, but seemingly out of mere humour and caprice, which is the fate of many other words, as Horace long ago foretold it would be:

Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus et norma loquendi.

for those that had possessions in the Vale of Pisa and Elsa, having retired thither to avoid the pestilence, immediately ran back with such precipitation to Florence with their families and most valuable effects and the very labourers and peasants who occupied their estates, that all the rest of the Citizens expected every minute to see the enemy at their gates. In this panic those that had the care of conducting the war sent orders to their forces, which had made so good a progress in the territories of Perugia, to march out of that Country into the Vale of Elsa to make head against the enemy there, who after their late success had over-run all the adjacent Country without the least opposition. And though that army had reduced the town of Perugia itself to such distress that it was daily expected to surrender, yet the Florentines thought it more prudent in their present circumstances to defend their own dominions than to invade those of others. This army therefore, having raised the siege of Perugia just when they were upon the very point of carrying that town, immediately advanced towards St. Casciano, a Castle about eight miles from Florence, where they hoped they should be able to keep the enemy at bay till they could rally the other army that had run away and been dispersed. The enemy, on the other hand, after the departure of the Florentine army out of the territories of Perugia, seeing there was nothing further to be apprehended on that side, began to recover their spirits, and every day committed great ravages in the parts about Arezzo and Cortona: whilst the army under the Command of the Duke of Calabria, which had routed the Florentines at Poggibonzi, had in the first place made themselves masters of that town and then taken Vico, and sacked Certaldo; after which exploits, they marched away from that side with a great booty and laid siege to Colle a town which in those times was thought very strong: and as the inhabitants were well affected to the Florentines, it was hoped they would find sufficient employment for the enemy, till they could get all their forces together.

This being at last effected, their general rendezvous was at St. Casciano: and as the enemy continued the siege of Colle with great vigour, they resolved to march that way in order to encourage the garrison to make a brave defence, and to oblige the enemy to proceed with more circumspection and abate their fury, when they saw their army so near them. For this purpose, they decamped from St. Casciano, and advanced to St. Giminiano, about five miles from Colle, from whence they daily harrassed the Duke's Camp with their light horse and the best of their infantry. But this was of little relief to the town; for as the garrison was in extreme want of all manner of

provisions,

proviſions, it was forced to ſurrender on the thirteenth of November, to the great mortification of the Florentines and triumph of the enemy; eſpecially of the Sieneſe, who, beſides the hatred they bore to the Florentines, had a particular enmity to the inhabitants of Colle.

The winter being now pretty far advanced, and the ſeaſon no longer fit for the operations of war, the Pope and the King of Naples, either to flatter the Florentines with the hopes of a peace, or that they might themſelves enjoy the pleaſure of their late ſucceſs in tranquillity, made them an offer of a truce for three months, and gave them ten days to conſider of it, and return an anſwer: at the expiration of which, the Florentines ſent them word, "they were ready to accept of it." But as it generally happens, that people, who are wounded, feel more pain when their blood grows cool than at the time they received the wound, the Florentines after this ſhort interval of repoſe became more ſenſible of the damages they had ſuſtained, and the Citizens began to upbraid each other with the errors and miſcarriages that had happened during the courſe of this war; complaining heavily of the large ſums of money that had been expended to no purpoſe, and the weight of the taxes which were levied upon them without any diſtinction or reaſonable proportion. And theſe reproaches were not only circulated in private companies and converſations, but complained of without any reſerve in the public councils and aſſemblies of the people; and in ſo free a manner, that one of the Citizens plainly and openly told Lorenzo de' Medici that the City neither could nor would bear ſo heavy a burden any longer, and that it was high time to think of a peace. Upon theſe complaints and remonſtrances, for which Lorenzo was ſenſible there was much reaſon, he held a conſultation with ſome of his friends upon whoſe judgment and fidelity he moſt depended; in which it was concluded (ſince the Venetians were ſo cold and inſincere, and the Duke of Milan but a minor and ſufficiently embarraſſed in his own affairs) to ſeek ſome new alliance which might be more advantageous to them. But they were in doubt whether they ſhould have recourſe to the Pope or the King of Naples: however, after much debate they preferred the alliance of the King, as likely to be more firm and durable than the other, conſidering the ſhortneſs of the Pope's reigns, the difference of diſpoſition in their ſucceſſors, the little account which they make of ſecular Princes, and their contempt of all treaties and engagements: for which reaſons, no Prince can entirely put his confidence in them, nor venture his fortune with ſafety

upon the ſame bottom. So that whoſoever enters into any alliance with a Pope in time of war or danger, may perhaps find him ſteddy as long as things go well; but if they take a different turn, he is ſure to be deſerted; as they commonly have one ſubterfuge or other, and at the worſt can ſhelter themſelves under their ſpiritual power and authority [i]. When it was determined therefore, that it would be a more eligible expedient to ſecure the friendſhip of the King of Naples, they thought it would be proper that Lorenzo himſelf ſhould go to his court for that purpoſe: for the more deference and complaiſance they ſhewed to that Prince, the greater would be the probability, they juſtly concluded, of bringing about a reconciliation with him. This point being ſettled, Lorenzo left the care and government of the City to Tomaſo Soderini, at that time Gonfalonier of Juſtice; and ſetting out from Florence in the beginning of December, he ſoon after arrived at Piſa (in order to proceed by Sea to Naples) from whence he wrote a letter to the Signiory to acquaint them with the motives of his journey. In anſwer to which, the Signiory, to give him the greater reputation and credit with the King, appointed him their Ambaſſador extraordinary with full power to conclude ſuch an alliance with him, as ſhould ſeem in his judgment moſt advantageous to the Republic of Florence.

About this time, Roberto San Severino, in conjunction with Ludovico and Aſcanio (for their brother Sforza was now dead) invaded the Duchy of Milan in hopes of reinſtating themſelves in their Country; and having ſeized upon Tortona, threw the City of Milan itſelf and all its territories into ſuch confuſion, that the Ducheſs was adviſed to recall the Sforzeſcans to put an end to theſe inteſtine diſcords by reſtoring them to their former authority and ſhare in the government. The perſon that gave her this advice was Antonio Taſſino, a Ferrareſe and a man of very low birth, who, coming by chance to Milan, happened to be taken notice of by the late Duke Galeazzo, and was recommended by him as a Valet de Chambre to his Ducheſs. This man after the death of the Duke became ſo great a favourite with the Ducheſs, either on account of the graceſulneſs of his perſon or ſome other ſecret reaſon, that he in a manner governed the State, to the great mortification of her chief miniſter Cecco, a perſon of great wiſdom and long experience in affairs; who therefore endeavoured to leſſen his authority by doing him all the ill offices he could both with the Ducheſs and all others that

[i] Machiavel ſeems to deal pretty plainly here with his patron Clement VII. and it may be conſidered as a proof of his impartiality.

had any ſhare in the Adminiſtration. But Taſſino being ſoon aware of this reſolved to take his revenge, and for that purpoſe, as well as to fortify himſelf by the ſupport of other friends, he adviſed the Ducheſs to recall the Sforzeſcans; as ſhe ſoon after did, without ever conſulting Cecco, or ſo much as acquainting him with her deſign: upon which, that Miniſter is ſaid to have told her "that ſhe had done a thing that would coſt him his life, and deprive her of the government of Milan." A prediction that was not long after fulfilled; for Cecco was put to death by Ludovico; and Taſſino being alſo driven out of the Milaneſe dominions, the Ducheſs was ſo exaſperated at it that ſhe left the City, and gave up the guardianſhip of her Son to his uncle Ludovico; who having now got the Government of Milan ſolely into his own hands, fully compleated the ruin of Italy, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter in its proper place.

Lorenzo de' Medici was ſet out for Naples, as we ſaid before, and the truce betwixt the parties at war not yet expired, when news arrived at Florence that Ludovico Fregoſo, by means of a ſecret correſpondence which he held with ſome of the inhabitants of Serezana, had ſuddenly made himſelf maſter of that town, and impriſoned every body there that adhered to the Florentines. This event exceedingly chagrined the Regency of Florence, as they imagined it was wholly owing to the contrivance of King Ferdinand: and they could not help complaining of theſe hoſtilities with much bitterneſs to the Duke of Calabria (who then lay with his army at Siena) ſo baſely and ungenerouſly renewed before the expiration of the truce. But the Duke in return gave them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances both in a letter and by an Ambaſſador whom he ſent on purpoſe, that what had been done was without either his knowledge or approbation, or the privity of his father. This however was but ſmall conſolation to the Florentines in their circumſtances, as they ſaw their finances exhauſted, the head of their Republic in King Ferdinand's power, one war already upon their hands with that Prince and the Pope, another likely to enſue with the Genoeſe, and that they had no ally to ſtand by them in their diſtreſs: for they deſpaired of any further aſſiſtance from the Venetians; and inſtead of expecting ſuccour from Milan, were rather afraid of a government ſo variable and fluctuating. The only hope they had left was in Lorenzo's negotiation with the King of Naples.

Lorenzo upon his arrival there, was received with much honour, not only by the King himſelf, but by the whole City alſo, the people flocking in great numbers to ſee a man upon whoſe account alone the war was ſaid to have been begun, and whom (though

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it was intended to ruin him) the powerfulneſs of thoſe enemies whoſe attacks he had ſo well ſupported, ſtill rendered more conſiderable. Not long after, he obtained an audience of his Majeſty, in which, he gave ſo clear an account of Italy at that time, the tempers and intereſts of the ſeveral Princes and States in it, and repreſented the benefits that might be hoped for from a peace, as well as the evil conſequences which muſt attend a continuation of the war, with ſo much ſtrength and perſpicuity, that when he had finiſhed his diſcourſe, the King could not help admiring the handſomeneſs of his addreſs, and the ſolidity of his judgment, as much as he had done his abilities in ſuſtaining ſo furious an invaſion without the aſſiſtance of any allies: ſo that he treated him with ſtill higher reſpect every day, and at laſt began to think it would be a much wiſer thing to make ſuch a man his friend, than to continue any longer at enmity with him.

Nevertheleſs, he detained him upon one pretence or other, from December till March, that he might inform himſelf more thoroughly of his diſpoſitions and deſigns, and ſee likewiſe what courſe the Florentines would take: for Lorenzo had ſome enemies at home, who would have been glad to have ſeen him kept priſoner at Naples, and ſerved as Giacopo Piccinino had been. Theſe people began not only to murmur in private at his proceedings, but formed cabals in different parts of the City, and openly oppoſed any meaſures that were taken in Lorenzo's favour in the public Councils; beſides which, they alſo ſpread a report abroad, that if the King detained him much longer at Naples, there would be a change of government at Florence. Ferdinand, therefore, endeavoured to keep him there as long as he could, in hopes it would raiſe ſome tumult or inſurrection amongſt the Florentines: but when he found himſelf diſappointed in that expectation, he diſmiſſed him on the ſixth of March, in the year 1479, after he had ſhewn him all poſſible honour and reſpect, and a league of perpetual amity was concluded betwixt them for the defence and preſervation of each other's dominions.

After this, Lorenzo returned with very great increaſe of reputation to Florence, where he was received by his Fellow-citizens, with ſuch rejoycings and acclamations, as indeed were due to ſo recent and conſiderable a ſervice; having run the hazard of loſing his own life or liberty, to procure the peace and preſervation of his country. Two days after his arrival, the treaty betwixt Ferdinand and the Commonwealth was made public; in which, beſides the conditions abovementioned, it was agreed, that the reſtitution of ſuch places as he had taken from the Florentines during the courſe of the late war, ſhould

ſhould be left to his Majeſty's diſcretion; that the Pazzi who were impriſoned in the Caſtle of Volterra, ſhould be ſet at liberty; and that an annual penſion ſhould be paid to the Duke of Calabria for a certain term.

Upon the publication of this league, the Pope and the Venetians were highly offended; his Holineſs thinking himſelf neglected by the King, and the Venetians complaining that they were overlooked by the Florentines: for as the former was in alliance with his Majeſty, and the latter with the Republic of Florence whilſt the war continued, they both thought themſelves ill uſed in not being included in the treaty of Peace. Upon which, thoſe that were in the Adminiſtration of Florence apprehending that theſe jealouſies might occaſion another and perhaps more dangerous war, reſolved to new model their government; and that the diſcuſſion of all matters of importance ſhould be confined to a ſmaller number of Citizens: for which purpoſe, they conſtituted *a Council of Seventy* with authority to tranſact ſuch affairs as were of the greateſt conſequence. This regulation put a ſtop to the deſigns of thoſe that were meditating a change of government: and the Council, to begin the exerciſe of their power with ſome act that might give them reputation, having, in the firſt place, ratified the treaty made betwixt Lorenzo de' Medici and the King of Naples, immediately ſent two Ambaſſadors, Antonio Ridolphi and Pietro Naſi to the Court of Rome. However, notwithſtanding a peace was now concluded, the Duke of Calabria did not ſeem in haſte to withdraw his troops out of the territories of Siena, pretending he was detained there by ſome diſcords amongſt the inhabitants of that place, which were grown to ſuch a height, that though he was quartered before with his forces without the walls, the Citizens now admitted them into the town and referred their differences to his arbitration. Taking this opportunity therefore, he laid heavy fines upon ſome of them, others he impriſoned, many were ſent into baniſhment, and ſeveral put to death: from the rigour of which proceedings, not only the Sieneſe but the Florentines began to grow ſuſpicious that he ſecretly deſigned to make himſelf maſter of that City. Nor was there any thing to prevent it, as the Republic of Florence had now entered into an alliance with the King of Naples, and not only the Pope but the Venetians alſo become their enemies. And this ſuſpicion ſeemed too well grounded both to the common people of Florence (who are naturally apt to paſs their judgment pretty freely on ſuch matters) and to the Governors of the State, every one being of opinion that the Republic was never in greater

danger of loſing its liberties than at this time. But God who has always wonderfully preſerved it in times of the greateſt danger and diſtreſs by his particular Providence, was pleaſed to avert that evil by an unexpected event of much greater importance than the affairs of Tuſcany both to the Pope, to King Ferdinand, and the Venetians.

Mahomet II. the Grand Turk, had invaded Rhodes with a very numerous army, and at that time lay before the principal town in the Iſland, which he inveſted for ſeveral months: however, though his army was ſo formidable, and the ſiege carried on with the utmoſt vigour, the beſieged defended themſelves with ſuch reſolution, that he was forced at laſt to raiſe it with great diſhonour [*k*]. But, after he had abandoned that enterprize, he ſent part of his fleet towards Velona, under the command of the Baſhaw [*l*] Achmet, who, in running along the coaſts of Italy (either becauſe the undertaking ſeemed ſo eaſy, or elſe in conſequence of his Maſter's orders) ſuddenly landed ſix thouſand men, and made ſo unexpected an aſſault upon Otranto, that he not only took, but plundered it, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword; after which, he fortified both the town and the harbour, as ſtrongly as he could; and having diſembarked a good body of cavalry, he ſcoured the whole Country round, and committed terrible depredations [*m*]. The King of Naples, therefore, being ſenſible how powerful a Monarch he had to contend with, was not a

[*k*] That Iſland was afterwards taken by the Turks, in the year 1522, when Soliman II. was their Emperor, and Monſieur de l'Iſle Adam, Uncle to Anne de Montmorancy, the High Conſtable of France, was Grand Maſter of the Order of the Knights of Rhodes, or Jeruſalem, now called Knights of Malta. It is remarkable of Mahomet II. who was a great and warlike Prince, that when he died, there was no mention made of his exploits in the Epitaph that was inſcribed upon his tomb. They ſeemed to be omitted as trifling and inſignificant, in compariſon of his laſt projects, which yet were but barely mentioned. The whole conſiſted of leſs than a dozen words, which were theſe, *I propoſed to myſelf the Conqueſt of Rhodes and proud Italy.* As if that was ſufficient to ſhew the greatneſs of his courage. *Guillet. Hiſt. de Mahomet* II. liv. xii.

[*l*] Machiavel calls him Giacometto.

[*m*] The City of Otranto gives name to the Province, and is ſituated at the mouth of the Gulph of Venice, on the Eaſtern coaſt of the Peninſula. It was known to the ancients by the name of *Hydrus*, and in the flexion caſes *Hydruntis*, &c. from which it has been corrupted into *Otranto*. It was formerly a very commodious port, till the Venetians in a manner deſtroyed it; ſince which, it is ſurprizing, that neither the Spaniards, nor the Emperors, when in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of Naples, ever thought it worth repairing, as it commanded the entrance into the Gulph. When the Baſhaw Achmet landed there, it is ſaid, he cauſed the Archbiſhop of it, who met him in his Pontifical robes at the head of his flock, to be inhumanly ſawn in two, and all the Clergy he could lay his hands on, to be butchered at the foot of the Altar. After the death of Mahomet II. it was retaken from the Turks; but it has gone to decay more and more ever ſince. There is ſtill a Caſtle there, and ſome fortifications, but of no great account.

little

little alarmed at this attack, and immediately diſpatched expreſſes to the Courts of the other Italian Princes, to inform them of it, and to deſire their aid againſt the common enemy; beſides which, he ſent orders to the Duke of Calabria, and the forces under his command, in the territories of Siena, to return to his aſſiſtance, with all poſſible expedition.

But this deſcent, though it occaſioned great conſternation in the King and the Duke, proved very fortunate to the Florentines and Sieneſe, as the latter thereby recovered their liberties which they looked upon as gone; and the former were miraculouſly delivered when they thought themſelves upon the very point of loſing them: in which opinion they were confirmed by the regret the Duke ſhewed at his departure from Siena; for he could not help bitterly complaining of fortune upon that occaſion, which by ſo perverſe and unexpected an accident, had maliciouſly diſappointed the hopes he had conceived of making himſelf maſter of all Tuſcany. This event, likewiſe, gave a conſiderable turn to the Pope's diſpoſition and deſigns: for though he was ſo haughty and inflexible before, that he would not ſo much as admit the Florentine Ambaſſadors into his preſence, he now on a ſudden became ſo mild and affable, that he lent a very favourable ear to any one that propoſed a general peace, and cauſed it to be intimated to the Florentines, that, if they would aſk his pardon for their late proceedings, he was inclinable to forgive them. The Florentines, therefore, reſolving to avail themſelves of ſo fair an opportunity of making their peace with him, ſent twelve Ambaſſadors to his Holineſs, whom, however, he would not admit to an audience, upon one pretence or other, for ſome time after their arrival at Rome: but at laſt, things were amicably ſettled betwixt them, the meaſures of their future conduct preſcribed, and the quota aſcertained, which each party was to furniſh, both in war and peace, to ſupport their common intereſts againſt the Turk. After which, the Ambaſſadors being introduced to kiſs his Holineſs's feet, who was ſeated with great pomp and ſolemnity in the midſt of his Cardinals, to receive them, they began to excuſe themſelves for what had happened, ſometimes by imputing it to abſolute neceſſity, ſometimes to the malevolence of others, and ſometimes to the fury of the populace, who conceived they had a juſt right to defend themſelves, as they were unfortunately reduced to ſuch circumſtances, that they muſt either take up arms, or be knocked on the head: and as they thought it their duty, they ſaid, to uſe all means for their own preſervation, they had been forced to ſubmit to the calamities of war, of interdicts, and excommunications, and other miſeries, that are the

uſual conſequences of them, to maintain their liberties, which are always looked upon as the life and ſoul of free States. Nevertheleſs, if they had treſpaſſed againſt his Holineſs (which yet ought to be conſidered as the effect of neceſſity) they were ready to make all manner of ſatisfaction and ſubmiſſion, in hopes that his clemency, after the example of their bleſſed Redeemer, would then be graciouſly pleaſed to extend his mercy to them.

To this apology, the Pope returned a very paſſionate and diſdainful anſwer, in which he ſharply upbraided them with every thing they had done at any time to offend the Church; adding, however, that in obedience to the Commandments of God, he would forgive what was paſt; but that he expected them to be more dutiful for the future; for if they were not, they might depend upon it, they would certainly loſe the liberties, they had lately found ſo much difficulty to preſerve; and juſtly too, as the good only, and not the evil, deſerved to live free; liberty abuſed being deſtructive to themſelves as well as others: that it was a mark of licentiouſneſs, not of true freedom, and of a diſſolute and profligate mind, to treat God and his Church with contempt; and which it was the duty not only of Princes, but of every other Chriſtian, to correct as far as he was able. So that thoſe who had been the occaſion of the war, by their bad behaviour, and of the continuation of it, by ſtill worſe, might thank themſelves for what they had ſuffered; and if it was now at an end, it was owing more to the goodneſs of others, than any merit of their own. After this, he gave them his Benediction, and cauſed the form of the accommodation betwixt them, to be publicly read; to which he added, beſides the other articles ſtipulated and agreed to, that if the Florentines expected to reap the full fruits of his Bleſſing, they muſt likewiſe fit out and maintain fifteen gallies in commiſſion, at their own expence, as long as the Turk continued to make war upon the Kingdom of Naples.

The Ambaſſadors could not help making heavy complaints of this additional and unexpected burden; but all their remonſtrances, and all the intereſt they could make, were to no purpoſe; his Holineſs continued inexorable, and they could not obtain the leaſt mitigation of it. At their return to Florence, therefore, the Signiory ſent Guido Antonio Veſpucci, as their Ambaſſador to the Court of Rome, with full power to ratify the accommodation. This Miniſter (who had lately returned from his Embaſſy in France) had the addreſs to put things upon a much more ſupportable foundation with his Holineſs, who likewiſe gave him many other marks of his favour and reconciliation.

The

The Florentines having thus compromiſed their differences with the Pope, and ſeeing not only the City of Siena left in poſſeſſion of its former liberties, but themſelves alſo freed from all apprehenſions of King Ferdinand, by the departure of the Duke of Calabria, with his forces, out of Tuſcany, took the opportunity, whilſt the war continued with the Turk, of preſſing the King ſo importunately to reſtore the places he had taken from them, and which were left in the hands of the Sieneſe, when the Duke quitted their territories, that the King being apprehenſive the Florentines would otherwiſe abandon him in this exigency, and perhaps might likewiſe make war upon the Sieneſe (which muſt deprive him of the aſſiſtance he hoped for from the Pope, and other Italian Princes) at laſt conſented to give them up; that ſo he might attach the Florentines ſtill more firmly to his intereſts, by new favours and obligations. In this manner, force and neceſſity often compel Princes to keep their promiſes, when the moſt ſolemn treaties and engagements would have little weight.

After the reſtitution of thoſe places, and the renewal of the confederacy, Lorenzo de' Medici gained much more reputation than he ſeemed to have loſt both before the war, and afterwards too, when the Republic began to grow ſo ſuſpicious of the King's deſigns upon their liberties; for at that time, there were many who made no ſcruple of calumniating him in public, and ſaying, that he had ſold his Country to ſave himſelf; that he was the occaſion of their being ſtripped of their towns, and other dependancies, by war; and would give up their liberties in time of peace. But after they ſaw thoſe towns were recovered, an honourable peace concluded with the King, and the ancient reputation of the Republic retrieved, the people of Florence (naturally prone to talk with too much freedom, as well as to judge of every thing, not by the wiſdom of the deſign, but the ſucceſs of it) now began to change their note, and extolled Lorenzo to the ſkies, as one whoſe prudence and good conduct had gained more by the peace he had made, than their ill fortune had deprived them of in the courſe of the war; and freely confeſſed, that his advice and addreſs alone, had been much above a match for the united ſtrength and utmoſt efforts of their enemies.

The Turkiſh invaſion deferred the war, which otherwiſe was likely to have happened from the diſguſt that the Pope and Venetians had conceived at the peace concluded betwixt the Florentines and the King of Naples. But as the beginning of that invaſion was unforeſeen, and attended with many happy conſequences, ſo the end of it was equally unexpected, and occaſioned a great deal of miſchief:

for Mahomet, the Grand Turk, dying ſuddenly [n], ſuch diſcord aroſe amongſt his Sons, that thoſe forces which had landed in Puglia, ſeeing themſelves abandoned by their maſters, came to a capitulation with the King of Naples and delivered up Otranto into his hands again. So that when the Pope and the Venetians were freed from this reſtraint, every one apprehended freſh troubles would break out. On one hand, the Pope was confederated with the Venetians, Genoeſe, Sieneſe, and ſome other leſs conſiderable States: and on the other, the Florentines being in league with King Ferdinand and the

[n] Achmet had left Otranto (ſays Cuſpian, in *the Life of Mahomet*) in ſearch of his maſter, that he might confer with him upon the progreſs of his arms in Italy, where he intended to land him. His menaces to that effect, when he re-embarked, threw the Italians into the laſt degree of conſternation, and made them apprehenſive of a Campaign, which would prove fatal, as the Turkiſh garriſon continued its progreſs every day with freſh advantages: ſo that Otranto was filled with Chriſtian ſlaves and booty. Italy has ſuffered greater calamities, but never was in ſuch terror before: the inhabitants ſeemed already condemned to wear the turban. It is certain, that Sixtus IV. repreſented Rome to himſelf as upon the point of being involved in the ſame fate with Conſtantinople, and deſigned to leave it to the protection of the Apoſtles: for which purpoſe, he cauſed ſome gallies to be fitted out, in order to make his eſcape into Provence, and tranſfer the Holy See once more to Avignon. The Hiſtorians of that age, tell us, that Italy was in a deſperate condition; for there was not one fortified town in it which was able to hold out againſt an army of an hundred thouſand Mahometans, encouraged, as they conceived, by the preſence of their Sultan. Amongſt many other teſtimonies of their conſternation, I ſhall only quote the words of Sabellicus, a writer of that Country, who lived in thoſe days: *Without doubt*, ſays he, *Italy muſt have been utterly ruined, if Divine Providence had not ſtopped the courſe of ſo terrible a calamity by the death of Mahomet.*" The news of this event was received in Chriſtendom with the greateſt tranſports of joy that were ever beheld in it. At Rhodes, where it arrived firſt, a day of rejoycing was appointed on purpoſe: but this was nothing to what was done at Rome. The Pope cauſed all the Churches there to be thrown open, and made all the trades-people and artificers leave off their work; gave orders for a feſtival of three days, for public thankſgivings and proceſſions; commanded that, during that time, there ſhould be inceſſant diſcharges of the artillery from the Caſtle of St. Angelo, and put a ſtop to the preparations that were making to tranſport him into France. *Guillet. hiſt. de Mahomet* II. lib. vii. The Hiſtorian, ſenſible that ſuch extravagant demonſtrations of joy might be interpreted to the diſadvantage of the Chriſtian Name, as they do not teſtify that greatneſs of Soul upon which the ancient Romans valued themſelves, makes this apology. "It muſt be owned, that the Chriſtian Religion has made a great difference betwixt the ancient and modern Romans, and for a reaſon that cannot be too much revered. For the ancient Romans, prepoſſeſſed with haughty maxims, and a ſyſtem of Politics, in which pride had a greater ſhare than generoſity, would not expreſs their joy upon the death of their enemies, leſt it ſhould be imputed to a ſhameful apprehenſion of their power. Thus Cæſar affected to weep, at the news of Pompey's death; and Pagan hiſtory is full of inſtances of the like oſtentation. But in the days of Mahomet, the deſtruction of the conſecrated Altars, and the profanation of the moſt ſacred myſteries, juſtly demanded a ſignal joy for the death of one ſo notorious for Sacrilege, as a pious acknowledgment which Rome owed to Heaven, for the preſervation of the Chriſtian Faith."

Duke

Duke of Milan, were alſo joined by the Bologneſe and ſeveral other petty Lords. The Venetians were deſirous of reducing Ferrara, and thought they had not only ſufficient reaſon to attempt it, but alſo great probability of ſucceſs. For the Marquis declared, he did not think himſelf any longer obliged to receive a Governor from the Senate of Venice, or to buy the ſalt of them which the inhabitants of that City uſed, as the contract was now at an end by which the Ferrareſe had obliged themſelves for the laſt ſeventy years to ſubmit to thoſe two inconveniences. To this the Venetians made anſwer, "that as long as he held the Poleſine [o] of them, he was bound to receive a Governor, and to take their ſalt:" which the Marquis utterly refuſing to comply with, the Venetians thought they had not only a juſt cauſe, but a convenient juncture to take up arms and force him to do it, ſeeing the Pope ſo irritated againſt the King of Naples and the Florentines. And to ingratiate themſelves the more with his Holineſs, they treated Count Girolamo (who then happened to be at Venice) with very great reſpect and complaiſance; and having conferred the freedom of their City upon him, afterwards adopted him into their Nobility, which they always looked upon as a mark of the higheſt honour. To raiſe a fund for the ſupport of this expedition, they alſo laid freſh taxes upon their ſubjects, and appointed Roberto San Severino Commander in chief of their forces, who, upon ſome difference betwixt him and Ludovico Duke of Milan, had fled to Tortona, and after he had raiſed ſome diſturbances there, left that City and went to Genoa, from whence the Venetians ſent for him and made him their General.

The League on the other hand, being informed of theſe preparations for a new war, began likewiſe to make all neceſſary proviſions on their ſide. The Duke of Milan took Frederic Lord of Urbino into his pay; the Florentines appointed Coſtanzo di Peſaro their Captain General; and King Ferdinand the more effectually to ſound the Pope's intentions, and diſcover whether he favoured the Venetians deſigns upon Ferrara, ſent the Duke of Calabria with the army under his Command to quarter upon the Tronto, and demand a paſſage for thoſe forces, through his dominions into Lombardy, that ſo he might march to the relief of the Ferrareſe: but this being peremptorily refuſed by his Holineſs, the King and the Florentines were no longer in any doubt concerning his intentions, and therefore reſolved either to force him into a compliance with their demand, or at leaſt to throw ſuch impediments in his way as ſhould

[o] The Poleſine di Rovigo, a principality in the territories of Venice, to the North of the Po, and Weſt of the Gulph.

prevent

prevent him from ſending any aſſiſtance to the Venetians, whoſe forces had already taken the field againſt the Marquis of Ferrara, and after they had over-run moſt of that Country, laid ſiege to Figarolo, a fortreſs of great importance in thoſe parts. The King and the Florentines having at laſt determined to fall upon the Pope, the Duke of Calabria advanced with his army towards Rome, and being joined by the family and dependants of the Colonni (as the Urſini and their friends took part with his Holineſs) made terrible havock in his territories; whilſt the Florentines on the other hand, by the aſſiſtance of Niccolo Vitelli, made themſelves maſters of Caſtello, and having driven his competitor Lorenzo out of that City (who held it in the Pope's name), they gave the government of it to Niccolo.

In the mean time the Pope was reduced to great ſtraits, the City of Rome being at that time miſerably divided by inteſtine diſcords and factions, and the Country all round about it daily ravaged by foreign enemies. Nevertheleſs, as he was a Pontif of great ſpirit, and determined to make a courageous oppoſition, he appointed Roberto da Rimini [*p*], his Commander in chief; and having ſent for him to Rome where he had aſſembled his forces, he repreſented to him what reputation he would gain by entering the liſts with no leſs an adverſary than a King, and by delivering the Church out of the dangers and calamities with which it was oppreſſed: that not only he himſelf, but all his ſucceſſors would look upon themſelves as under the higheſt obligations to him for ſo meritorious a piece of ſervice; and that he would not fail to be rewarded for it both by God and man. Roberto, having in the firſt place reviewed the Pope's army, and examined what other proviſions he had made, adviſed him to raiſe as many more foot as he could; which he accordingly endeavoured to do with all poſſible diligence and expedition. Duke Alphonſo, all this while was harraſſing the adjacent Country in a grievous manner, plundering every place where he came, and making daily excurſions up to the very gates of the City: at which, the Citizens were ſo provoked, that not being able to bear thoſe inſults any longer, many of them voluntarily offered their ſervice to Roberto for the relief of their City; a tender, in thoſe circumſtances, very acceptable to his Holineſs, and which was thankfully accepted. The Duke therefore, being aware of theſe preparations, drew off his forces to ſome diſtance from the City, imagining that Roberto would not venture to follow him very far; and becauſe he likewiſe had ſome expectations of being ſoon joined by his brother Frederic, who had

[*p*] Roberto Malateſta,

been

been ſent by King Ferdinand, and was then upon the march with another body of troops to reinforce his army. But Roberto, finding his army almoſt equal to that of the Duke in horſe, and ſuperior to it in foot, marched out of the City with his forces in good order, and advancing towards the enemy, encamped within two miles of them. Upon which, the Duke ſeeing him ſo cloſe at his heels, contrary to his expectation, now perceived that he muſt either be obliged to fight him, or raiſe his camp with as much diſgrace as if he had been routed. He reſolved, therefore, to give him battle (though partly out of compulſion, and partly becauſe he was aſhamed of behaving in a manner that would be unworthy of a King's Son) and having faced about towards the enemy, each ſide drew up their forces according to the diſcipline of thoſe times, and immediately came to an engagement, which laſted from early in the morning till noon, and was fought with more ſpirit and reſolution than any that had happened in Italy for the ſpace of fifty years before: for, on both ſides, above a thouſand men were killed. Fortune at laſt decided in favour of the Pope's forces, who gained great reputation in this action; for as they were ſtrong in infantry, they galled the Duke's cavalry in ſuch a manner, that they were forced to turn tail; and the Duke himſelf would certainly have been taken priſoner, if he had not been reſcued by a large body of Turks which entered into his ſervice after the ſurrender of Otranto.

After this victory, Roberto returned with much triumph to Rome; but he did not long enjoy the pleaſure of it: for having drank a great draught of cold water, in the heat of the battle, it threw him into a flux, of which he died in a few days, and was buried at the Pope's expence with the higheſt funeral honours. His Holineſs having gained ſo conſiderable an advantage, ſoon after ſent Count Girolamo with his army towards Caſtello to try, if poſſible, to reinſtate Lorenzo Vitelli in the poſſeſſion of that place, and to make an attempt upon Rimini; for as his late General Roberto left only one Son at his death, who was but a minor and under the guardianſhip of his Mother, he thought it would be no difficult matter to make himſelf maſter of that City: [q] and he would actually have ſuc-

[q] Who can help admiring the gratitude and ſincerity of the good Pontif upon this occaſion. His victorious General, whom he had been coaxing and cajoling to fight his battles, with the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, *that both he and all his ſucceſſors, would look upon themſelves as under the higheſt obligations to him for ſo meritorious a piece of ſervice; and that he would not fail to be rewarded for it both by God and man:* this General, whom he had likewiſe buried at his own expence, and with the higheſt funeral honours, was hardly

ceeded in his deſign, if the widow had not been aſſiſted by the Florentines, who oppoſed him with all their forces, and in ſo vigorous a manner, that he failed in his attempt both upon Caſtello and Rimini.

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation at Rome and in Romagna, the Venetian army having taken Figarolo, afterwards paſſed the Po; as the Duke of Milan's forces and thoſe of the Marquis of Ferrara, were in great diſorder upon the death of their General, Frederic Count of Urbino, who being taken ill, was removed to Bologna for the recovery of his health, where he died not long after. So that the affairs of the Marquis began to have a bad aſpect, and the Venetians daily conceived greater hopes of ſtripping him of his dominions. On the other hand, the King of Naples and the Florentines uſed their utmoſt endeavours to reduce the Pope to reaſon; but not being able to effect that by dint of arms, they threatened him with a General Council, which already had been ſummoned by the Emperor to aſſemble at Baſil. Upon which, he was at laſt perſuaded, or rather compelled by the inſtances of the Imperial Ambaſſadors then at Rome, and the remonſtrances of the chief Cardinals who were very deſirous of ſeeing a general peace, to lend an ear to ſuch meaſures as might contribute to reſtore union and tranquillity in Italy; eſpecially as he was likewiſe apprehenſive that if the power of the Venetians was ſuffered to increaſe to a ſtill greater height, it would overwhelm the Church and all Italy in the end. Theſe motives determined his Holineſs to come to an accommodation with the League: for which purpoſe, he ſent a Nuncio to Naples, where a confederacy was concluded for five years betwixt the Pope, King Ferdinand, and the Duke of Milan, with liberty for the Venetians to join in it within a certain time if they pleaſed. After he had proceeded thus far, he ſent to give the Venetians to underſtand that they muſt deſiſt from hoſtilities againſt the Ferrareſe: but they were ſo far from complying with theſe dictates, that they began to make preparations for continuing the war with greater vigour; and having defeated the combined forces of the Duke and the Marquis in an action near Argenta, they advanced ſo near to Ferrara that their army encamped in a Park belonging to the Marquis and almoſt under the walls of the City. The League therefore, reſolved to trifle no longer, but to ſend effectual ſupplies to the aſſiſtance of that Prince,

cold in his grave, before he ſent an army to ſtrip his widow and ſon of their territories, and to turn them out naked into the world. So light a thing does gratitude appear to Princes and Popes, when weighed in the ſcale againſt ambition and ſelf-intereſt!

and accordingly gave orders to the Duke of Calabria to march directly with the army under his Command in conjunction with the Pope's towards Ferrara. The Florentines likewiſe ſent all their forces to his ſuccour: and to ſettle the future operations of the war, the League appointed a congreſs of their ſeveral Miniſters to be held at Cremona; in conſequence of which, a Legate from the Pope, Count Girolamo, the Duke of Calabria, Ludovico Sforza, Lorenzo de' Medici, and ſeveral other Italian Princes, aſſembled at that City, in order to concert proper meaſures for their conduct in the enſuing campaign. After ſome debate, it was thought by the Majority there could be no means ſo proper to relieve Ferrara, as by making a powerful diverſion; and for that purpoſe they deſired a paſſage for their forces through the Duke of Milan's Dominions, in order to begin the war with an attack upon the Venetians on that ſide. But Ludovico Sforza would not conſent to that, leſt he ſhould bring a war upon his own back, out of which, perhaps, he might not be able to extricate himſelf when he pleaſed. It was determined therefore, at laſt, to march with all their forces to Ferrara; and having aſſembled four thouſand horſe, and eight thouſand foot, they advanced towards the Venetian army, which conſiſted of ſix thouſand foot and two thouſand two hundred horſe. It was judged neceſſary, however, in the firſt place, to make an attack upon a fleet of ſmall Veſſels which the Venetians had upon the Po: and this they did in ſo effectual a manner near Bondino, that they deſtroyed above two hundred of their barks, took their Proveditore Antonio Juſtiniano priſoner, and diſperſed the reſt.

The Venetians ſeeing all Italy thus confederated againſt them, took the Duke of Reno, [r] with two hundred Cuiraſſiers or heavy armed horſe that were under his Command, into their Service, in order to put a little better face upon their affairs: and having received news that their fleet was diſperſed, they ſent this Commander with one part of their army to face the enemy, whilſt San Severino paſſed the Adda with the other and marched towards Milan, in favour, as he pretended, of the young Duke and his Mother Madonna Bona; but really in hopes of raiſing an inſurrection there by theſe means:

[r] The French tranſlater ſays, *the Duke of Lorrain*; but that does not ſeem probable. And the taking two hundred *Cuiraſſiers*, which were under his command (whoever he was) into their pay, would ſerve to put but a very little better face upon their affairs. There ſeems to be ſome miſtake here, and I ſuſpect it ſhould be *two thouſand*, though all the Italian copies that I have conſulted, ſay, "I Veneziani poi che videro Italia tutta unita loro contro, per darſi piu riputazione avevano condotto il Duca dello Reno con CC uomini d'arme." I can find no ſuch place as Reno.

as he thought Ludovico's manner of governing had made him odious to the people. This invaſion, at firſt, threw the Citizens of Milan into ſuch conſternation, that they all took up arms; but in the end produced an effect very different from what the Venetians expected: for it determined Ludovico to comply with what he had before ſo obſtinately refuſed, and to grant the forces of the allies a paſſage through the Milaneſe. Upon which, the Marquis of Ferrara being left to defend his own State, with four thouſand horſe and two thouſand foot, the Duke of Calabria penetrated into the territories of Bergamo, and from thence into thoſe of Breſcia, and afterwards into the Veroneſe with an army of five thouſand foot and twelve thouſand horſe, plundering and over-running almoſt all the Country round thoſe three Cities before the Venetians could make any head againſt him there; as San Severino found it difficult enough to prevent the Cities themſelves from falling into his hands. On the other hand, the Marquis of Ferrara likewiſe recovered a great part of what he loſt before; for the Duke of Reno who had been left to keep him at bay, having but two thouſand horſe and three thouſand foot, was not able to oppoſe him: ſo that the confederates ſucceeded in almoſt all their undertakings during the Summer of the year 1483.

The enſuing winter having paſſed without any event worthy of relation, both armies took the field again early in the ſpring; and the confederates had drawn all their forces together, with a reſolution to ſtrike ſome bold and ſudden ſtroke that ſhould put an end to the war: and if things had been conducted with the ſame prudence that they were the year before, they would certainly have ſtripped the Venetians of all their dominions in Lombardy: for the forces of the latter were reduced to ſix thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot, and the army of the allies then conſiſted of no leſs than thirteen thouſand of the one, and ſix thouſand of the other: beſides which, the Duke of Reno having engaged to ſerve the Venetians no longer than one year, now that term was expired, withdrew with his Cuiraſſiers, and returned home. But as it generally happens, where there are ſeveral Commanders of equal power in the ſame army, that diſſenſions ariſe amongſt them, to their own prejudice, and the great advantage of the enemy, ſo it fell out at this time; for after the death of Frederic Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, great animoſities and jealouſies enſued betwixt the Duke of Calabria and Ludovico Sforza, who had been kept in good friendſhip and harmony together, by his authority, whilſt he lived. Giovanni Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, was now of age to take the reins of government into his own hands, and as

he had married the Duke of Calabria's daughter [x], that Prince was desirous that his son-in-law should oblige his uncle Ludovico to lay down his authority, and take the administration of the State upon himself: but Ludovico, perceiving his design, resolved, if possible, to prevent it.

The Venetians being aware of these suspicions in Ludovico, determined to make their advantage of them, hoping they should be able to gain more by a peace (as they always had done) than they had lost in the war. With this view, they privately made some overtures to Ludovico, and at last concluded a treaty with him in August 1484: of which his confederates being soon informed, were not a little mortified at it; especially when they found they should be obliged to restore all the towns they had taken from the Venetians, and that the latter would not only remain in possession of the Polesine of Rovigo, which they had wrested out of the Marquis of Ferrara's hands, but of all the pre-eminence and authority which they formerly had over the City of Ferrara itself. So that they could not help soundly repenting of having engaged in so expensive a war, in the course of which, indeed, they had gained some reputation, but were likely to come off with more disgrace at the conclusion of it; since they were to give back what they had taken from the enemy, and sit down content without any sort of equivalent for their own losses. To these conditions, however, they were forced to submit, as they grew tired of the burden of the war, and did not care to tempt fortune any further, lest they should expose themselves to still greater dangers and losses, through the defection of some, or ambition of others.

Whilst things were thus circumstanced in Lombardy, the Pope's forces, at the instigation of Lorenzo Vitelli, laid close siege to Castello, in hopes of driving his adversary Niccolo out of that City, who was now abandoned by the League, out of complaisance to his Holiness, because he would not otherwise come into their measures. But whilst they lay before the town, Niccolo's Partisans made a sally upon the besiegers, and totally routed them. Upon which, the Pope recalled Count Girolamo out of Lombardy, and ordered him to return to Rome, with all the expedition he could; that so he might recruit his army, and then pursue his designs upon Castello, with fresh vigour. But afterwards he changed his resolution, and thinking it would be a better expedient to make Niccolo his friend by negotiation and gentle means, than to provoke him still more by fresh

[x] Isabella of Arragon.

hostilities,

hoſtilities, he came to an accommodation with him, and reconciled him to Lorenzo, in the beſt manner he could: but this he did not ſo much out of any deſire he had of peace or love of tranquillity, as out of apprehenſion of new troubles at home; ſeeing the ancient animoſities began to revive betwixt the Urſini and the Colonni.

In the war betwixt the Pope and the King of Naples, his Majeſty had taken the Country of Tagliacozzo from the Urſini, and given it to the Colonni, who adhered to his party: but at the concluſion of a peace betwixt thoſe two powers, the Urſini demanded a reſtitution of it, according to the tenour of that treaty. The Pope, therefore, had often ſignified to the Colonni that it was his pleaſure they ſhould reſtore it; but they ſhewed ſo little regard to the remonſtrances of the Urſini, and the Commands and menaces of his Holineſs, that they not only flatly refuſed to give it up, but committed freſh outrages and depredations upon them: at which, the Pope was ſo exaſperated, that he ſupported the Urſini with all his forces, who having killed all thoſe that offered to make any reſiſtance, firſt plundered their houſes in Rome, and afterwards rifled the greater part of the Caſtles and Villas which they had in the Country. And ſuch was the rage and inveteracy of theſe two parties againſt each other, that their animoſities could not have been in any wiſe compoſed if one of them had not been depreſſed in this manner to ſuch a degree, that it was no longer capable of making any oppoſition at that time.

In the mean while they did not enjoy much more tranquillity at Genoa and in Tuſcany; for the Florentines had ordered Count Antonio da Marcia to lie upon the confines of Serezana with a good body of troops, which harraſſed the Serezaneſe with daily excurſions and ſkirmiſhes as long as the war continued: at Genoa, Paolo Fregoſo the Archbiſhop having betrayed Battiſtino Fregoſo the Doge (who had repoſed too much confidence in that Prelate) cauſed him to be cloſely impriſoned together with his whole family, and made himſelf Lord of that City [t]. The Venetian fleet at that time, likewiſe, made a deſcent upon the coaſt of Naples, poſſeſſed themſelves of Gallipoli, and ſcoured all the Country round about it. But after the peace was concluded in Lombardy all commotions ceaſed every where, except in Tuſcany and at Rome: for the Pope being either worn out with old age, or too much agitated in his mind at the thoughts of a peace (to

[t] This was Paul Fregoſo, made Cardinal by Sixtus IV. in the year 1488. He wrote nine books of the memorable actions of great men, in imitation of Valerius Maximus; and alſo a treatiſe upon learned women. After he had ſeized upon the State, he governed with ſo much cruelty, that he was three times expelled the City.

which

which he had been ſo obſtinately averſe) died five days after the publication of it, leaving all the reſt of Italy in tranquillity at his death, though he had kept it continually embroiled in war and contentions whilſt he lived [*u*].

[*u*] His name was Franciſco *della Rovere*. The writer of his Life, in the end of Platina's works, ſays, he was adorned with all ſorts of good qualities, extenſive learning, fervent charity to the poor, great generoſity to thoſe Princes that had been oppreſſed by the Turks, wonderful exactneſs in the adminiſtration of Juſtice, and great diligence to repair the ruins of Rome. However, he does not diſſemble the faults that were laid to his charge by ſome; as his being guilty of many unjuſt actions in favour of his creatures, his raiſing ſo many wars in Italy, his excommunicating the Florentines, and harraſſing them with continual hoſtilities. But he does not charge him, as other Hiſtorians do, with being concerned with the Pazzi, in the conſpiracy againſt the Medici. He does not mention the diſſolute manners of his favourites; nor does he ſay any thing of the abominable lewdneſſes which ſome affirm this Pope both practiſed himſelf, and encouraged in others. He delighted ſo much in war, that he was looked upon as the common diſturber of Italy; but his allies at laſt forſaking him in a war which he was then engaged in, he was forced to come to an accommodation with the enemy, which he took ſo much to heart, that it killed him, as it was thought, according to *Volaterran*, lib. xxii. "Quum pacem a ſociis præter ejus voluntatem & conſenſum fieri conſpiceret, ex animi, uti putatur, dolore, podagrâ inſuper aggravante, quâ in ultimis annis maxime laborabat, in quintum diem expiravit." Was not this a fine Vicar of the Prince of Peace? He deſerved the following Epitaphs, which were made upon him.

Siſtere qui nullo potuit cum fœdere Sixtus,
Audito tantum nomine pacis obit.

Dic unde Alecto pax iſta refulſit, et unde
Tam ſubito reticent prælia? Sixtus obit.

Pacis ut hoſtis erat, pace peremptus obit.

Alcyonius *(in Medice legato poſteriore)* ſpeaking of the war being carried into Tuſcany by the King of Naples, ſays, "Ad id adductus videri poterat Ferdinandus a Sixto Pontifice Maximo, qui et officii pontificii & religionis & Dei oblitus non ſecus in Italiâ bella excitare ſolebat atque illa Aſiæ aut Africæ provincia eſſet in quâ Turcæ & Pœni regnarent, non pars Europæ ex flore clariſſimorum virorum conſtans, cujus princeps eſſet Pontifex Maximus qui moderatiſſime & ſapientiſſime clavum tanti imperii tenere & gubernacula Reipublicæ tractare in maximo curſu & fluctibus deberet. Dein eodem Sixto, ſi non ſuaſore & impulſore, certe approbatore, Veneti terrâ & aquis arma intulerunt Herculi Ferrarenſi principi." *i. e.* "Ferdinand might be thought to have been perſuaded to carry the war into Tuſcany by Pope Sixtus; who forgetting his ſacerdotal office, and without any regard to Religion, or God himſelf, uſed to raiſe wars in Italy, as if it had been a Province of Aſia or Africa, in which the Turk or the Carthaginian reigned, and not a part of Europe inhabited by the moſt eminent men, of which he himſelf was Prince, and ought to have managed the helm of that great empire, and governed the Common-wealth with the utmoſt moderation and wiſdom, in turbulent and tempeſtuous times. And further, it was by the approbation at leaſt, if not by the perſuaſion and inſtigation of Sixtus, that the Venetians attacked Hercules, Duke of Ferrara, both by Sea and Land." Agrippa, as quoted by Du Pleſſis Mornai, in the *Myſtere d'Iniquité*, p. 577. ſays, "Amongſt the pimps of theſe latter times, Sixtus the Fourth, was the moſt eminent, and built a ſtately brothel at Rome. The Ladies of

As ſoon as this Pontif was dead, the whole City of Rome was immediately in uproar and confuſion. Count Girolamo retired with

pleaſure in that City pay a Julio (about Six-pence ſterling) to the Pope every Week, which amounts ſometimes to above twenty thouſand ducats at the year's end; and the office of gathering that tax belongs ſo particularly to the chief men in the Church, that the farming of the bawdy-houſes is reckoned a part of their income: for, ſays he, I have formerly heard the preferment of an eccleſiaſtick computed in this manner. "He has two Livings, a Curacy of twenty Ducats, a Priorſhip of forty, and three whores in the brothels, who bring him in twenty Julio's a week." "Sed et recentibus temporibus Sixtus Pontifex Maximus Romæ nobile admodum lupanar conſtruxit. Multi alii Magiſtratus in civitatibus ſuis lupanaria conſtruunt foventque, nonnihil ex meretricio quæſtu etiam ærario ſuo accumulantes emolumenti: quod quidem in Italiâ non rarum eſt, ubi etiam Romana Scorta in ſingulas hebdomadas Julium pendent Pontifici, qui cenſus annuus nonnunquam viginti millia ducatos excedit, adeoque Eccleſiæ procerum id munus eſt ut una cum Eccleſiarum proventibus etiam lenociniorum numerent mercedem. Sic enim ego illos ſupputantes aliquando audivi; habet, inquientes, ille duo beneficia, unum curatum aureorum viginti, alterum prioratum ducatorum quadraginta, & tres putanas in burdello, quæ reddunt ſingulis hebdomadibus Julios viginti." *Agrippa de vanitate ſcientiarum*, tom. ii. cap. 64. There is one ſentence in this paſſage, which Du Pleſſis has not tranſlated. Agrippa obſerves, "that many other Magiſtrates have eſtabliſhed public Stews in their Cities, and protect them, and even lay a tax upon the gain of the Proſtitutes, which they gather into the public Exchequer." It is univerſally acknowleged that Sixtus was a man of learning. He had been honoured with a Doctor's degree at Padua, and read lectures at Pavia, Siena, Florence, and Perugia. He was appointed Provincial of Liguria, Attorney General of his Order at the Court of Rome, afterwards Vicar General of Italy, and laſtly, General of the Cordeliers. He gained great reputation by the works he publiſhed, which were numerous, as may be ſeen in Ghilini's *Teatro*, part II.; and when he was raiſed to the Papal dignity, he ſhewed, that he had not renounced the love of literature; for he cauſed the Vatican Library to be erected, the ſuperintendency of which he committed to the learned Platina, and gave ſalaries to ſeveral other Perſons who were to aſſiſt him in taking care of the books, and tranſcribing the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew Manuſcripts, which he had collected. He likewiſe employed Platina to write the Lives of the Popes. The place which Polydore Virgil aſſigns him, in his book *De inventoribus rerum*, lib. viii. cap. 7. is not very honourable: he there aſcribes to him the firſt creating of ſeveral Offices on purpoſe to ſell them; which proved the cauſe of a diſorder that afterwards daily encreaſed. His mercenary conduct was chiefly owing to the great deſire he had to aggrandize his Nephews. "Girolamo Riario, ſays Varillas, in his *Anecdotes of Florence*, wanted nothing to complete his fortune, but to get footing in Umbria, from whence, he might eaſily extend his power into Romagna, and perhaps into Tuſcany alſo: but as he had no army, and wanted a large ſum of money to raiſe one, his uncle did not ſcruple to expoſe all the offices in the Chancery and Court of Rome, to Sale, which, under his predeceſſors, had always been given away, as the reward of virtue or capacity. He erected five Colleges, through which all the diſpatches of the Datary were to paſs ſucceſſively; and nine new offices in the Apoſtolic Chamber, which were ſold very dear. He did not conſider what a ſhameful trade he was going to introduce, nor the honeſt liberty of which he deprived the Court of Rome, nor the ill conſequences which muſt enſue, when a ſtop was put to the labour and induſtry of the Italians, by ſuppreſſing thoſe gratuitous dignities, which were a ſpur to them, and excited their emulation. He likewiſe not only augmented the old taxes, but impoſed new ones, and eſtabliſhed extraordinary tenths. His pride was exceſſive, of which the

his

his forces into the Caſtle; the Urſini were apprehenſive that the Colonni would take this opportunity of riſing upon them to revenge the injuries they had ſo lately received; and the Colonni demanded not only a reſtitution of their houſes, but to be indemnified for their other loſſes: ſo that in a few days after the Pope's deceaſe, there was nothing to be ſeen but murders, robberies, and firing of houſes in almoſt every part of the City. But at the perſuaſion of the Cardinals who earneſtly entreated Count Girolamo to deliver up the Caſtle into their hands, to withdraw into his own States, and leave the City free from the influence of an armed force, he immediately retired to Imola, in hopes, as it was thought, of ingratiating himſelf with the ſucceeding Pope by ſo ready a compliance. The Cardinals, therefore, being delivered from this apprehenſion, and the factions deprived of the ſupport they expected from the Count in their private quarrels, proceeded to the choice of another Pontif; when after ſome diviſions in the Conclave, Giovanni Battiſta Cibo, a Genoeſe by birth, and Cardinal of Molfetta, was at laſt elected, and aſſumed the name of Innocent VIII [x]; and as he was naturally of

Florentines had many humiliating proofs: but it is not generally acknowledged, that he was of ſo mean an extraction as Machiavel, and ſome other writers affirm: for Panvinus ſays, that his family was none of the leaſt conſiderable in Savona, and that it was a branch of the family *della Rovere*, one of the moſt ancient in Piedmont. It is ſaid, that the quarrel betwixt him and the Houſe of Medici, firſt aroſe from his refuſal of a Cardinal's Cap to Julio de' Medici: beſides which, Lorenzo aſſiſted the Count of Tiferno in a war he had entered into with this Pontif, who was ſo enraged at it, that he joined in the conſpiracy with the Pazzi, to aſſaſſinate both the brothers; and when that attempt failed, he excommunicated the whole City of Florence, and joined with ſeveral other Princes in a war againſt it. He was exceſſively extravagant in his expences; but unequalled in magnificence and generoſity to Princes, whoſe devotion, or other occaſions, brought them to Rome. Nor was he forgetful of ſuch perſons as he had formerly been intimate with. After his exaltation, he ſent for his old friend Weſſelus, one of the moſt learned men of the fifteenth Century, and offered him any favour that was in his power to confer; but Weſſelus modeſtly refuſed to accept of any thing but a manuſcript copy of the Bible in Hebrew and Greek, then in the Vatican; which the Pope gave him, at his requeſt, but was ſo ſurprized at it, that he aſked him, *why he did not rather deſire a Mitre, or ſome ſuch thing? Becauſe I do not want one*, replied Weſſelus. "Tu pro te aliquid pete, inquit Pontifex. Rogo ergo, reſpondit Weſſelus, ut mihi detis ex Bibliothecâ Vaticanâ Græca & Hebræa Biblia. Ea, inquit Sixtus, tibi dabuntur: ſed tu ſtulte, quare non petis Epiſcopatum aliquem aut ſimile quidpiam? reſpondit Weſſelus, quia iis non indigeo. *Vita Weſſeli inter vitas Profeſſor. Graningenſ.* p. 18.

[x] He had lived a great while at the Court of Ferdinand, Biſhop of Naples, in his youth, before he was a Churchman. He was afterwards made Biſhop of Savona, by Paul II. and Cardinal of Melfi (or Molfetta, according to Machiavel) by Sixtus IV. His chief endeavour was, to unite the Princes of Chriſtendom in a war againſt the Turk; and though he did not ſucceed in that deſign, he brought great ſums of money into his Exchequer by being ſo active in it. He had two ſons by a Lady of Naples,

a humane pacific diſpoſition, he prevailed upon the factions to ceaſe hoſtilities againſt each other, and reſtored the peace of the City for that time.

Notwithſtanding the treaty that had been ſo lately concluded in Lombardy, the Florentines could not continue long inactive; thinking it a great diſgrace to them, that a private Gentleman who had taken the Caſtle of Serezana from them ſhould be ſuffered to continue in quiet poſſeſſion of it: and becauſe it was expreſſly ſtipulated in one of the articles of the late peace, that whatſoever had been taken from any State engaged in the war, ſhould be reſtored upon demand; and that in caſe no ſuch reſtitution was made, the party aggrieved ſhould be at liberty to renew the war upon any one that either refuſed or endeavoured to prevent it, they immediately began to raiſe money and aſſemble their troops for the recovery of that place. Upon which [y], Auguſtino Fregoſo who had ſeized upon it, finding himſelf much too weak to cope with ſo powerful an enemy, thought fit to give it up to *the Company of St. George.* And as we ſhall have frequent occaſion [z] hereafter to make mention of this Company and the Genoeſe, it may not be amiſs perhaps to ſay ſomething here in particular concerning the Government and conſtitution of Genoa, one of the principal Cities in Italy.

where he had formerly lived in quality of a Courtier. Franciſco, the elder of them, married Magdalen, daughter of Lorenzo de' Medici, who was reckoned one of the fineſt women of her age. It was the foible of this Pontif likewiſe, to be fond of his Children to ſuch an exceſs, that his affection over-ruled his juſtice in favour of them. *Ciaconius in vit. Pontif.*

[y] He is called Ludovico Fregoſo, about fourteen or fifteen pages above.

[z] It ſeems from ſeveral paſſages in this hiſtory, as if Machiavel had deſigned to have brought it down lower than he has done; particularly from the beginning and end of his Dedication to Clement VII. where he ſays, "But after I had brought it down (that is, this hiſtory) to the time when the death of the illuſtrious Lorenzo de' Medici gave a new turn to the affairs of Italy, and found, that the events which afterwards happened, grew ſo intereſting and important, that they deſerved to be related in a higher ſtyle, and more ſpirited manner, I reſolved to preſent what I had already digeſted in one volume, at your Holineſs's feet; that ſo you might have a taſte at leaſt of the fruit which you planted yourſelf, and an earneſt of my endeavours to bring it to maturity. I come boldly into the field; for as I have been honoured with your countenance, and preferred by your bounty, I am not without hopes that I ſhall likewiſe find ſhelter under the ſanction of your favourable opinion and great wiſdom. In this confidence I ſhall *purſue my undertaking* with the ſame ſpirit and alacrity, that I have proceeded thus far, if my life and health continue, and your Holineſs ſtill vouchſafes to ſupport me with your protection." And after the aſſaſſination of Giuliano de' Medici, of which he gives an account in the beginning of this book, he ſays, "he had only one Son, who was born ſome months after his death, and named Giulio, (afterwards Clement VII.) whoſe virtues and fortune have been ſo remarkable, that he is known to the whole world, and of whom, (if it pleaſes God to ſpare my life ſo long) I ſhall have much to ſay.

When

When the Genoeſe had concluded a peace with the Venetians, after a moſt heavy and expenſive war that had ſubſiſted betwixt them for many years, not being in a capacity to repay a very large ſum of money, which ſome of the Citizens had advanced for the ſervice of the public, they mortgaged the revenues of the Cuſtoms to them, in ſuch a manner, that the Creditors ſhould yearly receive the intereſt of their money, and ſome part of the principal, out of that fund, till the whole debt was diſcharged: and that theſe Citizens might have a convenient place to meet in to tranſact their affairs, they gave them the Hall that is over the Cuſtom-houſe. Theſe Creditors eſtabliſhed a ſort of government amongſt themſelves, and appointed a Council of an hundred Citizens for the management of their concerns, with eight Governors to preſide over them, who divided the whole debt into tranſferable ſhares, which they called *Luoghi*, and gave the name of *the Bank or Company of St. George* to this corporation. Things being ſettled upon this foundation, and the Government having occaſion for further ſums, had recourſe to the Bank, which being well governed, grew ſo rich in a while that it eaſily found means to ſupply them from time to time according to their wants. But the Government having already mortgaged the Cuſtoms, were afterwards obliged when they borrowed any more money, to make them aſſignments of lands and other poſſeſſions belonging to the Public: and this they have done ſo frequently, that the exigencies of the one, and the ſupplies of the other have at laſt brought things to ſuch a paſs, that the greater part of the towns and cities in the Genoeſe dominions are now in the hands of this Company; which not only takes upon itſelf to provide for their defence, but annually chuſes Magiſtrates and other officers of its own to govern them, without ſuffering the Public to interfere at all in thoſe matters [*a*]. From hence it comes to paſs that the affections of the people are transferred from the Government (which they look upon as tyrannical) to the Company of St. George; the affairs of which have always been adminiſtered with the utmoſt juſtice, exactneſs, and impartiality: and

when I come to treat of our own times." Again, ſpeaking of Ludovico Sforza, he ſays, in the ſame book, "that having got the government of Milan ſolely into his own hands, he fully completed the ruin of Italy, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, in its proper place." And here he ſays, "he ſhall have frequent occaſion hereafter to make mention of the Company of St. George, and the Genoeſe." We do not find, however, that he *purſued his undertaking*; nor does he ſay any thing more of *Clement* VII. or ſhew in what manner Ludovico Sforza *completed the ruin of Italy*; or make any *further mention* of the Company of St. George, &c. as he promiſes. Theſe *traits* are ſufficient to juſtify our conjecture; more might be adduced if they were neceſſary.

[*a*] As our Eaſt India Company does at preſent.

from hence likewiſe, it happens that the State is ſubject to ſuch frequent and ſudden revolutions, that it is one day in the hands of ſome Citizen of their own, and the next perhaps, under the dominion of a foreigner; which is not owing to the Company of St. George, but the ill conduct of the government. So that in the conteſts for power which have ſo often happened betwixt the Fregoſi and Adorni, the greater part of the people have ſeldom given themſelves much trouble about them; for as it was a matter of indifference to them which of thoſe two families was predominant, or who elſe was at the head of the Republic, they generally ſubmitted without care or diſtinction to thoſe that had got the upper hand. Nor did the Company of St. George ever offer to interpoſe, whoever had the poſſeſſion of the reins, any further than in obliging them to take an oath that they would maintain their rights and privileges, which indeed have hitherto been at all times inviolably preſerved: for as they have powerful forces, great treaſure, and many governments in their hands, their privileges could not be infringed without occaſioning a certain and moſt dangerous rebellion. An example very extraordinary indeed, and not to be paralleled in any other Republic that does or ever did exiſt, nor in any of thoſe imaginary models that have been deviſed by Philoſophers: for ſurely it muſt be a ſtrange and wonderful ſight to ſee liberty and tyranny, integrity and corruption, regularity and licentiouſneſs flouriſhing within the compaſs of the ſame walls and in the ſame community: yet ſuch is the inſtitution that has preſerved that City and ſtill makes it reſpectable. And whenever it comes to paſs (as it certainly muſt) that the Company of St. George ſhall get poſſeſſion of the whole State, the Republic of Genoa will become no leſs conſiderable than that of Venice [*b*].

[*b*] Whether theſe great Funds or Companies are of ſervice or diſſervice to a State, is a queſtion that has been ſo often diſcuſſed, that it is needleſs to ſay any thing of it here. The adminiſtration of the Genoeſe bank being for life, and partly in the hands of the Citizens, gives them great authority in the State, and a powerful influence over the people. But it is generally thought a heavy load upon the State, and a ſort of an inferior Senate, which breaks the uniformity of their Ariſtocratic government. The people, however, receive no ſmall benefit from it, as it is a check to the Ariſtocracy, diſtributes the power amongſt more private members of the Republic, and gives a figure to the Commons: and this Mr. Addiſon judges to be the reaſon why the Senate treats the people here with greater moderation than at Venice. The State is poor, though the Subjects are rich. It is ſaid, that the whole of their revenue does not amount to 1,500,000 Crowns *per Annum*, and yet the Genoeſe are great Bankers, and carry on a conſiderable trade with France and Spain. They were able above a Century ago, to lend the latter a Sum of eleven millions; and it might be added, to loſe it too; for it has never been repaid ſince: that politic Court ſtill keeping the principal in its hands.

To

To this Company, therefore, Auguſtino Fregoſo delivered up Serezana [c]; and they not only readily accepted the offer, but undertook to defend it, and at the ſame time ſent a fleet to ſea, and a body of land-forces to Pietra Santa, to prevent any ſudden attempt upon that town from the Florentine army, which now drew near to Serezana. The Florentines, on the other hand, had likewiſe an eye upon Pietra Santa, and wanted to make themſelves maſters of it; without which the reduction of the other (if they took it) would be of little importance; as that place lay betwixt Serezana and Piſa. But they had no colourable pretence to make any aſſault upon it, except either the garriſon or the inhabitants ſhould endeavour to moleſt them in the execution of their deſigns upon Serezana. And to decoy them into this, they ſent a great quantity of ammunition and proviſions from Piſa to their camp under a very weak convoy, imagining that when the garriſon of Pietra Santa ſaw ſo large a booty eſcorted by ſo feeble a party, they would naturally be tempted to attack it. The ſtratagem ſucceeded according to their wiſh: for the garriſon ſeeing ſo great a prize in their power, immediately ſallied out and ſeized upon it. This gave the Florentines a ſufficient handle to commence hoſtilities againſt them; and they accordingly turned aſide from Serezana and ſat down before Pietra Santa: which being well garriſoned, made a brave defence againſt the enemy, who having planted their artillery chiefly on that ſide which lay next to the plain, likewiſe raiſed a Baſtion upon an eminence on the other, to batter the town from thence.

Giacopo Guicciardini was at that time Commiſſary of the Florentine army, and whilſt it was employed in this manner before Pietra Santa, the Genoeſe fleet having taken and burnt the fortreſs of Vada,

and paying intereſt for it, to make them in ſome meaſure dependent upon it. And, indeed, this Republic ſeems, upon many accounts, to be far more inclined to Spain than to the French; though it endeavours to keep faith with every State. They ſuffer neither Corn nor Wine to be ſold in their markets, the Government reſerving that privilege to themſelves; ſo that the Bakers are obliged to buy their Wheat from the public granaries, and the Vintners are ſupplied from the public cellars.

[c] Serezana, Sarzana, Zarzana, or Serzianum, is now a well-fortified town, ſituated betwixt Maſſa and Spezza, near the Mouth of the River Magra. It is ſurrounded with a good wall, baſtions, and a ditch, after the modern manner, and has alſo a ſtrong old Caſtle, well provided with cannon, &c. It is an Epiſcopal See, under the Archbiſhop of Piſa, and roſe upon the ruins of Luna, an ancient City in that neighbourhood, from whence Pope Nicolas V. a native of this place, tranſlated the Biſhopſick hither. It formerly belonged to the Duke of Tuſcany, who exchanged it with the Genoeſe for Leghorn. There is alſo a pretty ſtrong fort, called Serezanella or Sarſanella, which ſtands upon a neighbouring hill that commands the City. This fort was built by the famous Caſtruccio Caſtracani, who ſubdued Lucca.

landed a body of their forces, and plundered all the Country round about it: but Bongianni Gianfigliazzi being detached from the Florentine camp with a party of horſe and foot, in ſome meaſure gave a check to theſe depredations, and prevented their further progreſs. The fleet, however, ſtill continued to infeſt their ſea coaſts, and ſteering its courſe towards Leghorn, came ſo near that City that it battered the New Tower ſeveral days: but perceiving their ſhot did not make any great impreſſion, they drew off again without gaining much reputation in that attempt. In the mean time the ſiege of Pietra Santa was carried on in ſo faint a manner, that the beſieged took courage, and not only made a vigorous ſally upon the enemy, but aſſaulted their works, and got poſſeſſion of the baſtion they had built; which ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Florentine army, that they were upon the point of running away, and actually did remove their camp to the diſtance of four miles from the town: after which (as the month of October was already begun and the winter approaching) their Commanders thought it the beſt way to retire into quarters and defer the proſecution of the ſiege till a milder ſeaſon.

But as ſoon as the Signiory at Florence were informed of this ſhameful behaviour (to animate their forces and recover their reputation) they appointed two other Commiſſaries, Antonio Pucci, and Bernardo del Neri; whom they ſent with a large ſupply of money to the camp, and inſtructions to repreſent to the Commanders how much the Signiory were offended at their late retreat; that they would be deſpiſed by the whole City if they did not immediately return to the ſiege; what a diſgrace it would be that ſo many great Officers, with ſo powerful an army and nobody to oppoſe them but an inconſiderable garriſon, ſhould not be able to make themſelves maſters of a place, which though weak and pitiful indeed of itſelf, would be of great advantage to the Republic both at preſent and for the future. The Commanders were ſo ſtung with theſe reproaches that they unanimouſly reſolved to renew the ſiege, and endeavour in the firſt place to retake the baſtion they had loſt. In this undertaking it was plainly ſeen what effect affability, good words, kind treatment, and obliging behaviour have upon the minds of ſoldiers [d]: for Antonio Pucci

[d] Plutarch ſays, in the Life of Mark Anthony, that he gained the love of all his ſoldiers by exerciſing and eating with them, and making them preſents as often as his circumſtances would permit him. Affability of this kind, is a certain way to ſecure the affections of an army, and may be ſhewn without too much familiarity or relaxation of proper diſcipline in the Commander. A contrary behaviour will likewiſe always be certainly attended with different effects. * Aldringer, a famous General under

ſhaked one man by the hand, called another *brother ſoldier*, made large promiſes to a third, and encouraged them all; which raiſed ſuch a ſpirit in them that they ruſhed on to the aſſault like ſo many lions and ſtormed the baſtion in a moment, though not without ſome loſs; for ſeveral were ſlain, and amongſt the reſt Count Antonio da Marciano, who was killed by a cannon-ball. This advantage ſo alarmed the garriſon that they began to think of capitulating: but before that happened, Lorenzo de' Medici came in perſon to the camp to give a little more reputation to the Florentine arms; and in a few days after his arrival the town ſurrendered: however as the winter ſeaſon was now pretty far advanced, the Commiſſaries did not think fit to attempt any further progreſs till the return of the ſpring, eſpecially as the autumn had been ſo unhealthful that great numbers of their private men and many of their officers were viſited with grievous diſtempers: amongſt whom Antonio Pucci and Bongianni Gianfigliazzi ſoon after died, much lamented by the whole army; eſpecially the former, who had exceedingly endeared himſelf to the ſoldiery by his behaviour to them at the ſiege of Pietra Santa.

the Emperor Ferdinand II. was poſſeſſed of many excellent qualifications, ſays Picorato, in his *Hiſtory of the German wars*, lib. ix. He had a very lively penetrating genius, much experience, a refined underſtanding, and great courage. He made himſelf admired in the Councils of war, by the force of his reaſoning, and the probability of his conjectures. He was maſter of a good pen, underſtood ſeveral languages, and knew how to make a proper uſe of the maxims of the ſeveral nations he had been converſant with. The politics of a Spaniard Italianized, could not ſurpaſs his. "Le da lui pratticate varie nationi, l'oſſervate diverſe maſſime, e gli inveſtigati genii e inclinationi di molti popoli, lo reſero coſi accorto nelle attioni che alcuno Spagnuolo Italianato non lo avanzava." But theſe great qualifications were accompanied by others, which much eclipſed the ſplendor of them; for he had no compaſſion, he exacted contributions with the utmoſt rigour, he was not in the leaſt moved by the ſufferings or neceſſities of his Soldiers; ſo that he was far from being beloved by the army. He got immenſe riches at the ſacking of Mantua: for there was not an Officer in the Imperial army that carried off ſo much plunder as he did. He was killed (as it was generally believed, by his own Soldiers) upon the Bridge of Landſhut, as there was an opportunity of doing it there without being diſcovered. "Fu colpito e fatto cader morto, ſays the ſame Hiſtorian, non ſenza ſoſpetto che cio diveniſſe dalla parte de ſuoi, per vendetta d'alcune ingiurie fatte loro, eſſendo egli per la ſua ſeverità piu temuto che amato dalla militia." i. e. "He received a wound that killed him, not without ſuſpicion of its being given by his own party, out of revenge for ſome injury he had done them; for he was more feared than beloved by his ſoldiers, on account of his great ſeverity." Many inſtances of this kind occur in every hiſtory, I ſhall only mention one more, and that becauſe there is ſomething particular in it, though I cannot at preſent recollect where it is related. It is of an officer that was ſhot into the back in time of battle by one of his own men, who had been ill uſed by him. Upon which, he called out to his brother Officers, as he lay upon the ground, *Pray, Gentlemen, take notice, this was not done by an enemy. I am ſure*, replied one of them, *he was not your friend that did it.*

The

The Florentines had no ſooner taken that place but the Luccheſe ſent Ambaſſadors to Florence to demand the reſtitution of it, as a town that formerly belonged to them: alledging, that there was an expreſs article in the late pacification which obliged every State to reſtore what it had taken from others. In anſwer to this, the Florentines ſaid, that they did not deny that there was ſuch an article, but that they could not tell whether they ſhould not be obliged to give it up again to the Genoeſe by the treaty that was then on foot betwixt them; upon which account, it was not in their power to come to any reſolution in that matter till the treaty was either wholly concluded or broken off: but if they ſhould reſtore it, the Luccheſe muſt indemnify them for the great expence they had been at in reducing it, and the damage they had ſuſtained by the death of many of their principal Citizens, who loſt their lives in that expedition; after which, they might perhaps be inclined to give it back to them. That treaty however, betwixt the Genoeſe and the Florentines, continued in agitation all the reſt of the winter, as the negotiation was chiefly conducted at Rome by the mediation of the Pope; but nothing being concluded at laſt, the Florentines intended to have proceeded in their deſign upon Serezana as ſoon as the ſpring came on, if they had not been prevented by Lorenzo de' Medici's indiſpoſition, and a freſh war which broke out betwixt the Pope and the King of Naples. For Lorenzo was not only afflicted with the Gout (which was hereditary to him) but ſuch pains and oppreſſion in his ſtomach, that he was obliged to go to the baths for the recovery of his health. But the war was the chief impediment; which was occaſioned in the following manner.

The City of Aquila was ſubject to the King of Naples, but in ſuch a manner, that the Citizens were almoſt entirely free: and as the Count di Montorio had very great intereſt and reputation there, the Duke of Calabria who then lay with a body of forces near the Tronto under a pretence of quelling ſome tumults which had lately been raiſed by the peaſants of that Country (but in reality with a deſign to reduce Aquila to a more ſubmiſſive degree of obedience to the King) ſent to deſire the Count would come to him, as he wanted his advice and aſſiſtance in ſome affairs which he had then in hand. With this the Count readily complied, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting any danger: but when he came, the Duke made him priſoner and ſent him to Naples. As ſoon as this came to be known at Aquila, the whole City was ſo enraged at it that the people immediately took arms, and not only killed Antonio Concinello the King's Commiſſary, but many other Citizens who were publickly known to be in the

Neapolitan

Neapolitan intereſt: and to procure the aſſiſtance of ſome power to ſupport them in this inſurrection, they ſent Ambaſſadors with an offer of their obedience to the Pope, imploring his Holineſs to take their City under his protection, and to defend them againſt the tyranny of King Ferdinand. The Pope therefore, who hated that Prince upon many both public and private accounts, cheerfully undertook their defence: and as Roberto San Severino, who had fled from Milan, was not at that time in the pay of any other State, he took him into his ſervice, and having appointed him Commander in chief of his forces, he ſent to deſire he would come with all expedition to Rome. Beſides which, he exhorted all the Count di Mortorio's friends and relations to exert themſelves in his cauſe: ſo that the Princes of Altemura, Salerno, and Biſignano preſently revolted from the King and took up arms againſt him. Upon which, Ferdinand ſeeing himſelf threatened with ſo ſudden a ſtorm on all ſides, had recourſe to the Florentines and the Duke of Milan for aſſiſtance. But the Florentines were ſome time in ſuſpence what part to act upon this occaſion; as it ſeemed an unreaſonable expectation that they ſhould abandon their own undertakings to embark in thoſe of others; and at the ſame time a very dangerous thing to embroil themſelves again ſo ſoon in another war with the Church. Nevertheleſs, as the King was their confederate, they laid aſide all apprehenſion of danger, and preferring their honour and good faith to any private intereſts of their own, they took ſome of the Urſini into their pay, and ſent the Count of Pitigliano with all their forces towards Rome in behalf of the King.

In the mean time King Ferdinand had likewiſe aſſembled two armies; one of which, advanced towards Rome under the Command of the Duke of Calabria, to act in conjunction with that of the Florentines againſt the forces of the Church; the other, he kept near Naples to obſerve the motions of the Princes who had thrown off their allegiance to him: ſo that a war was now kindled up afreſh, and carried on by both ſides for ſome time with various ſucceſs in different parts. At laſt however, the King of Naples being every where victorious, a peace was concluded in the month of Auguſt 1486, by the mediation of the Ambaſſadors from the Court of Spain; much to the ſatisfaction of the Pope, who grew tired of ſo unſucceſsfull a war, and determined to truſt fortune no further: and in this treaty, all the States of Italy were included, except the Genoeſe, who were objected to, as Rebels to the Duke of Milan, and in poſſeſſion of ſeveral places belonging to the Florentines, which they had ſeized upon, and ſtill refuſed to deliver up again, in contempt of

former treaties. After the concluſion of a Peace, San Severino, who had neither been faithfull to the Pope nor alert in annoying the enemy during the war, was diſmiſſed from his ſervice with ſome marks of his Holineſs's diſpleaſure: but after he had left Rome, he was purſued by the Florentine and Milaneſe forces; and finding they gained ground upon him very faſt, after he had got paſt Ceſena he began to quicken his pace and fled with an hundred horſe to Ravenna; the reſt of the men being afterwards either taken into the Duke of Milan's ſervice, or knocked on the head by the Country people. The King of Naples having ſigned the Peace and come to an accommodation with thoſe Princes that had rebelled againſt him, cauſed Giovanni Cappola, Antonello d' Anverſa, and their Sons to be put to death, for having betraid his ſecrets to the Pope in the late war.

During the courſe of this war, the Pope having obſerved with what alacrity and readineſs the Florentines aſſiſted their allies, now began to careſs them, and ſhew greater reſpect than ordinary to their Ambaſſadors; though he looked upon them with an evil eye before, on account of his connexions with the Genoeſe, and their attachment to the King of Naples. This being intimated to Lorenzo de' Medici, he reſolved to take all opportunities of improving ſo happy a change in his Holineſs's diſpoſition towards the Republic; as he thought it would be a conſiderable addition to his credit and reputation, if he could at the ſame time ſecure the friendſhip of two ſuch powerful Princes as the Pope and the King of Naples. The Pope had a Son whoſe Name was Franciſco; and as he was very deſirous not only to procure ſome State for this young man whilſt he lived, but to join him in alliance with ſuch friends as would maintain him in poſſeſſion of it after he himſelf was dead; he thought there was no family in Italy ſo likely, or ſo able to ſupport him as the Medici; upon which conſiderations, he applied to Lorenzo, and ſo effectually too, that the latter gave Franciſco one of his daughters in marriage. After this match was concluded, the Pope endeavoured to prevail upon the Genoeſe to give up Serezana to the Florentines; repreſenting to them, that they could not in juſtice detain what Auguſtino Fregoſo had ſold; nor had Auguſtino any right to ſell what was not his own, to the Company of St. George. But theſe remonſtrances had no effect: on the contrary, whilſt this affair was negotiating at Rome, the Genoeſe fitted out a powerful fleet, and having landed three thouſand foot, before the Florentines had any intelligence of their deſign, they laid ſiege to Serezanella, (a fortreſs ſituated upon a riſing ground near Serezana, belonging to the Florentines) and not only plundered, but burnt the Bourg that ſurrounded it; after which,

they

they planted their cannon againſt the fortreſs, and began to batter it with great fury. The Florentines were not a little ſurprized at ſo ſudden and unexpected an aſſault; however, they aſſembled their forces as faſt as they could at Piſa, under the command of Virginio Urſini; and in the mean time made complaints to the Pope, that whilſt his Holineſs was uſing his good offices to bring about a peace betwixt them, the Genoeſe, without any regard to his authority, had ſuddenly invaded their territories. They likewiſe diſpatched Pietro Corſini to perſuade the Luccheſe not to join the enemy, and Pagolantonio Soderini to ſee how the Venetians ſtood affected; and in the laſt place, they ſent to demand the aſſiſtance of King Ferdinand and Ludovico Sforza. But they did not receive the leaſt from either of them: for the King pretended to be under apprehenſions, that the Turkiſh fleet would make another deſcent upon his dominions; and Ludovico found other pretexts to excuſe himſelf from ſending them any ſuccour. In this manner the Florentines, for the moſt part, ſtood alone in their wars; as they ſeldom found any body ſo ready to aſſiſt them in their exigencies, as they were to relieve others. Nevertheleſs, as this was no new thing to them, they were not at all diſmayed, though they ſaw themſelves ſo ſhamefully deſerted by their confederates, but ſent out a powerful army againſt the enemy, under the command of Giacopo Guicciardini and Pietro Vettori, who encamped with their forces upon the banks of the River Magra. In the mean time, the fortreſs of Serezanella was reduced to great diſtreſs by the enemy, as they not only kept a continual fire upon it from their artillery, but ſprung ſeveral mines, and made uſe of all other means they could deviſe to get poſſeſſion of it. Upon which, a Council being called in the Florentine camp, the Commiſſaries reſolved to march to its relief, and the enemy being determined to ſtand their ground, an engagement enſued ſoon after; in which, the Genoeſe were totally routed, and Ludovico dal Fieſco, with ſeveral of their principal Officers taken priſoners.

The garriſon in Serezana, however, were not ſo much daunted at this defeat, as to think of ſurrendering; on the contrary, they reſolutely prepared for their defence: and the Commiſſaries making their approaches with no leſs vigour, both ſides exerted themſelves with great ſpirit. But as the ſiege continued longer than was expected, Lorenzo de' Medici went to the Florentine camp himſelf, which ſo animated our forces, and ſtruck ſuch a damp into the enemy, that when they ſaw how briſkly the Florentines carried on their works, and how cold and dilatory the Genoeſe were in ſending them any ſuccour, they freely threw themſelves into the arms of Lorenzo,

without any ſort of terms or capitulation; and after the ſurrender, were all treated with the utmoſt tenderneſs and humanity, except ſome very few, who had either been the authors of the rebellion, or remarkably active in it. During this ſiege, Ludovico Sforza ſent a body of forces to Pontremoli, who gave out, that they were marching to join the Florentine army: but as he held a private correſpondence with ſome of the Citizens in Genoa, as ſoon as he drew near that City, his party there took arms againſt their Governors, and having got full poſſeſſion of it, they delivered it up to the Duke of Milan.

About this time the Germans made war upon the Venetians; and one Boccalini, of Oſimo, in the territories of Ancona, having raiſed a rebellion in that town, againſt the Pope, made himſelf Lord of it: but after many viciſſitudes of fortune, he reſtored it to the Pope, at the perſuaſion of Lorenzo de' Medici, and came to Florence, where he lived a long time in ſecurity, under the protection of Lorenzo, and had much honour and reſpect ſhewn him there by the Citizens: but at laſt, removing from thence to Milan, he did not find the ſame ſhelter in that place; for Ludovico Sforza cauſed him to be apprehended and put to death. Not long after this, the Venetians having attacked the Germans near the City of Trent, were routed, and their General, San Severino killed: but according to their uſual good fortune, they ſoon after this defeat, concluded a peace with the Germans, upon terms ſo honourable and advantageous to their Republic, that they could not have expected better, if they had gained a victory.

About the ſame time there likewiſe happened ſome commotions and diſturbances of conſiderable conſequence in Romagna. Franciſco d'Orſo, a native of Furli, was a man of very great power and authority in that City: but as he was ſtrongly ſuſpected by Count Girolamo of diſaffection to his perſon, he had often been threatened by the Count in ſuch a manner, that he lived under continual apprehenſion: upon which, he was adviſed by his friends and relations to be beforehand with his enemy, and ſince he was afraid of his own life, to diſpatch the Count, and deliver himſelf from the fear of all further danger. He therefore determined to follow their advice, and fixed upon the day on which the market at Furli was uſually held, to put it in execution; for as he knew great numbers of his friends and acquaintance would come of courſe to the town at that time, he thought he might avail himſelf of their aſſiſtance, without being expoſed to the danger or ſuſpicion he ſhould incur, by ſending to invite them. It was then the month of May, at which ſeaſon of the year

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the Italians generally ſup by day-light. The Conſpirators, therefore, thought the moſt convenient time to aſſaſſinate him, would be after he had ſupped, when perhaps he would be left alone in his apartment, and his domeſtics engaged at their own ſupper. This being determined upon and the hour fixed, Franciſco went to the Palace; and leaving his accomplices below ſtairs, found means to get to the door of the apartment, where the Count was; at which place he met one of the Chamberlains and deſired him to acquaint his maſter that he begged leave to be admitted, as he had ſomething of moment to communicate to him. This being readily granted, he found the Count alone; and pretending to enter into converſation with him, he took his opportunity, and ſuddenly diſpatched him; after which he called up his accomplices and killed the Chamberlain. The governor of the town with ſome few attendants unluckily happening to come at the ſame time to wait upon the Count, were likewiſe murdered. When they had proceeded thus far, they threw the Count's body out of the Palace window into the ſtreet, and having raiſed a great tumult, exhorted the people to take up arms for the cauſe of *Liberty and the Church*; upon which, the townſmen, who abhorred the memory of the Count on account of his avarice and cruelty, immediately ran together, and not only plundered the Palace, but made his Counteſs Catherina and all his children priſoners. The Citadel was now the only impediment that remained to prevent the full accompliſhment of their deſigns: but the Commander of it peremptorily refuſing to liſten to any propoſals, they deſired the Counteſs to make uſe of her authority and prevail upon him, if poſſible, to deliver it up to them: which ſhe promiſed to do, if they would ſuffer her to go to him there, and ſaid ſhe would leave all her children in their hands, as hoſtages for the performance of it. The conſpirators accordingly relying upon her word, permitted her to go thither: but as ſoon as ſhe was got ſafe into the Citadel, ſhe altered her tone and ſent them word, ſhe would uſe her utmoſt endeavours to bring them all to the moſt cruel death ſhe could invent, in revenge for the murder of her huſband: and when they, on the other hand, threatened to kill her children, ſhe courageouſly made anſwer "they might deal with them as they pleaſed, for ſhe knew how to provide herſelf with more."

At this reſolute behaviour, d' Orſo and his accomplices were ſo diſcouraged (eſpecially when they ſaw the Pope did not ſupport them, and that Ludovico Sforza the Counteſs's Uncle, was ſending a body of forces to her relief) that they packed up as many of their moſt valuable effects as they could carry off and retired to Caſtello. Upon which,

which; the Counteſs having recovered the government of the State, ſeverely puniſhed the inhabitants for their rebellion: and the Florentines hearing of the Count's death, took advantage of that opportunity to make an attempt upon the Caſtle of Piancaldoli which he had formerly taken from them: for which purpoſe, they ſent ſome troops thither and ſoon made themſelves maſters of it; though with the loſs of Ciecco, one of the moſt celebrated Architects and Engineers of his time.

Beſide this commotion at Furli, there happened another of no leſs conſequence in the ſame Province. Galeatto [e], Lord of Faenza had married the daughter of Giovanni Bentivoglio Prince of Bologna. This Lady, either out of jealouſy, or becauſe ſhe had met with ſome unkind treatment from her huſband, or was naturally ill tempered, had conceived ſuch a hatred againſt him, that ſhe reſolved to get rid of him and ſeize upon the government herſelf. Pretending therefore to be indiſpoſed, ſhe took her bed, and contrived matters in ſuch a manner, that when Galeatto ſhould come to viſit her, ſome of her confidants whom ſhe had concealed in her apartment for that purpoſe, ſhould fall upon him and kill him. With this deſign, ſhe had likewiſe acquainted her father, who readily embarked in it, in hopes that when his ſon-in-law was killed, he might eaſily make himſelf Lord of Faenza: ſo that at the time appointed for the perpetration of this deed, Galeatto came as uſual into her chamber, and having ſat down by her bed ſide to enquire after her health and talk with her a little while, the aſſaſſins, who had hid themſelves there, ruſhed upon him and diſpatched him ſo ſuddenly that he had not time to make the leaſt reſiſtance. But as there was a great uproar in the town upon his death, his widow with a little child whoſe name was Aſtorre, took refuge in the Caſtle, and the people ran to arms: upon which Giovanni Bentivoglio and one Bergamino who was a Commander in the Duke of Milan's ſervice, having got ſome forces together, made their entrance into Faenza (where Antonio Boſcoli happened to be likewiſe at that time as Commiſſary from the Florentines) and aſſembling ſome of the leading Citizens, began to take meaſures for ſecuring the government to themſelves: but the inhabitants of the Vale of Lamona gathering tumultuouſly together upon the news of this event, took up arms againſt Bentivoglio and Bergamino, one of whom they knocked on the head, and made the other priſoner; and declaring for Aſtorre and the Florentines, delivered up the City to the care of their Commiſſary. When theſe pro-

[e] Galeatto Manfredi.

ceedings

ceedings came to be known at Florence, the government there was highly diſpleaſed at them: however they ordered Bentivoglio and his daughter to be ſet at liberty, and at the unanimous requeſt of the people took young Aſtorre [*f*] and the City under their protection.

After the quarrels amongſt the more conſiderable States were compoſed, there likewiſe happened many other diſturbances for the courſe of ſeveral years in Romagna, la Marca d' Ancona, and Siena: but as they were of little conſequence, it is not worth while to give any account of them. It is true they were more frequent at Siena than any where elſe, after the departure of the Duke of Calabria out of thoſe parts, at the end of the war in 1488: but after many changes and revolutions there (in which, ſometimes the Commonalty, and ſometimes the Nobility prevailed) the Nobility at laſt effectually ſuppreſſing the other party, Pandolpho and Giacopo Petrucci, one of whom was in the higheſt reputation for his wiſdom, and the other for his valour, became in a manner Princes of that City. As to the Florentines, they lived very happily and in perfect tranquillity from the end of the Serazaneſe war till the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, which happened in the year 1492. For Lorenzo having eſtabliſhed a general peace throughout Italy by his great wiſdom and prudence, had begun to turn his thoughts entirely to the aggrandizement of the Republic and the care of his own family. In the firſt place, he married his eldeſt Son Pietro to Alphonſina, daughter to Cavaliere Urſini, and procured a Cardinal's hat for Giovanni his ſecond Son, who was not quite thirteen years of age, when he was promoted to that dignity (of which there had been no example before) but aſcended by degrees through all the preferments of the Church till he was exalted to the Pontificate [*g*]. For his third Son Giuliano who was but an infant, he could not make any appointment in the State, on account of his tender years, and becauſe he himſelf did not live till that Son grew up. But he diſpoſed of his daughters very much to their advantage: for he married one of them to Giacopo Salviati, an-

[*f*] The Manfredi had been ſettled at Faenza ever ſince the year 1286. This Aſtorre who was the laſt of the family, was afterwards murdered by the order of Alexander VI. and his body thrown into the Tiber.

[*g*] He took the name of Leo X. "Cum puer ad ſacrum illum ſenatum aſſumptus fuerit ab Innocentio octavo Pontifice, hâc unâ explicitâ conditione, ne palam inſignibus uteretur aut ſe ut Cardinalem haberet niſi triennio expleto ad augendam ætatem". He was ſo young when Innocent VIII. made him Cardinal, that it was thought proper he ſhould not wear the purple, nor be looked upon as a Cardinal, till he was three years older. *Celſus de Roſinis in Lyceo Lateranenſi.* Tom. ii. l. ii.

other to Franciſco Cibo [b], another to Pietro Ridolphi, and the fourth to his near relation Giovanni de' Medici, in order to keep his family united: but ſhe died ſoon after her nuptials. In his other private concerns, eſpecially in mercantile affairs, he was rather unfortunate than otherwiſe: for ſuch was the extravagance of his factors, who lived more like Princes than private men, that they had diſſipated the greater part of his Merchandize: ſo that he was often obliged to borrow large ſums of the public. Upon which account, he reſolved, to truſt fortune no longer, but to give up all concerns of that kind, and depend wholly upon a landed eſtate, which he thought a much more ſtable and certain poſſeſſion. He therefore made ſeveral other purchaſes, beſides what his Anceſtors had realized; particularly in the City and Vale of Piſa, and in the Country of Prato, where he erected ſuch edifices as for magnificence and convenience might vie with thoſe of moſt Princes.

After this, he began to beautify and enlarge the City of Florence; and as there were many void plots of ground within the walls, he built ſeveral new Streets and public Offices. He likewiſe put the Caſtle of Firenzuola, which is ſituated in the mountains towards Bologna, in a much better poſture of defence than ever it had been before, in order to prevent any enemy from making an irruption on that ſide to diſturb the peace of the Republic. On the confines of the Sieneſe, he repaired the fortifications of Poggio Imperiale, and made that place very ſtrong; and by the reduction of Pietra Santa and Serezana, he effectually ſecured all the paſſes in that quarter, if the Genoeſe ſhould be inclined to attempt any future inroad into the Florentine dominions. His friends the Baglioni, at Perugia, and the Vitelli, at Caſtello, he ſupported, from time to time, with ample ſubſidies, and had ſo particular an influence in Faenza, that he might, in a manner, call that place his own: all which acquiſitions and precautions might well be conſidered as ſo many forts and outworks to defend the City of Florence.

In the intervals of peace, he made it his conſtant endeavour to keep his Fellow-citizens chearful and in good humour, by diverting them with plays, tournaments, repreſentations of ancient triumphs, and other ſuch entertainments; his chief deſire being to promote union amongſt the people, to furniſh the City plentifully with proviſions, and to ſupport the Nobility in that degree of honour and reſpect that was due to them. He ſhewed great favour to thoſe that excelled in any art, and was a very liberal patron to learned men; of which

[b] The Pope's Son.

Agnolo

Agnolo da Montepulciano, Chriſtopher Landini [*i*], and Demetrius, the Greek [*k*], may ſerve as ſufficient proofs. Upon which conſideration, Count Giovanni della Mirandola [*l*], a man almoſt adored for his erudition and fine taſte, preferring Florence to all other parts of Europe through which he had travelled, came and ſettled there to

[*i*] He wrote ſeveral ingenious treatiſes, amongſt which are, *De gli habiti & de' Magiſtrati di Firenze. I Dialoghi dell' anima.* He alſo tranſlated Pliny's Natural Hiſtory, and wrote Notes upon Horace and Dante.

[*k*] Demetrius Chalcondylas, a learned Greek Hiſtorian of Conſtantinople, who, after the taking of that City by the Turks, travelled into Italy, and taught the Greek Language in Florence. He was in great eſteem with Pietro and Lorenzo de' Medici, Franciſco Sforza, Duke of Milan, and Lewis XII. of France. He wrote a Greek Grammer, which was printed at Paris, and at Baſil. See *Paulus Jovius Elog.* cap. xxix. where there is much more to be ſeen concerning the emulation betwixt him and Politian, another reader of lectures. This Hiſtorian pretends, that the Romans, as deſcended from Æneas, and ſtill intereſted in the fate of Troy, maintained, that the Greeks ſuffered ſo many calamities as they did at the taking of Conſtantinople, only as a judgment upon them, for the havock which they had formerly made in the Kingdom of Priamus. "Facetus eſt Chalcondylas dum ait Romanos ſeu Latinos conſtanter aſſeverare hanc cladem contigiſſe Græcis in ultionem eorum quæ olim feciſſent barbaris in deſtructione Ilii: quod videlicet dicantur Romani a Trojanis deſcendiſſe." *Spondan. ad Ann.* 1453. According to this pleaſant chimera (one might ſay with a celebrated modern author) the numbers in the ſecond Commandment ought to be changed; one muſt believe that God viſits the ſins of the fathers upon the children, not only to the third and fourth, but to the thouſandth generation: and in ſhort, that preſcription ſhould have no place here,

Delicta majorum immeritus lues
Romane. *Hor. Ode* vi. *lib.* III.

At this rate the French might have reaſon to be afraid that ſome irruption of Barbarians would revenge the injuries upon them two or three thouſand years hence, which the Romans received from Brennus.

[*l*] This was the famous John Picus, Prince of Mirandola and Concordia. He attained to a vaſt knowledge in the ſublimeſt Sciences, and was called by Scaliger, *Monſtrum ſine vitio.* At the age of twenty-four, he maintained ſome *Theſes* at Rome, which conſiſted of nine hundred propoſitions in Logic, Divinity, Mathematics, Cabaliſtic Learning, and Phyſics; ſome of them taken from Latin and Greek Writers, and others founded upon the ſentiments of the Hebrews and Chaldeans. This he executed with much applauſe: ſome people, however, either envying this young Prince, or out of an indiſcreet zeal, paſſed a very ſevere cenſure upon his *Theſes*. Upon which, Pope Innocent VIII. cauſed the propoſitions to be examined, and pronounced thirteen of them to be untenable: but Picus defended them in an Apology, which is at the beginning of his Works. There is a remarkable paſſage in this Apology. A Divine, who had been one of the forwardeſt in exclaiming againſt his *Theſes*, being aſked, what was the meaning of the word *Cabala*, anſwered, "that it was the name of a wicked heretical wretch, who had written againſt Jeſus Chriſt, and whoſe followers, from him, took upon them the denomination of *Cabaliſts*." Others of the ſame ſtamp (we may ſuppoſe) accuſed Picus of being a Magician; otherwiſe they could not imagine (they ſaid) how ſo young a man could poſſibly have acquired ſuch an amazing ſtock of learning. He died at Florence, in the year 1494, at the age of 33. His Nephew, John Francis Picus, wrote his Life, which is prefixed to his Works, printed at Baſil, 1573 and 1601. They conſiſt of *Heptaplus*, or, a Treatiſe in ſeven books, upon the firſt chapter of

be near Lorenzo [m]. He was paſſionately fond of Poetry, Muſic, and Architecture; many of his poetical compoſitions, with his notes and comments upon them, are ſtill extant. To encourage and aſſiſt the youth of Florence in their ſtudies, he founded an Univerſity at Piſa, and gave ſtipends to the moſt learned men that could be found in Italy at that time, to come and read lectures to them there. Beſides which, he built a Monaſtery not far from Florence, at the requeſt of Mariano da Chinazano, an Auguſtine Friar, who was reckoned one of the moſt eloquent preachers of his age. He ſeemed to be particularly favoured by Heaven, and almoſt every thing that he undertook was attended with ſucceſs; whilſt on the contrary, the deſigns of his enemies againſt him, were continually fruſtrated: for beſides the attempt that was made upon his life by the Pazzi, he was likewiſe openly attacked in a ſtreet called the Carmine by Battiſta Freſcobaldi, and afterwards at one of his Country houſes by Baldinatto da Piſtoia, with a deſign to murder him; but they both failed in their deſign, and were not only taken with all their accomplices, but puniſhed in the manner they juſtly deſerved.

So remarkable a degree of good fortune added to his prudence, munificence, and other great accompliſhments gained him the eſteem and admiration not only of all the Italian Princes, but of many at a great diſtance in other parts of the world, who had heard of his virtues and princely qualifications. Matthias King of Hungary gave him many honourable teſtimonies of his affection; the Sultan of Egypt ſent Ambaſſadors to him with rich preſents; and the Great Turk delivered up Bernardo Bandini to him, who had been principally

Geneſis. *Concluſiones nongentæ. Apologia de Ente & uno. De hominis dignitate. Regulæ duodecim. Comment. in Pſalm.* xv. *De Chriſti regno & vanitate mundi. Expoſitio in Orat. Domin. Epiſtolarum, lib.* i. *In Platonis convivium, lib.* iii. and ſeveral others. See *Trithem. & Bellarm. de Eccleſiaſticis Scriptoribus.*

[m] Voltaire, in his general hiſtory of Europe, vol. ii. p. 98. ſpeaking of the puniſhment inflicted on the Pazzi and their accomplices, in the conſpiracy againſt the Medici, ſays, "Lorenzo had thus the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his cauſe revenged by his Fellow-citizens, whoſe affection he preſerved during the remainder of his Life. He was ſurnamed, *The Father of the Muſes*; a title, however, not equivalent to that of *Father of his Country*, but which gives us to underſtand, that he was ſo in effect. What an amazing ſpectacle, and how contrary to the manners of our times! to ſee a Citizen conſtantly engaged in commerce; with one hand ſelling the commodities of the Levant, and with the other ſupporting the burden of the Republic; maintaining factors, and receiving Ambaſſadors; oppoſing the Pope, making war and peace, giving counſel and aſſiſtance to Princes; cultivating the *belles Lettres*, exhibiting ſpectacles to the people, and affording reception to all the learned Greeks that fled from Conſtantinople. His ſon Peter had the chief authority in Florence, at the time that the French invaded Italy; but with leſs credit than either his predeceſſors or his poſterity."

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cipally concerned in aſſaſſinating his brother Giuliano, and afterwards fled into his dominions [*n*]. Theſe things acquired him great reputation, which he daily increaſed by his wiſdom and good conduct: for he was eloquent and weighty in debate, ſlow in his reſolutions, but bold and expeditious in executing them. Yet he was not without foibles and infirmities, which in ſome meaſure eclipſed theſe excellent qualities: for he was extremely addicted to women, took too much pleaſure in the converſation of Wits and Satyrical men, and ſometimes deſcended to ſuch juvenile recreations as ſeemed inconſiſtent with his dignity and wiſdom: for he would often join with his Sons and Daughters in their parties of pleaſure and youthful diſſipations. So that if the uſual gravity of his life ſhould be compared with the levities he was ſometimes guilty of, it would ſeem as if he was compoſed of two different perſons united by an almoſt impoſſible conjunction [*o*].

[*n*] Lorenzo de' Medici ſent John Laſcaris, a noble and learned Greek, who had fled from Conſtantinople, to deſire the Sultan would give him leave to collect ſome valuable books and manuſcripts in his dominions; which he readily complied with, and ſhewed him great honour. The Sultan's name was not Bajazet, as Jovius relates, but Mahomet: hear what he ſays upon this occaſion. *Elog.* cap. 31. "Is (Laurentius Medices) tum abſolvendæ Bibliothecæ ſtudio tenebatur. Ob id Laſcarem ad conquirenda volumina Byzantium cum legatione ad Bajazetem bis miſit: nec defuit honeſta petenti nequaquam barbarus Imperator, quippe qui totius philoſophiæ ſtudioſus, Averroiſque ſectator eximius, & de Laurentio privatim, tanquam de illuſtri cultore virtutis, optime ſentiret, quum paulo ante Bandinum percuſſorem fratris fugâ in Aſiam elapſum in catenis ad ſupplicium tradidiſſet, ſingulari quidem religionis atque juſtitiæ exemplo; quod ille immane ſcelus in templo auſus, merita pœnâ plectendus cenſeretur. Itaque Laſcaris tuto abdita Græciæ perſcrutatus, quum patriæ opes victoribus ceſſiſſent, nobiliora divitiis volumina collegit ut in Italiâ ſervarentur."

[*o*] The heart of man has often been ſaid to reſemble a Garden, which brings forth both flowers and weeds: and the richer the ſoil is, the greater quantity of traſh it commonly produces, except it is carefully plucked up or kept under. The weeds we may look upon as emblems of the paſſions, which muſt be ſtrictly diſciplined by the laws of Reaſon and Religion, and hard reined down at leaſt, if we cannot perfectly ſubdue them; except we have a mind they ſhould run away with us headlong to deſtruction. It is the looſe rein, the too great indulgence which men give to theſe enemies of their repoſe, that hurries them into ſuch abſurdities and contradictions, as make them appear like Centaurs, creatures compounded of a man and a beaſt, or, like Lorenzo de' Medici, to be actuated by two different ſouls or ſpirits. And, indeed, before the cauſe of this dreadful confuſion and contrariety in the ſoul was fully made known to us by Revelation, it is no wonder that many of the Heathens, ſeeing men ſo different ſometimes from what they are at others, were tempted to be of that opinion. Accordingly, that noble Philoſopher Xenophon, in the perſon of Araſpas, addreſſing himſelf to Cyrus, ſays, "δυο γαρ παρειν εχω ψυχας, &c." "I plainly perceive, that I have two ſouls; for if I had but one, it could not poſſibly be both good and bad; nor impel me to commit evil, and alſo to do good; nor to *will* two different things of any other kind, I have manifeſtly, therefore, two ſouls; when the good ſpirit is predominant, it prompts

The latter part of his life was full of anguiſh and miſery, occaſioned by intolerable pains in the ſtomach, which at laſt carried him

me to do good actions; and when the evil one has the rule, it urges me to do what is evil." *Cyropæd.* Book VI. chap. 6.

Not to mention the perpetual ſtruggles betwixt the Elementary qualities, which prevail ſomething more in the human conſtitution than in moſt other material Beings, there is a moſt furious war betwixt the body and ſoul of a man, betwixt his reaſon and his ſenſes. Reaſon ought to ſuppreſs and calm this diſorder, and pacify theſe inteſtine diſſenſions: but alas! it is both Judge and Party; its decrees are not executed, and only increaſe the evil. Things of the moſt diſcordant nature are inſeparably united in man; they follow one another in a continual round, and tread upon each other's heels: the leſs a man knows, the more he imagines he does; the more he knows, the more ſenſible he is of his ignorance, and the more liable to deviate from the right path. "Is it poſſible, ſays a great author, for any Being to be ſubject to a more capricious conduct?" Count Buſſy Rabutin tells us, *Part* IV. *No.* 31. *of his Letters*, "That he ſhall never forget what Father Senault ſaid to him upon this ſubject, *viz.* that there was a very cloſe connexion betwixt the ſoul and the body, and yet they were always claſhing: in a word, they were two enemies who could never part, and two friends that could never agree." The ancient Philoſophers, though they did not know what had reduced our reaſon under the domination of our paſſions, ſeemed very ſenſible, however, that ſome ſuch change had been wrought, and convinced of their own weakneſs. The Stoics, indeed, ſpeak in too pompous a ſtrain of the Empire of Reaſon; and the idea they formed to themſelves of their *wiſe man*, heated their imagination to ſuch a degree, that they maintained ſome things which had an air of madneſs: I do not mean in their ſuppoſing, that if a man was freed from his paſſions, he would conſtantly and inviolably obey the laws of order and virtue; but in their aſſerting, that it was in the power of a man to exterminate every vicious paſſion. This was their capital error; in this, they diſcovered their ignorance, with regard to the true ſtate and condition of man. The other part of their doctrine was judicious, *viz.* that if a man could conquer or root out his paſſions, he might, without difficulty, practiſe virtue, and arrive at perfection. Others, however, were aware, that the ſoul of man was immerſed in the ſenſes. There is a lively deſcription of the captivity of the ſoul, and the Empire of the paſſions, p. 70. *of the Fragments of Cicero, collected by Patricius*, which runs in this manner. "Homo non ut a matre, ſed ut a novercâ naturâ editus in vitam, corpore nudo & fragili & infirmo, animo autem anxio ad moleſtias, humili ad timores, molli ad labores, prono ad libidines, in quo tamen ineſſet tanquam *obrutus* quidam Divinus ignis ingenii & mentis." "Man is brought into life, not as by a mother, but as by a ſtep-mother; he is turned out naked, weak, and infirm: with a mind diſquieted at ſufferings, humbled by fear, averſe to labour, prone to luſt; in which there yet appears a Divine ſpark of reaſon and underſtanding; but in a manner *ſtifled and overwhelmed*." He likewiſe, in another fragment, which is to be met with in the ſame collection, p. 102. ſeems to think it probable, that this diſcord is the effect of ſin committed in ſome ſtate or other, though he cannot give any account of the time or circumſtances of that matter. Indeed, it was impoſſible he ſhould, as it is not an object of natural light, but of Revelation. He approves of the notions of the ancient heathen Prieſts or Prophets, who thought, that the birth of a man was a puniſhment for wickedneſs in ſome other ſtate; and of a reflection which he had met with in Ariſtotle, *viz.* That the union of the ſoul and body was a puniſhment like that inflicted by ſome robbers of old, who faſtened living bodies to dead carcaſſes, mouth to mouth, &c. that they might linger and pine away in the moſt loathſome manner, as Virgil ſays, *Æn.* lib. viii. Mezentius likewiſe did after-

of

off in the month of April 1492, and in the 44th year of his age. No man ever died in Florence, or indeed in the whole compaſs of

wards. Sentiments of the like nature may be found in numberleſs other heathen writers, who plainly affirm, that the power of reaſon is loſt, though the light is preſerved: that the commiſſion of wickedneſs is not owing to the diſpoſition of the underſtanding, but to the corruption of mankind in deviating from virtue, out of indolence and the love of pleaſure, though they acknowledged her charms to be ſuperior. See the following beautiful paſſages. *Euripides in Hippolyt. ver.* 375. *in Medea. ver.* 1078. *Ovid. Met. lib.* vii. *ver.* 9, 17. It was alſo common amongſt the Pagans to aſcribe not only their ill ſucceſs, but even their faults and follies to Fortune, i. e. their Deity. This excuſe ſeemed always ready at hand: to this wretched conſolation, they had immediate recourſe. Menelaus, accordingly, in anſwer to the reproaches of Peleus, ſays, "that Helen's will was not the cauſe of what ſhe had undergone, but the will of the Gods." *Euripid. in Andromed. ver.* 680. And in Plutarch, *de audiendis poetis*, a father ſays to his ſon, "the Gods often lead mortals into errors:" to which the ſon replies, "it is an eaſy matter then to lay the fault upon them." They concluded, that they were puſhed forwards by ſome ſuperior power: that the Gods, in ſhort, were the cauſe both of their paſſions, and of the criminal conſequences of them. Medea, in the paſſage above referred to in Ovid, is made to reaſon in this manner, when ſhe found ſhe could not reſiſt the paſſion ſhe had conceived for Jaſon, though ſhe plainly foreſaw the ſhameful conſequences of her crimes, and her reaſon condemned them.

Neſcio quis deus obſtat, ait . . . . .
. . . . . trahit invitam nova vis: aliudque Cupido,
Mens aliud ſuadet. Video meliora proboque,
Deteriora ſequor.

Some God, ſhe ſaid, withſtands,
And reaſon's baffled council countermands.
—— love, reſiſtleſs love, my ſoul invades;
Diſcretion this, affection that perſuades.
I ſee the right and I approve it too,
Condemn the wrong—and yet the wrong purſue.
Tate.

This was the uſual refuge of the heathens, in accounting for ſuch paſſions as drew man away in ſpite of the light of his mind, and the knowledge of his true intereſt. They thought there was ſomething Divine in this, and commonly, that it was a puniſhment for ſome wickedneſs they had been guilty of. This ſhews they had ſome glimpſe of what we are taught concerning the loſs of free-will by the commiſſion of ſin, and the abandoned ſtate of thoſe who abuſe the favour of God. Mr. Bayle ſpeaking of irregularities occaſioned by Love, ſays, "it has made an infinite number of perſons of both ſexes, not mentioned in hiſtory, commit a thouſand diſorders, of which they ſo evidently ſaw the ſcandal and inconvenience, that they endeavoured to prevent them, by calling in reaſon to their aid, and offering up petitions to be freed from Love. They concluded, that they were not the cauſe of their own ill conduct, ſince they had a reaſonable mind, a ſoul that was free and miſtreſs of its will. This concluſion led them to another; that an external cauſe, ſuperior to all their powers, urged them on. The ſecond concluſion led them on to a third; that a Deity was the external and neceſſitating cauſe. Here is the original of the pretended Divinity of Venus and Cupid: and becauſe men find that jealouſy, envy, avarice, drunkenneſs, deſire of revenge, and other paſſions, make them commit a thouſand things, which reaſon condemns, and

Italy,

Italy, with a higher reputation, or more lamented by his Country; and as great havock and deſolation enſued upon his death, Heaven

and which are contrary to the true intereſts of ſelf love, and even diſagreeable to themſelves, they thought the Gods inſtigated them to theſe things. If the Pagans had been poſſeſſed of the ſame juſt notions of God that we are, which repreſent him to us as a Being perfectly Holy, they would not have paſſed this raſh judgment: but as they aſcribed the ſame paſſions to their Gods, that mankind were ſubject to, there was nothing to hinder them from thinking, that the Gods forced men into evil, and rendered the light of their reaſon ineffectual, ſometimes by a previous flattering view of pleaſure, which neceſſitated the will; and at other times, by importunate pain. Paris was loved by Helen, Jaſon by Medea. They could not think of an union with thoſe objects, without feeling an incredible ſatisfaction before hand: they could not conſider themſelves as ſeparated from them, without exquiſite diſſatisfaction. Theſe impreſſions did not depend upon their liberty, and were no more ſubject to them, than the agreeable or diſagreeable ſenſation we experience in taſting honey or gall. All that the two women could do, was to oppoſe reaſon and duty to theſe foretaſtes; weak arms, indeed, if Paris and Jaſon continued to excite the ſame ideas and impreſſions; ſince in that caſe they would ſooner or later captivate the will, and force its conſent, however deſirous it might be not to ſubmit and to paſs from love to indifference. Uſeleſs are the wiſhes, weak the velleities, in the preſence of thoſe foretaſtes juſt ſpoken of, the cauſe of which ariſes not from ourſelves. Whence comes it then? The Pagans ſought for it on the right hand and on the left: they could not find it on Earth, and for that reaſon aſcribed it to the Gods. They might do this two ways; either by ſuppoſing a Cupid who wounded the heart, or that the former of the human body had adjuſted the parts of it with ſuch art, that the body of Jaſon, for inſtance, would excite in Medea's head and heart thoſe motions of the Spirits, upon which Love mechanically and inevitably depends. According to this latter principle, if Helen or Medea became amorous, it was to be inſcribed to him who formed and arranged the parts of their bodies: juſt as if a room ſmokes when the wind blows, it muſt be imputed not to the wind, but to the maſon who built the chimney. This was an inexplicable difficulty into which the Pagans fell, as often as they endeavoured to account for the contrariety that is found betwixt what we *do* and what we *know*: and conſequently they muſt fall into it very frequently; for human Life is hardly any thing elſe but one continual and lamentable conflict between the paſſions and the conſcience, in which the latter is almoſt always conquered. What is moſt ſtrange in this conteſt, is, that victory very often declares for the ſide which ſhocks at once the ideas that men have of right, and the knowledge of their temporal intereſt. Surely there are ſome people of ſuch a brutal ſtupidity, that they cannot ſee that their life would be much more happy if they did not nouriſh thoſe paſſions in their breaſts which they ſo fondly indulge there. But one cannot help thinking, that far the greater part of envious and jealous people muſt be well convinced; that an exemption from envy and jealouſy would be a bleſſing of great price. A woman, jealous of her huſband or gallant, a man jealous of his wife or miſtreſs, are ſufficiently ſenſible of their misfortune, and impatient to be delivered out of that torment. What would they not give to be rid of the fury that haunts them day and night? They employ all the means and reaſons which their mind is capable of ſuggeſting, in order either to deceive or undeceive themſelves; but in ſpite of all theſe efforts, their jealouſy ſtill ſubſiſts. They find themſelves, to their great regret, more ingenious in inventing what ornents it, than what would allay it. The ſame may be ſaid of the envious. They know well enough, that their ſelf-love would be more happily indulged by being content with their own condition, and looking with pleaſure at the proſperity of others,

ſeemed

ſeemed to foretell it by many previous ſigns and warnings: for amongſt many others, the ſpire of St. Reparata's Church was ſtruck with light-

than in afflicting themſelves at the ſucceſs of a neighbour, who grows richer than they are; and yet, notwithſtanding this conviction, they torture themſelves, and pine away at the good fortune of another; and inſtead of rejoycing as they ought to do, for their own ſakes, are reduced to ſeek a remedy in the meaneſt of all treacheries: they endeavour to embaraſs the affairs of their neighbour by perfidy and calumny; and by theſe methods hope to abate the malignity of the fever that conſumes them. What could a Pagan Philoſopher ſay upon this point? Would he not be obliged to acknowledge a ſuperior cauſe within, and to rank all theſe perſons amongſt the fanatics, energumeni, enthuſiaſts, and thoſe in general who were thought to be agitated with a Divine *furor*?

Eſt Deus in nobis, agitante caleſcimus illo;
Impetus hic ſacræ ſemina mentis habet.

Says Ovid. *Faſtor.* lib. vi. *circa init.* The ſame author ſuppoſes the jealouſy which Aglaura (the daughter of Cecrops, King of Athens) conceived againſt her ſiſter, was infuſed into her by a Deity. *Metam.* lib. ii. fab. 12. The light of Philoſophy is too dim to afford any effectual diſcovery in the matter. Happily, therefore, did Cardinal Pole (if I remember right) apply the following lines out of Virgil to it.

Eſt in conſpectu Tenedos notiſſima famâ
Inſula, dives opum Priami dum regna manebant;
Nunc tantum ſinus, & ſtatio maleſida carinis.

Æn. lib. ii. l. 21.

In ſight of Troy lies Tenedos, an Iſle
(While Fortune did on Priam's empire ſmile)
Renown'd for wealth; but ſince a faithleſs bay
Where ſhips expos'd to wind and weather lay.

Dryden.

The Chriſtian ſyſtem is the only one that can reſolve theſe difficulties. It informs us, that ſince the firſt man fell, all his deſcendants have been ſubject to ſuch a corruption, that without ſupernatural Grace, they are neceſſarily ſlaves to ſin, inclined to do evil, and averſe to that which is good. Reaſon, Philoſophy, the ideas of Right, the knowlege of the true intereſts of Self-love, all taken together, are not able to make head againſt the paſſions. The government which was given to the ſuperior part over the inferior, has been taken away ſince the fall of Adam. This is the change produced by ſin. In the ſtate of Innocence, the inferior part was not in the ſame condition that it is at preſent: no diſorder could ariſe, ſince the ſuperior could always reſtrain the firſt emotions and tendency to it. To ſay otherwiſe, would be to ſuppoſe, that man, when he came freſh out of the hands of his Creator, would have been actually determined towards ſenſuality and criminal paſſions; which would be doing injuſtice to the perfections of the Supreme Being. But the ſtrongeſt repreſentations of the Heathen Orators, Poets, or Philoſophers, cannot exhibit to us ſo lively an idea of this civil war in the heart of man, and the true cauſe of it, as St. Paul gives us. Let us caſt our eye, therefore, upon the Picture which that great Apoſtle, under the inſpiration of eternal truth, preſents us with, in his Epiſtle to the Romans, chap. vii. v. 15 & ſeq. "That which I do, I allow not: for what I would, that I do not: but what I hate, that I do. If then I do that which I would not, I *conſent* unto the Law that it is good. Now then it is no more I that do it, but Sin that dwelleth in me. For I know that in me (that is in my fleſh) dwelleth no good thing: for to will is preſent with me; but how to

tening

tening in ſuch a manner, that almoſt all the ſteeple tumbled down, to the great conſternation of the City [p]. Not only his Fellow-citizens, but all the Princes in Italy, were ſo ſenſibly afflicted at his death, that there was not one of them who did not ſend Ambaſſadors to Florence, to teſtify their concern and condole with the Republic upon ſo deplorable a loſs. Whether they had juſt reaſon for theſe demonſtrations of ſorrow was ſoon after fully manifeſted by the ſucceeding events: for being deprived of his Counſel and aſſiſtance, there was nobody left of ſufficient power and authority to controul the ambition of Ludovico Sforza, the Duke of Milan's guardian [q]. So that

perform that which is good, I find not. For the good that I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do. Now, if I do what I would not, it is no more I that do it, but Sin that dwelleth in me. I find then a Law, that when I would do good, *evil is preſent with me*. For I delight in the Law of God after the inward man. But I ſee another Law in my Members, warring againſt the Law of my Mind, and bringing me into captivity to the Law of Sin, which is in my Members. O wretched man that I am! who ſhall deliver me from the body of this death?" See alſo what follows in the next Chapter. But, as this Note (if it may be ſo called) has ſwelled almoſt to the ſize of a diſſertation, it is high time to put an end to it.

[p] It may be obſerved in the courſe of this hiſtory, that it has more than once been the caſe, when any error or miſrule has happened, or any misfortune befallen the State, that ſome poor Church or other has ſuffered (in the opinion of the generality at leaſt) upon that account. May it not here be allowed to parody the words of Horace, though not in a metrical manner, and ſay,

Delirant *populi*, plectuntur *Eccleſiæ*.

So in the 7th book, when the people of Florence were grown diſſolute and corrupt in their manners, they are not viſited with a peſtilence or general fire, but a *judgment* falls upon the *Church* of Santo Spirito, and it is burnt to the ground: and now Lorenzo de Medici is going to die, down comes the Steeple of St. Reparata. But ſince the Reformation, the notion of omens, and portents, and preſages has not been ſo prevalent, as it was in the times of Papal darkneſs: though it is certain it will never be entirely eradicated out of the minds of weak people; nay there have been of late, and ſtill are ſome perſons poſſeſſed with it, who do not deſerve, upon any other account, to come under that denomination.

[q] This Ludovico, or Lewis the Moor, drove the Ducheſs Dowager out of Milan, put the Chancellor Simonetto to death, who had aſſiſted her in the Regency, and ſoon after poiſoned his nephew, the young Duke. He then called the French into Italy under Charles VIII. to the utter ruin of the houſe of Arragon which then reigned in the Kingdom of Naples, and of himſelf alſo. For ſometime after, repenting of what he had done, he entered into a confederacy with ſome other Princes againſt Lewis XII, who had ſucceeded to the Crown of France and not only laid claim to the Duchy of Milan but actually made himſelf Maſter of it. Upon his return to France however, Ludovico once more got poſſeſſion of Milan; but not long after, his forces were routed, and he himſelf taken by Lewis de Tremouille the French King's General, who kept him priſoner ten years in the Caſtle of Loches, where he died. Guicciardini ſays he was a Prince of great wit and eloquence, of an affable and obliging temper, but very ambitious, and one that had no regard to his word. This Hiſtorian might have added, that

immediately

immediately after Lorenzo's death, ſuch ſparks of diſcord began to rekindle, as in a while broke out into a flame, which has preyed upon the vitals of Italy ever ſince, and is not yet extinguiſhed.

he ſtuck at nothing that would ſerve his purpoſes, and that he was a cruel and blood-thirſty man. Mezerai ſays, *Abrege Chronol. Tom.* iv. p. 421: under the year 1500, "that Lewis XII had him carried from Lyons to Loches, where he was ſhut up in an iron cage without being allowed to read or write for the ſpace of ten years, that is, till he died. A piece of ſeverity ſo contrary to the known mercy of this good and mild Prince, that it was thought a viſible puniſhment from God."

The Florentines, according to Politian, were ſo concerned at the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, that they threw his Phyſician into a well, for neglecting his Duty to him. The Sentiments of authors are various concerning the original of this family de' Medici, which has given Princes and Princeſſes to moſt of the thrones in Europe. One thing is certain, that they can prove a continued ſucceſſion of noble and brave men from Philip de' Medici, the great Patron of the Guelphs at Florence, in the 13th Century, who brought his family back again thither in triumph after they had been expelled by the Ghibelines. Verinus the Poet ſays,

Ex Appennino, celſaque ex arce Magelli,
Nobilitas Medicûm Thuſcam deſcendit in urbem.

This Prince was great-grandfather to Everardo de' Medici, whoſe two Sons Juvenco and Clariſſimo formed two branches of that Houſe. There have been ſeveral Popes and Cardinals of this family. Schowart ſpeaking of the Tuſcan branch ſays, their Anceſtors were Merchants, and that Coſimo de' Medici was elected Prince by the Populace in the year 1434. But Pietro de' Medici his great grandſon having entered into a League with Lewis XII of France without the knowledge of the Signiory, was ejected by the Florentines, and retired to Venice, from whence he durſt not ſtir, notwithſtanding the King's protection; being more afraid of the private revenge of his Countrymen, than confident of being ſupported by the French. So that the Florentines recovered and enjoyed their ancient liberties till 1512, when Ferdinand King of Spain reſtored the family of Medici; which was expelled again in 1529. In 1530 Charles V. ſeized upon Florence, and made Alexander de' Medici, great grandſon of Lorenzo (and who married his natural daughter Margaret) Sovereign and Duke of Florence. Alexander was murdered about ſeven years after; and having left no children was ſucceeded by his brother John, whoſe Son Coſimo de' Medici was created Grand Duke of Tuſcany by Pope Pius V in 1569. That Pontif had likewiſe a deſign of making him King of Tuſcany; but the Emperor Maximilian II. and other Princes oppoſing it, Coſimo contented himſelf with the title of Grand Duke, which his ſucceſſors have enjoyed ever ſince, being in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Hetruria. His Son Francis married the daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand I. His grandſon Coſimo III. born in 1642, married Margareta Loviſa, daughter of Gaſton Duke of Orleans, by whom he had a Son whoſe name was likewiſe Gaſton, who, in 1688, married Beatrice Siſter of the Elector of Bavaria, and died without iſſue in 1737; when the title was transferred to the Duke of Lorrain by conſent of the late Emperor Charles VI (who looked upon it as a fief of the Empire, as the Pope likewiſe thought it was of the Holy See) in lieu of the Duchy of Lorrain, which was ceded to France by the treaty of Peace at the concluſion of the war, betwixt the Empire on one ſide, and France and Spain on the other in 1735. So that the preſent Emperor of Germany is now Grand Duke of Tuſcany. Voltaire ſays, that the period

whilſt Florence was under the Government of the Medici, ought to be called the *Medicean age*, as the polite arts and Sciences were then carried to the higheſt perfection; and then it was, that thoſe great Genius's, Arioſto, Machiavel, Guicciardine, Cardinal Bembo, Triſſiano, Caſa, Bernini, Raphael, Michael Angelo, Titian, Paolo Veroneſe, and ſo many others adorned the age, and rendered their names immortal. *Gen. Hiſt. of Europe*. vol. ii. part iii. p. 215. and part iv. p. 43.

The End of the HISTORY of FLORENCE.

THE

THE

PRINCE:

To which is ſubjoined, Chapter by Chapter,

The *Examen du Prince*, or *Anti-Machiavel*,

A Critical ESSAY upon that WORK;

Written Originally in FRENCH,

By his Illuſtrious MAJESTY, the preſent KING of PRUSSIA,

And here Tranſlated into ENGLISH.

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MACHIAVEL's Dedication

OF THE

PRINCE,

TO THE

Moſt Magnificent LORENZO DE' MEDICI *.

THOSE that court the favour of Princes, commonly beſpeak their good graces, either by making them rich preſents, or procuring ſuch things for them, as they know they moſt delight in: hence we often ſee them preſented with fine horſes and armour, curious pieces of embroidery, jewels, and other ſuch things, as are ſuitable to their quality and grandeur. For my own part, though I am ambitious of preſenting myſelf to your Highneſs, with ſome teſtimony of my devotion to you, I am poſſeſſed of nothing more precious (to myſelf at leaſt) than the knowledge of the conduct and atchievements of great men, which I have gained by long practice and experience in modern affairs, and continual ſtudy of ancient hiſtory. Having therefore reduced my reflections, after a ſevere and repeated examination of them, into the compaſs of a ſmall volume, I make bold to offer it to your Highneſs: not that I have the vanity to think it worthy of your preſence, though I truſt your uſual humanity will take it in good part; ſince it is not in my power to preſent you with any thing more valuable than the means of acquiring that knowledge of mankind in a very ſhort time, and with little pains, which has coſt me ſo much trouble, and ſo many years to collect, and that too with infinite peril and hazard. It is not decked out, indeed, with an oſtentatious pomp of language, or ſwelling

* Duke of Urbino, Lord of Peſaro, &c. He was the Son of Pietro de' Medici, and Father to Catharine, Wife to Henry II. of France. He died in the year 1519.

periods, or any of thoſe meretricious arts, with which many are wont to decorate their writings: as I had much rather it ſhould paſs unnoticed and diſregarded, if Truth alone, and the Importance of the Subject are not ſufficient to recommend it. Nor will it be thought preſumption, I hope, that a perſon of my low condition, pretends to give leſſons of government to Princes: for as thoſe that take maps of Countries, uſually ſtand upon a plain to conſider the nature of mountains and high places; and upon the top of a hill, to ſurvey the plains and valleys: ſo, it is neceſſary to be a Prince, in order to know the nature and diſpoſition of ſubjects; and no leſs ſo to be a ſubject, to judge properly of a Prince.

May your Highneſs then accept this ſmall preſent, with the ſame good will that it is offered. If you are pleaſed to read and conſider it with attention, you will be convinced how paſſionately I long to ſee you arrive at that height of grandeur to which Fortune, and your excellent Virtues daily call you [a]: and if you ſhould ſome time or other vouchſafe to look down from the ſummit of your greatneſs, upon a man in ſo humble a ſtation, you will ſee how long, and how unworthily I have been perſecuted, in the moſt cruel manner, by the extreme and unrelenting malevolence of Fortune.

[a] See the laſt Chapter of the *Prince*.

SOME

SOME

ANECDOTES

Relating to the

LIFE and WRITINGS

OF

NICOLAS MACHIAVEL,

Collected from various AUTHORS.

NICOLAS MACHIAVEL was born at Florence; but in what year is not certain. One might reaſonaably have expected to find this particular in Neri's poſthumous hiſtory of the Florentine Authors, publiſhed at Florence in 1722. But that writer only ſays, his father's name was Bernardo, and that he was of a noble and ancient family: after which introduction, inſtead of mentioning any thing circumſtantial of the time of his birth, his ſtudies, his life, or death, he runs out into a long invective againſt his writings. Paulus Jovius, however, acquaints us that his fortune was ſo narrow, that he was obliged to ſerve as Amanuenſis to Marcello Virgilio [*a*], a man very learned in the Greek and Latin tongues; who finding him a youth of good parts, pointed out to him ſeveral beauties in the ancient writers, many of which he afterwards availed himſelf of in his own works [*b*]. Yet his knowledge in the Latin and Greek languages was but ſuperficial, if we may credit the ſame author [*c*],

[*a*] Neri ſays, Marcello Virgilio Adriani.

[*b*] Conſtat eum, ſicuti ipſe nobis fatebatur, a Marcello Virgilio, cujus & notarius & aſſecla publici muneris fuit, Græcæ & Latinæ linguæ flores accepiſſe, quos ſcriptis ſuis inſereret. *Paul. Jov. Elog.* cap. 87.

[*c*] Nulla vel certe mediocris Latinarum literarum cognitio fuit. *Ibid.*

as he applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of his mother tongue; in which he ſucceeded ſo well that he is ſtill eſteemed one of the beſt Tuſcan writers, and his authority often quoted by the compilers of the Cruſcan Dictionary in their ſecond Edition of that work [*d*]. He wrote a Comedy upon the ancient Greek model, as Jovius informs us in the following paſſage: "comiter æſtimemus Etruſcos ſales ad exemplar comœdiæ veteris Ariſtophanis, in *Nicia* præſertim comœdia; in qua adeo jucunde vel in triſtibus rifum excitavit, ut illi ipſi, ex perſona ſcite expreſſa, in ſcena inducti cives, quanquam prælte commorderentur, totam inuſtæ notæ injuriam civili lenitate pertulerint: quanque Florentiæ, ex ea mimi leporis fama, Leo Pontifex inſtaurato ludo, ut urbi ea voluptas communicaretur, cum toto ſcenæ cultu ipſiſque hiſtrionibus Romam acciverit [*e*]. From whence it appears that the great applauſe with which that piece was acted at Florence coming to the Pope's ears, he ordered it to be repreſented at Rome by the ſame company of Actors, and with the ſame decorations. Monſieur Varillas (who compares Machiavel's theatrical talent with that of Moliere) has picked up many other particulars of this ſtory, which are not to be met with in Jovius. He relates them as follows. "One day, as Machiavel was mimicking the gait and manner of ſome of the Florentines, Cardinal de' Medici told him they would appear in a much more ridiculous light upon the Stage, if he could introduce them there in a comedy written in the manner of Ariſtophanes. This was ſufficient to put Machiavel upon compoſing his *Senitia* [*f*], in which, thoſe who were the ſubjects of his ridicule, found ſuch a lively repreſentation of themſelves, that they durſt not reſent it, though they were preſent at the firſt exhibition of the piece, for fear of heightening the public laugh by applying it to themſelves. Cardinal de' Medici was ſo pleaſed with it, that after he was made Pope, he cauſed the decorations of the Stage, the dreſſes, and the Actors themſelves, to be brought to Rome for the entertainment of his Court [*g*]". Varillas here not only relates circumſtances which are not to be found in Jovius; but, contrary to

[*d*] They quote him under the name of *the Florentine Secretary*, as Machiavel's Works are condemned in the *Index Expurgatorius*.

[*e*] Elog. cap. 87.

[*f*] Jovius calls it *Nicia*, and therefore it ſhould have been printed *Nicia* accordingly. *Nicia* indeed is one of the *Dramatis Perſonæ* in *Mandragola*, a Comedy written by Machiavel, but there is no entire piece ſo called, to be found amongſt his works. We meet with only two Comedies there; the firſt of which is entitled *Mandragola*, and the other *Clitia*. Probably the latter may be meant, as it is a very humorous one.

[*g*] *Varillas Anecdotes de Florence*, p. 248.

the

the account of that author, ſays, that this Comedy was brought upon the Stage at Florence before Leo X. was Pope [*b*].

Theſe talents recommended him to the favour of the Medici, who procured him the office of Secretary, and afterwards that of Hiſtoriographer to the Republic of Florence. Mr. Bayle, in his hiſtorical Dictionary, ſays, they did that to pacify his reſentment for having been put to the torture (upon ſuſpicion of being an accomplice in the Machinations of the Soderini againſt the houſe of Medici) which yet he ſuffered without confeſſing any thing; but Neri relates the matter as if Machiavel had obtained thoſe employments before he was ſuſpected of being concerned in ſuch practices. The encomiums which he beſtowed upon Brutus and Caſſius both in his converſation and writings made it ſtrongly ſuſpected that he was afterwards the principal manager of another conſpiracy which was diſcovered [*i*].

[*b*] Balzac obſerves, that the *Clitia* of Machiavel is copied from the Caſina of Plautus, and juſtly finds fault with the Florentine Poet, for having followed his original, word for word, in many places, even in ridiculing matters of Religion. "Scriba quem noſti Florentinus comœdiam (ſays he) e Latinâ bonâ, Hetruſcam fecit, meo judicio, non malam. Clitia ſiquidem illius eadem eſt quæ Plauti Caſina; ex qua nonnulla interpres diſertiſſimus penè ad verbum reddidit, quædam correxit cum arte, multa feliciſſimè imitatus eſt, aliqua verò aut imprudenter aut perverſè; velut illa Olympionis villici ad ſtalinonem herum:

Inimica eſt tua uxor mihi, inimicus filius,
Inimici familiares.—*Stal.* Quid id refert tuâ?
Unus tibi hic dum propitius ſit Jupiter,
Tu iſtos minutos cave Deos flocci feceris.
Olymp. Nugæ ſunt iſtæ magnæ; quaſi tu neſcias
Repente ut emoriantur humani Joves.
Sed tandem ſi tu Jupiter ſis emortuus,
Cum ad Deos minores redierit regnum tuum,
Quis mihi ſubveniet tergo aut capiti, aut cruribus?

Caſina, Act. ii. Scen. v.

"Quæ ſic Tuſcus effinxit Scenâ Sextâ Actus tertii, ubi Pyrrhus hunc cum Nicomacho Sermonem habet:

Nic. Ch' importa à te? Stà ben con Chriſto, & fatti beffe de' Santi.
Pyr. Si, ma ſe voi moriſſi, e Santi mi trattereb bono aſſai male?
Nic. Non dubitare, io ti faro tal parte che i Santi ti potranno dar poca briga, &c.

Hæc quod ad elegantiam, multo inferiora ſunt Plautinis; indigna vero homine Chriſtiano, qui ſanctiores muſas colit, & in ludicris quoque meminiſſe debet ſeveritatis." *Balzac. Epiſt. Seleƈt.* p. 202, 203.

[*i*] If we may believe Jovius, a Poet, and a Life-guard-man, who it ſeems had formed a deſigned to aſſaſſinate Cardinal Juliano de' Medici (afterwards Clement VII.) loſt their lives for it. "Quum dicendo ſcribendoque Brutos & Caſſios laudaret, ejus conjurationis Architectus fuiſſe putaretur, in quâ Ajacetus Poeta, & Alamannus ex ipſâ turmâ prætoriâ eques, concepti ſceleris capitè pœnas dederunt." The perſon whom Jovius here calls *Ajacetus*, is by others named *Giacopo da Diacetto*, or, *Jacobus Jacettus*. This perſon uſed to frequent the houſe and gardens of Coſimo Rucellai, where all men of learning, whether natives or foreigners, were well received; amongſt whom were

However he was not profecuted for it: but from that time he lived in extreme poverty and miſery, though he affected to turn every thing into ridicule, and abandoned himſelf to irreligion. He died in the year 1526 as ſome ſay, or according to others in 1530, of a medicine which he took as a preſervative. Some authors, amongſt whom Varillas is one, relate that his friends were obliged to have recourſe to public authority, in order to make him receive the Sacraments; and others, that he died blaſpheming [*k*]. What Jovius ſays of his death is as follows "Fato functus eſt quum accepto temere pharmaco, quo ſe adverſus morbos muniret, *vitæ ſuæ jocabundus illuſiſſet*, paulo antequam Florentia Cæſarianis ſubacta armis, Mediceos veteres dominos recipere cogeretur [*l*]." He had ſaid a little before, "fuit exinde ſemper inops, uti irriſor & Atheus." He ſuppoſes then that the Medici abandoned him from the time that they ſuſpected him of having a hand in Diacetto's conſpiracy: but in that he is miſtaken. For Clement VII was not yet advanced to the Papal dignity; and we ſee that Machiavel in the Dedication of his Florentine Hiſtory to Clement VII, acknowledges that he was ſupported by the liberality of that Pontif, "I come boldly into the field, ſays he, for as I have been honoured with your countenance and preferred by your bounty, I am not without hope that I ſhall likewiſe find a ſhelter

Zanobi Buondelmonti and Luigi Alamanni. This company generally converſed in a circle round Rucellai, who was ſo infirm, that he uſed to be carried about in a cradle. Machiavel too ſometimes made one of them, and not only read his works to that aſſembly, but dedicated ſome of them to Coſimo; which made ſuch an impreſſion, that they reſolved to kill the Cardinal, not out of any perſonal hatred to him, but in order to ſet the Republic at liberty. Diacetto confeſſed it in his examination before a Magiſtrate; and both he and the Life-guard-man were put to death for it. Machiavel was violently ſuſpected of having a ſhare in the plot: Alamanni, who was then in the country, made his eſcape into the Duchy of Urbino: Buondelmonti quitted the City at the inſtances of his wife, and eſcaped into Carfagnana, where he was protected by the Poet Arioſto, who reſided there in quality of Governor, under the Duke of Ferrara. *Pierre de Boiſſat, Hiſtoire Genealogique de la Maiſon de' Medici.* Varillas in his *Anecdotes of Florence*, ſays, that Leo X. was alive at the time of this conſpiracy: but he is as widely miſtaken in this, as in his account of the interval betwixt Machiavel's promotion to the office of Hiſtoriographer, and the advancement of that Pontif to the papal chair. But Jovius has fallen into much groſſer errors. He ſays, that the diſtinguiſhing part of Ajacetus's character was his being a Poet; which is falſe. He ought to have ſaid ſo of Alamanni, inſtead of making him one of the Horſe-guards; and he ſhould not have reckoned him amongſt thoſe that loſt their heads. Luigi Alamanni, a fine genius, and a great Poet, was indeed an accomplice in that conſpiracy, but he did not ſuffer for it. He fled, over the Alps, and met with a very favourable reception in France, where he wrote ſeveral Poems in praiſe of Francis I. and upon many other ſubjects.

[*k*] Blaſphemans evomuit improbum ſpiritum. *Th. Raynaud, de bonis & malis libris.* Num. 46.

[*l*] That event happened upon the 9th of Auguſt 1530.

under

under the ſanction of your favourable opinion and great wiſdom.'' This circumſtance of time lays open either a palpable falſehood, or at leaſt an egregious blunder in Varillas. He ſays, in his Anecdotes of Florence, " that Machiavel wrote the eight books which we have of the Florentine Hiſtory, in ſo florid and elaborate a Style, that he is charged with an exceſs in that point: that it is chiefly upon this account that the eaſe and agreeable freedom of Boccace are preferred to his manner of writing: that his relation of facts is ſometimes ill natured and ſatirical: and that Marcus Muſurus convicted him ſo evidently of theſe faults that he durſt not attempt a reply." Now Muſurus died in the time of Leo X; ſo that he could not poſſibly animadvert upon Machiavel's Hiſtory, which did not appear till the days of Clement VII. Varillas has likewiſe ſtrangely perverted the words of Jovius, which are as follow. " Pedeſtrem patrii ſermonis facultatem a Boccacii conditoris vetuſtate diffluentem novis & plane Atticis vinculis aſtrinxerat, ſic ut ille caſtigatior, ſed non purior aut gravior exiſtimetur.

It would be endleſs to relate the ſtories that are told of Machiavel's irreligion. Let one ſuffice, and whether that is worthy of credit or not, is left to the judgment of the reader. " When he lay at the point of death he was ſeized with the following phrenzy. He ſaw a ſmall company of poor, half ſtarved, ragged, ill favoured wretches who he was told were the inhabitants of Paradiſe, of whom it is written, *Beati pauperes Spiritu; quoniam ipſorum eſt regnum cælorum. Bleſſed are the poor in Spirit; for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.* After theſe had retired, an infinite number of grave Majeſtick perſonages appeared, who ſeemed as ſitting in council and debating upon important affairs of State. There he ſaw Plato, Seneca, Plutarch, Tacitus, with many others of the like character: and when he aſked who thoſe venerable perſons were, he was informed they were the damned, the Souls of the reprobated, *Sapientia hujus ſæculi inimica eſt Dei; the wiſdom of this world is fooliſhneſs with God.* After this, being aſked to which of thoſe companies he would chuſe to belong, he anſwered, he had much rather go to hell, where he might converſe with thoſe great Genius's about State-affairs, than be condemned to the company of ſuch louſy ſcoundrels as had been preſented to him before. Soon after which he expired [*m*]." Spizelius gives us the ſubſtance of the ſame ſtory [*n*]; but it is otherwiſe related by ſome. They pretend that Machiavel ſays in ſome part of his works, that he

[*m*] Binet de Salut d'Origene.
[*n*] Scrutin. Atheiſmi hiſtoric. ætiolog.

would

he would rather be ſent to hell after his death, than go to Paradiſe; becauſe he ſhould find nobody in Heaven but a parcel of beggars, Monks, Hermits and Apoſtles: but in Hell he ſhould live with Cardinals, Popes, Princes, and Kings [*o*].

Beſides the Comedy of Clitia above-mentioned, Machiavel compoſed two others which never were printed, but are to be ſeen in manuſcript in the grand Duke of Tuſcany's Library; one of them is entitled *the Maſk*, a very ſatirical piece, and the other, *the Secretary*: and he may in ſome meaſure be called the author of another very humorous one, entitled *la Sporta*, or *the Baſket*, as he ſketched out the plan and wrote the beſt Scenes in it, though it is commonly attributed to Giovanni Baptiſta Gelli [*p*]. There is a fifth likewiſe entirely of his own compoſing, and printed amongſt his other works, called Mandragola [*q*], which la Fontaine has traveſtied into a tale under the ſame title. He is ſaid to have compoſed ſeveral other theatrical pieces which are not now to be met with; and ſome tales in the manner of Boccace: one of which, viz. the Marriage of Belphegor [*r*], Giovanni Breccio publiſhed as his own; but the theft was diſcovered by Giovanni Cinelli, who takes notice of it in his *Bibliotheca Volante*. Monſieur le Fevre de Saumur had it printed 1664 from Machiavel's own manuſcript, which was the firſt time it appeared under the name of the true Author. This alſo was ſeized upon by

[*o*] Francis Hotman, in his 99th Epiſtle, dated, Dec. 25, 1580, amongſt other curious particulars, ſays, this account is to be met with in Wolfius's Comment upon Cicero's Tuſculan Diſputations.

[*p*] Gelli, in his dedicatory Letter, and in the Prologue, ſays, that he copied the greateſt part of this Comedy from Plautus and Terence: but Giacopo Gaddi, and Giuliano Ricci, affirm, that it was written by Machiavel; and that Gelli, into whoſe hands the manuſcript fell, adding a little to it, publiſhed it as his own work. Laſca before them had ſaid of Gelli,

E fece anch' egli una comedia nova,
Che l'avea prima fatta il Machiavelli.

See Barretti's *Italian Library*, p. 106.

[*q*] Voltaire ſpeaking of the State of the Polite Arts in the Sixteenth Century, ſays, "Italy had its Thucydides in Guicciardine, who wrote the Hiſtory of the wars of his own time, as Thucydides wrote the war of Peloponneſus. There were, indeed, no Orators like Demoſthenes, Pericles, and Æſchines, in any of the Italian Provinces: the government in moſt places, being inconſiſtent with that kind of merit. Their ſtage, however, though far ſhort of that degree of perfection, to which the French Theatre afterwards attained, might be compared to the Greek Drama, which they began to revive; and Machiavel's Mandragola alone, is preferable perhaps to all Ariſtophanes's Comedies. Machiavel was an excellent Hiſtorian, and a man of fine genius; ſo that there can be no manner of compariſon betwixt him and Ariſtophanes." *Gen. Hiſt. of Europe*, vol. ii. part. iv. c. 1. But with ſubmiſſion to ſo great a judge, the Comedy of Clitia ſeems to ſome others, much the better of the two.

[*r*] It is inſerted at the end of the ſecond volume of this work.

la Fontaine and dreſſed up in a new garb. His poetical talents may further appear from ſeveral little pieces which he wrote in verſe, as *the Golden Aſs*; four *Capitoli*, as he calls them, upon *Opportunity*, *Fortune*, *Ingratitude*, and *Ambition*; and his *Duoi Decennali*, or, *a Summary of what happened in Italy, during a period of twenty years*. But his performances hitherto mentioned, may be conſidered only as what the Italians call *Operette*, or *Proluſions*. It is time therefore to ſay ſomething of the reſt.

Mr Bayle ſays, there is a very curious paſſage in the Sequel to the *Menagiana* p. 96. relating to the fineſſe which Machiavel made uſe of in drawing up the Life of Caſtruccio Caſtracani; to which the Editor of theſe Anecdotes muſt refer the Reader, as he has not had an opportunity of ſeeing it himſelf. Some alledge that it is not faithfully written [*s*]; and his Hiſtory of Florence is charged with the ſame fault [*t*]. But as that matter is pretty well cleared up in the *Advertiſement to the Reader*, prefixed to this tranſlation of it, let it ſuffice to add here what Monſieur Gohory, an old French tranſlator of Machiavel's works, ſays concerning the merit of that Hiſtory. "It is ſo excellent and perfect a one, that the late Milles Perrot, Maſter of Accounts, and my near relation (one of the moſt learned men in the kingdom in languages and ſciences) having read it over with more diligence than he had done either Livy or Tacitus, told me, that as the temper of it was accommodated to our times, there was more advantage to be reaped from reading it, than from thoſe great ancient hiſtorians, who wrote in an age ſo very different in its manners and cuſtoms from ours [*u*].

He alſo wrote three books of *political diſcourſes upon the firſt Decad of Livy*, a work much eſteemed by Politicians; and ſeven more on the *Art of War*; from the peruſal of which, the Duke of Urbino (Son of Pietro de' Medici, and Nephew to Leo X) conceived ſo high an opinion of his military knowledge that he ſollicited him to accept of a commiſſion in his army: but he had the prudence not to venture upon any practical proofs of his theory, not even ſo far as to command

[*s*] Machiavellus plane multa comminiſcitur in vitâ Caſtruccii; nempe quia is hoſtis fuiſſet Reipublicæ Florentinæ." *Voſſius de arte hiſtorica*, cap. 10. And Jovius complains bitterly of his unfairneſs, in his Elogium upon Nicholas Tegrimus, Counſellor and Hiſtorian of Lucca, who has given a very exact account of the actions of Caſtracani. "Sed Machiavellus Florentinus Hiſtoricus, patrii veteris odii memor, petulanti malignitate, non interituram memorabilis Ducis famam fabulis involvit, quum vitam acerrimi hoſtis Etruſco Sermone ſcribere orſus, tam impudenti quam aſtuto illudendi genere, ſacroſanctam rerum geſtarum fidem corruperit." *Elog.* cap. 141.

[*t*] Ibid. cap. 87.

[*u*] *Epitre dedicatoire des diſcours ſur Tite Live.*

a troop

a troop of horſe. In which he certainly judged right: for one who has ſtudied the art of war from books only, would preſently expoſe himſelf to the deriſion of the meaneſt Soldier. If Cardan had not mentioned this particular, it might poſſibly never have been heard of [x]. The reſt of his works conſiſt of, *A Narrative of the method taken by Duke Valentine to rid himſelf of Vitellozzo Vitelli, Oliverotto da Fermo, Paolo Urſini, and the Duke di Gravina at Sinigaglia. A ſketch of the Conſtitution and affairs of France*; and another *of thoſe of Germany*: all which were publiſhed, and are included in this Volume. Beſides theſe, he wrote a piece entitled *Relations*, or an account of the moſt remarkable things that happened in his time, and left it in manuſcript to Franciſco Guicciardini, who made great uſe of it in the compoſition of his Hiſtory. There are alſo many of his Letters to his friends ſtill to be ſeen in manuſcript, beſides a large Volume of others written upon various occaſions in the name of his Republic: and in the Gaddian Library at Florence there is a diſſertation in his own hand writing ſtyled, *A diſcourſe concerning the reformation of the State of Tuſcany, for the uſe of Leo* X.

But of all his writings, that which has given moſt offence is a political work entitled *the Prince*. The maxims contained in it are of ſuch a nature as hath made the public look upon him as a dangerous author: ſo that *Machiavelliſm*, and the art of reigning tyrannically, are become in a manner Synonymous terms. Indeed ſeveral of the ſame maxims are ſcattered through his hiſtorical works: but they generally appear there as *Reflections*, and ſometimes as conjectures or reaſonings upon the actions of Princes and the ſecret ſprings of them. And in this, it muſt be allowed, he has done no more than imitate many other both ancient and modern Hiſtorians. He might therefore perhaps have eſcaped with as ſmall a portion of cenſure as Tacitus, for inſtance; if he had not taken it into his head to reduce his Diabolical Politics into a regular ſort of a *Syſtem* or *Inſtitution* to be learnt and practiſed by Princes. In this he is certainly inexcuſable; and one may venture to ſay, thoſe that think it hard that the ſame people ſhould ſhew this author no mercy, who yet make no ſcruple of giving quarter to Salluſt, Livy, Plutarch, and even Tacitus himſelf, have not duly conſidered how very different the method which Machiavel takes of venting ſuch things is from that obſerved by the others.

[x] Machiavellum ſæculi ſuperioris Doctorem, qui tot & tanta de militari Romanorum diſciplinâ diſertiſſime ſcripſerat, ne unam quidem cohortem, quantumvis eum id ut tentaret, Urbini Princeps hortaretur, inſtruere auſum eſſe Cardanus teſtatur. l. iii. *de utilit. ex adverſ. capiend.* citante Beſoldo, cap. i. *de arte jureque belli.*

Nobody

Nobody exclaims againſt Poets, though they frequently inſtil the ſame maxims, and in a manner too that is more affecting and apt to make a deeper impreſſion: from their works they ſoon paſs into proverbs and aphoriſms which every one learns by heart. And if any of theſe pernicious *traits* happen to occur either in ancient or modern Hiſtorians, inſtead of laying them down as precepts or recommending the practice of them, they generally ſpeak of them with diſapprobation: nay, the Poets themſelves (ſay their Advocates) only put them in the mouths of ſuch perſons as they at the ſame time repreſent as wicked men; of whom, as well as their principles, they endeavour to inſpire us with horror. But Machiavel has moulded them into form and propoſes them as Counſels and Leſſons for uſurpers.

Some indeed have endeavoured to juſtify him by probabilities. They cannot be perſuaded, they ſay, that a man of his ſpirit, who was ſecretary of State to a Republic ſo jealous of its liberty and born of a noble and Patrician family, could be ſerious or in earneſt in recommending ſuch maxims as proper inſtructions for Princes. From whence they infer that his book is only a refined and diſguiſed Satire; and that whenever he tells his Prince that he muſt do ſuch or ſuch a thing (how wicked ſoever it may be) he only inſinuates that moſt of the Princes of his time acted in that manner. There are two or three circumſtances, it is true, which ſeem, in ſome meaſure, to favour their opinion. Machiavel, it is well known, ſay they, was a moſt zealous and determined Republican, and a great admirer of Brutus and Caſſius. How then is it poſſible that he ſhould deliver, as his own real principles, a ſet of maxims ſo contradictory to his character and profeſſed regard for the liberties of his Country; in the Government of which his family had borne ſome ſhare? In the next place, it is alledged that he lived in an age that abounded with bad Princes; ſome of whom, out of a ſuſpicion that is natural to ſuch Governors, treated him in a cruel manner, and even put him to the rack; though they had careſſed him before on account of his extraordinary talents, and procured him an honourable employment with a good ſtipend. Theſe were the Medici, who at that time were exerting their utmoſt efforts to triumph, as they did at laſt, over an expiring Commonwealth. The third circumſtance that induces them to think the *Prince* is only a ſneer upon Tyrants, is, that the author had naturally a ſtrong turn to Satire, and (how grave an Hiſtorian and Politician ſoever he might be) ſometimes loved to laugh a little; as plainly appears from his Tales and Comedies. Albericus Gentilis [*x*] amongſt

[*x*] An Italian by birth, who forſook the Romiſh Communion, turned Proteſtant,

others was of this opinion; "Sui propoſiti (ſays that author) non eſt Tyrannum inſtruere, ſed arcanis ejus palam factis, ipſum miſeris populis nudum & conſpicuum exhibere. An enim tales quales ipſe deſcribit Principes fuiſſe plurimos ignoramus [*y*]?" and his reaſon for ſo thinking is becauſe Machiavel was a zealous ſtickler for Democracy, and a declared enemy to Deſpotiſm. Mr. Bayle likewiſe ſeems to have looked upon *the Prince* in that light. Speaking of the third Edition of Mr. Amelot de la Houſſaye's [*z*] French tranſlation of

and was made Profeſſor of Civil Law in the year 1582. Amongſt many other works which got him great reputation, he wrote three books *de Legationibus*.

[*y*] De Legat. lib. iii. c. 9.

[*z*] He was ſecretary to an embaſſy, which the court of France ſent to the Republic of Venice, as appears by the title of his tranſlation of Father Paul's Hiſtory of the Council of Trent. Another circumſtance of his life, which we learn from Mr. Bayle, in the *Nouvelles de Republique des Lettres*, 1684, tom. i. p. 457, is, that having been ſo bold as to publiſh ſome unwelcome truths, he was committed to the Baſtile; but we are not informed there of the particulars for which he was impriſoned. He publiſhed many works, chiefly political, which were well received by the public, and it appears from them, that he was very well ſkilled in Politics. In the year 1692, Frederic Leonard, a Bookſeller, at Paris, propoſed to print a Collection of all the Treaties of Peace betwixt the Kings of France and other Princes in Europe, from the reign of Charles VII. to the year 1690. Amelot, who had read theſe Treaties, publiſhed a ſmall volume in 12mo. containing a preliminary diſcourſe upon them, full of political reflections, by which it appears, that Politics may be defined *the art of impoſing upon men*, as well as of *governing them*. For Amelot ſhews, that moſt Princes, when they enter into a Treaty, think more how they may evade the performance of what they agree to, than how they ſhall accompliſh their promiſes: upon which occaſion, he relates two facts that deſerve to be communicated. The firſt is as follows: Lewis XI. King of France, hearing of the powerful league that was forming againſt him, deſired Francis Sforza's advice how to act in that conjuncture. Sforza anſwered him, "that in order to render it ineffectual, he muſt refuſe nothing that the confederates demanded of him: for when he had granted every one of them what they aſked, he might eaſily wreſt it out of their hands again afterwards." Lewis hearkened to this counſel, and it ſucceeded according to his wiſhes. The other fact is this: Ferdinand V. ſurnamed the *Catholic*, was ſo far from concealing his treacherous manner of acting, under any ſpecious pretence, that he uſed to glory in it. One day, when Quintana told him, that Lewis XII. of France, complained that he had impoſed upon him twice already, "*twice only!* ſaid he, with a curſe; *he lies like a drunkard, as he is; I have impoſed upon him ten times at leaſt.*" See *Biblioth. Univerſ. & Hiſt.* tom. xxii. p. 517. There is no occaſion to make any reflections upon theſe facts. We ſhall only add, what Villeroy, Secretary of State to Henry III. and IV. of France ſaid, "The intention of Princes and Miniſters of State is not, nor ought to be, ſubject to what they ſign, even with their own hand: but rather what they ſign muſt be ſubject to their intention." The only fault of this maxim is, that it renders all treaties uſeleſs and of no effect.

Amelot had the ill fate of many other learned men, to live in want, and would have fallen into extreme diſtreſs, had it not been for the kind ſupport he received from a certain Abbot, diſtinguiſhed by his learning and merit, as much as by his birth, if we may credit the Continuators of Moreri's Dictionary, under the word *Amelot*. He died at Paris, in December 1706, in the 73d year of his age. The Reader will find his Preface above-mentioned, tranſlated and inſerted immediately after theſe Anecdotes.

that

that piece, he has the following remark. " The Preface is full of juſt reflections: and amongſt other things you will find that obſervation of Mr Wicquefort, *that Machiavel through his whole work, tells us what Princes do, not what they ought to do* [*a*]. It is ſurprizing that almoſt all the world ſhould be of opinion that Machiavel is teaching Princes a miſchievous Syſtem of Politics; whilſt, on the contrary, he writes only what he has learnt himſelf from the actions of Princes. He was inſtructed by the ſtudy of mankind, and obſervation of what paſſes in the world, not by mere barren ſpeculation in his cloſet. Let his books be committed to the flames, let them be refuted, let them be attacked with ridicule and criticiſm as you pleaſe; the affair of Government will be juſt where it was. By an unhappy and fatal neceſſity, Politics generally get the better of morality and honeſty. Policy indeed does not avow it; but it acts in the ſame manner with Achilles, *jura negat ſibi nata*, it will be controlled by no laws, though it does not care to acknowledge that. A great Philoſopher of this age, will not admit that man is under a neceſſity of Sinning. I think, however, he grants with reſpect to Kings, that Sin is neceſſary, without its being excuſable in them upon that account: for, beſides that few of them content themſelves with unavoidable Sins, if they were all men of probity, they would not be reduced to ſuch a hard neceſſity. One may add to this the words of an ancient Poet, who ſays, " that by the mere exerciſe of Royalty, the moſt blameleſs learn to commit crimes without the help of a teacher [*b*]." All the world has heard of this maxim, *qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare; He that does not know how to diſſemble, does not know how to reign:* and one muſt be very ignorant of State affairs to deny the truth of it [*c*]." It muſt be allowed however that, if the author of the *Prince* intended to be ſerious and actually meant what he ſays there, that performance cannot be looked upon in any other light, after all that has been urged in its defence, than as a comment upon that paſſage in Euripides which Tully ſays Julius Cæſar always had in his mouth,

[*a*] Lord Chancellor Bacon has ſaid the very ſame thing in his book *de Augment. Scient.* lib. viii. cap. 2. " Eſt quod gratias agamus Machiavello & hujusmodi ſcriptoribus, qui aperte & indiſſimulanter proferunt quid homines facere ſoleant, non quid debeant."

[*b*] " Ut nemo doceat fraudis & ſceleris vias, regnum docebit." *Seneca* in Thyeſte. Act. ii. v. 312. He had ſaid before, v. 217. " Sanctitas, pietas, fides, privata bona ſunt; qua juvat, Reges eunt."

[*c*] See the *Nouvelles de la Lettres for the month of January* 1687, p. 99. *The Oeuvres diverſes de Bayle*, Tom. iii. p. 740. fol. Edit. and the *General Dictionary*, vol. vii. p. 308.

" Si violandum eſt jus, regnandi gratia violandum eſt;
In cæteris rebus pietatem colas."

Be ever ſtrictly juſt, except a throne
Come in thy reach; then juſtice get thee gone [*d*].

Boccalini, indeed, though a ſtaunch Catholic, very adroitly inſinuates, that Machiavel copied the Politics which he teaches his Prince, from the adminiſtration of ſome Popes. The apology which he puts in his mouth before the tribunal of Apollo, is as follows. " Io intanto non intendo defendere gli Scritti miei, &c." i. e. " It is not my intention here to defend my writings: on the contrary, I publickly condemn them, as impious and full of execrable maxims of State. So that if the doctrine and precepts which I have vented can be proved to be altogether new and of my own coining, I ſhall be ſo far from deſiring the leaſt mercy, that I will cheerfully ſubmit to any ſentence which my judges ſhall think fit to pronounce upon me. But if they contain nothing more than ſuch political rules and maxims as I have deduced from the common practice of ſome Princes (whoſe names I will venture to mention in this place, if your Majeſty will be pleaſed to give me leave, though it would be death perhaps to do it any where elſe): is it agreeable either to juſtice or reaſon, that thoſe who both invented and acted according to theſe helliſh Politics, which I only have taken the liberty to divulge, ſhould be eſteemed *moſt holy* and venerable men, whilſt I alone, who publiſhed them, am looked upon as a Rebel and an Atheiſt? For my part, if an Original is adored as ſacred, I cannot ſee why a mere copy of it ſhould be committed to the flames, as wicked and deteſtable: or, upon what account I have been ſo much perſecuted, when the reading of Hiſtory is not only permitted, but approved of by every one: though it is well known, that it may very probably convert the Readers into ſo many Machiavels; eſpecially if they ſtudy Hiſtory as Politicians [*e*]." Boccalini, we may obſerve, in the concluſion of this paſſage, main-

[*d*] " Ipſe autem, i. e. Julius Cæſar, in ore ſemper Græcos verſus de Phœniſſis habebat, quos dicam ut potero, incondite fortaſſe, ſed tamen ut res poſſit intelligi." " He, *viz.* Julius Cæſar, was always repeating theſe two verſes out of the Phœniſſæ of Euripides, which I will tranſlate as well as I can; badly enough, perhaps, yet ſo, I hope, as to be underſtood." *Tull. de Offic.* l. i. 3. The lines in the original

Ειπερ γαρ αδικειν χρη, τυραννιδος περι
Καλλιστον αδικειν, τ' αλλα δ' ευσεβειν χρεων,

are the anſwer of Eteocles to his Mother, who is perſuading him to reſtore the Kingdom to his brother Polynices, whom he had defrauded of it.

[*e*] Boccalini. *Ragguagli da Parnaſſo.* Cent. i. cap. 89.

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tains, that ſince the reading of Hiſtory is not only allowed, but recommended, there is no reaſon to condemn the reading of Machiavel. That is to ſay, one learns the ſame maxims from Hiſtory, as from the *Prince* of that author: in Hiſtory one ſees them actually put in practice; but in Machiavel, they are only recommended. It is upon this foundation, perhaps, that ſome people of judgment are of opinion, that it is to be wiſhed, the writing of Hiſtory had never been ſuffered [*f*]. But this does not excuſe Machiavel; he advances wicked maxims, without finding fault with them; whereas a good Hiſtorian would condemn them when put in practice. This makes a wide difference, as has been obſerved before, betwixt Machiavel's book and Hiſtory: though it is very apt to produce, by accident, the ſame effect with reading his works.

He has been apologized for by many other able writers [*g*], who aſſert, that all thoſe that have attacked him, diſcover their ignorance in politics. "Quicunque ſane hactenus (ſays Conringius) [*h*] Machiavellum ſibi ſumpſere confutandum, ſi verum licet profiteri, ſuam civilis Philoſophiæ ἀπαιδευσίαν nimis aperte tradiderunt: ita voco cum Ariſtotele, ſummo dicendi Magiſtro, imperitiam τῦ τρόπυ τῆς ἐπιστήμης, ſive naturæ & indolis politicæ ſcientiæ ignorantiam [*i*]. Enimvero omnes pene videas diſſerere, quaſi non aliæ ſint Reſpublicæ quam quæ primo ac per ſeſe, imo unice ſalutem populi ſpectant, aut vero affectant plenam exactamque humanæ vitæ felicitatem; eoque & politico magiſtro de ſolis illis agendum eſſe: hinc ſane omnem doctrinam, quæ non eſt de Rebus publicis, quas illi unice cognoſcendas hominibus arbitrantur, damnare ſolent, & extra limites politicæ methodi ejicere."——There are many more remarks of this kind in that preface. But the ſame learned Author accuſes Machiavel with having enriched himſelf with the ſpoils of Ariſtotle, in the following paſſage. "Nicolaus Machiavellus, ſymbolum illud politicarum artium, nullum fere dominatus arcanum conſilium Principem ſuum

[*f*] See Maſcardi *de Arte Hiſtorica.*

[*g*] "Pro Machiavello inter alios Apologiam ſcripſit Gaſpar Scioppius in libello Pædiæ Politicæ, & Diſſertatione adverſus Paganinum Gaudentium." *Boſius. de comparanda prud. civil. num.* 93. *apud Magirum Eponymol.* p. 552.

[*h*] *In præfatione ſuæ Libri de Principe Editionis*, apud Magirum, p. 554.

[*i*] Compare this with the following words of the Sieur Naudi (who will be mentioned by and by) in his firſt chapter concerning State Policy. "To pretend to talk of Politics as they are managed at this day (ſays he) without taking any notice of theſe *coups d'Etat*, is properly to be ignorant of the *Pædia*, and the rules laid down by Ariſtotle in his *Analytics*, of ſpeaking upon all ſubjects to the purpoſe, and agreeable to the principles and demonſtrations that are proper and eſſential to them, *Eſt enim pædiæ inſcientia neſcire, quorum oporteat quærere demonſtrationem, quorum vero non oporteat:* as he ſays in his *Metaphyſics.*

potuit.

potuit docere, quod non dudum ante ad tyrannidem & dominatum conſervandum facere, Ariſtoteli ſit libro quinto Politicorum obſervatum. Quin ſua omnia vaferrimus hic nequitiæ Doctor diſſimulato plagio ex Ariſtotele, fortaſſe tranſcripſit: eo tamen diſcrimine, quod hic impie & impudenter omni Principi commendet, quæ non niſi Dominis ac Tyrannis convenire longe rectius ac prudentius ante ſcripſerat Ariſtoteles [*k*]." If this be the caſe, his political Maxims have been promulged long enough ago. Gentillet alſo accuſes him of having borrowed from Bartoli [*l*]: and it is ſurprizing, that nobody charges him with having ſtolen his Maxims from the *Angelic Doctor*, the great St. Thomas Aquinas [*m*]. Amelot de la Houſaye, in the above-mentioned preface to the *Prince*, ſays, he was only the ſcholar and expounder of Tacitus; and adopts ſeveral of Conringius's remarks there; applying to Machiavel in a great meaſure, what Mr. de Harlai Chanvalon in his preface to the tranſlation of Tacitus, has ſaid of the Roman Hiſtorian. "Thoſe who accuſe him of impious maxims, and ſuch as are oppoſite to good morals, muſt pardon me, if I ſay, that no Politician did ever handle the rules of government more reaſonably; that the moſt ſcrupulous, and even thoſe that have blamed them moſt, while they were in a private ſtation, have both ſtudied and practiſed them after they have been called to the management of public affairs." Amelot, after he has quoted this paſſage in another work [*n*], confirms the truth of it by an example. "Germany, ſays he, has very lately ſeen a ſtrong inſtance of this in the laſt Biſhop of Vienna: who, when he was plain *Father Emeric in puris naturalibus*, inveighed againſt political maxims in all his Sermons, in ſuch a manner as to exclude thoſe that practiſed them from all hopes of ſalvation. But he was no ſooner introduced into the Emperor's Court, and had puſhed himſelf into the Miniſtry, than he changed his opinion with his fortune, and practiſed all thoſe Maxims himſelf (though with ſomething more decency) which he had before condemned in his predeceſſors, the Princes of Averſberg and de Lobkowitz, whoſe diſgrace he had procured; and in Count Auguſtin de Walſtein his competitor for the Biſhoprick of Vienna, and a Cardinal's hat."

[*k*] Conring. *Introduct. in Polit. Ariſtotelis.* cap. iii. p. 583. *apud Thomaſium de plagio literario.* 223.

[*l*] *In præfat.* lib. iii. *comment. adverſus Machiavel.*

[*m*] See a long paſſage in Naude's *Coups d'Etat*, chap. i. from Aquinas's comment upon the fifth book of Ariſtotle's *Politics.*

[*n*] His critical Diſcourſe prefixed to Tacitus *de moribus Germanorum.* Printed in the year 1686; and afterwards to his French Tranſlation of the ſix firſt books of Tacitus's Annals.

Many books have been written againſt the *Prince*, in the Latin, Italian, French, and German languages. Gentillet publiſhed a Work, entitled, *Diſcours ſur le moyens de bien gouverner, & maintenir en bonne paix un Royaume ou autre Principaute, diviſez en trois livres; a ſavoir, du Conſeil, de la Religion, & police, que doit tenir un Prince. Contre Nicolas Machiavel, Florentin.* It is dedicated to the Duke of Alençon, Brother of Henry III. but it has neither the Author's, nor Printer's name, nor that of the place where it was printed, but the date only prefixed to it, which is, 1576. It is commonly quoted by the name of *Anti-Machiavel*; which being ſhorter than the real title, gave riſe to that of Anti-Machiavel, in other performances, though there is no book properly ſo called [*o*]. The following paſſage from the Sieur Popiliniere ſeems to relate to this treatiſe of Gentillet's. After he has exclaimed againſt the toleration that had been indulged to Machiavel's Works, he adds, "But ſince the Chriſtian Magiſtrates have thought fit to connive at ſuch pernicious writings, a noble Genius in France, took upon himſelf to confute the errors and impieties contained in them, which he thought too notorious, and at the ſame time too well received by the generality of mankind; but with ſuch bad ſucceſs, that having employed authorities and improper examples (which both ſides may make uſe of, and the Florentine calls *ridiculous*) and being unfurniſhed with ſtrong reaſons, which are the arms with which he challenges the world to combat; the wretched author received no other reward for his pains in defending Religion and the State, and the rights of both, but reproaches and threats, inſtead of the honours and ſtipend due to ſo well intended and laborious a work [*p*]." But if one might judge of the merit of a work by the number of editions and tranſlations it has gone through, this of Gentillet's might juſtly pretend to a high character; for it has been tranſlated into ſeveral different languages, and gone through a great many impreſſions. The Leyden Edition in 1609, ſays, it had been augmented by more than one half. The Dedication is there left out. Part of another work was alſo publiſhed in the year 1622; which, if it had been entire, perhaps would have been the beſt performance that has been written upon Machiavel's *Prince*. That lame mangled part of it which is extant, is entitled, *Fragment de l'Examen du Prince de Machiavel: ou il eſt traitté des Confidans, Miniſtres, & Conſeilliers particuliers du Prince, enſemble de la fortune des favoris.* And yet this *Fragment*, as it is called, contains 339 pages in 12mo.

[*o*] See M. Baillet. Tom. ii. *des Anti.* p. 129.
[*p*] See La Popliniere's *Hiſtoire des Hiſtoires*, liv. vii. p. 405.

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There have been ſeveral tranſlations of Machiavel's works into French: the laſt and beſt is by Mr. Tetard, a French Refugee, printed at Amſterdam, at different times, in 1691 and the five next enſuing years; it has paſſed into ſeveral Editions. That which has been chiefly conſulted by the Editor of this Engliſh tranſlation, was printed at the Hague, in 6 volumes 12*mo*. 1743; in the laſt of which, Tetard's verſion of the Prince is ſupplied by that of Mr. Amelot de la Houſſaye, at the inſtance of Mr. Voltaire, who preferred it to any of the reſt. Indeed, the works of this Florentine have appeared in moſt of the European languages; eſpecially the *Prince*, which is alſo ſaid to have been tranſlated into the Turkiſh, and read by Amurath IV. [*q*].

Thoſe people are groſſly miſtaken, who aſſert, that the author, in his work, meant to repreſent the character of Charles V. and it is ſurprizing, that Monſieur Gohory ſhould have ſpread this opinion. "Machiavel (ſays he, in one of the detached pieces of his old tranſlation, publiſhed at Paris, about the year 1570) wrote a book, which he calls the *Prince*; wherein he has given a particular detail of all the meaſures requiſite to be taken by one that aſpires to ſovereign power; deſigning ſecretly to repreſent Charles V. who reigned at that time, as appears from a particular paſſage in it." But how came this writer not to be aware, that Machiavel's *Prince* was written before the world knew what renown Charles V. was to acquire? Had he not read in the twenty-firſt chapter, that Ferdinand, King of Arragon, was alive when Machiavel compoſed that work? Had he not found in another paſſage of the 23d chapter, that Machiavel makes mention of the Emperor Maximilian, as a Prince that was ſtill alive? And did not he know that Maximilian died in January 1519, three years after the death of Ferdinand, and before his Grandſon Charles V. had compleated his nineteenth year?

Some have related that Catharine de' Medici, Queen to Henry II of France, made the *Prince* her particular ſtudy and put it into the hands of her children: and thoſe that make this obſervation, have taken care to accompany it with many injurious terms both againſt the Queen and Machiavel. The author of the *Tocſain contre les Maſſacreurs*, p. 54. obſerves that Charles IX had been very ill educated, and that he was kept ignorant of theſe ſcripture precepts, *that the King who is raiſed up to rule over the people of God, ought not to exalt his heart above his brethren; but to obſerve the Law of the Lord, and to read and meditate upon it continually* [*r*]. That on the

[*q*] See Sagredo *memorie di monarchi Ottomanni*. Printed at Venice, 1673.
[*r*] Deuteron. xvii. 19, 20.

contrary,

contrary, the Queen cauſed her children to be taught ſuch precepts as were fitter for a Tyrant than a virtuous Prince, making them read not only the fooliſh ſtories of Perceforeſt, but above all, the treatiſes of that *Atheiſt Machiavel*, whoſe aim was to teach his Prince rather how to make himſelf feared than beloved; and to reign in grandeur, rather than virtuouſly. And indeed one may call that book the *Queen-Mother's Bible*. For though ſhe wears the maſk of the Religion commonly received, it appears by her practice, that ſhe has no more at heart than juſt as much as ſhe reckons neceſſary to ſupport her intereſt. Her chief Counſellor too, Morvilliers, has that pious book always about him, for the ſake of reading it to his Miſtreſs; and he can no more part with it than Alexander could with his beloved Homer. In ſhort, it is probable that the preſent tyrannical Eſtabliſhment is owing to that book, and that the Queen has thence borrowed her chief artifices to perſuade the King, that, notwithſtanding all aſſurances of peace and friendſhip, nay even the very ties of conſanguinity, he might revenge himſelf to the utmoſt, upon all ſuch as he looked upon as enemies, by taking any ſlight ſuſpicion for a proof of guilt; if a calumny forged for the purpoſe deſerves the name of guilt." Davila likewiſe ſays that Corbinelli frequently uſed to read Machiavel's *Prince and Political Diſcourſes* to Henry III of France [*s*]. But there are very few authors that mention him without beſtowing a curſe upon his memory [*t*]: though ſome indeed,

[*s*] His words are as follow: "But the King confiding in the ſtrength of his ſecret deſigns, which he thought in great forwardneſs, imagined he ſhould eaſily be able to overcome all oppoſition at laſt: and to conduct his proceedings with the more order, by joining theory to practice, he retired every day after dinner with Baccio del Bene and Giacopo Corbinelli, two Florentines deeply learned in the Greek and Latin Hiſtories, who read him lectures out of Polybius and Cornelius Tacitus, but more frequently out of the *Prince*, and *Political Diſcourſes* of *Machiavel*; by which he became ſtill more enamoured of his own conceits." *Davila*, vol. i. p. 402. *of the new Engliſh Tranſlation.* Mr. Voltaire ſpeaking of the Maſſacre that happened at Paris, on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, ſays, "At length after ſuch dreadful deſolations, another peace was concluded, and France began to breath again; but it was only to prepare for the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew. They were full two years meditating this horrid deed. One can hardly conceive how ſuch a woman as Catharine de' Medici, brought up amongſt the pleaſures of a Court, and leaſt of all jealous of the Hugonot party, ſhould enter upon ſo barbarous a reſolution. This cruelty is ſtill more ſurprizing, in a King only twenty years old. The faction of the Guiſes had a great ſhare it: and two Italians, the Cardinals de Birague and de Retz, diſpoſed the minds of the people to it. At that time they were proud to profeſs the maxims of Machiavel, and eſpecially that, which ſays, *we ought not to commit crimes by halves.* The maxim *that we ſhould not commit crimes at all*, would have been better policy; but the manners of the people were grown ferocious by the civil wars. *Gen. Hiſt. of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 118.

[*t*] See Claſen's Treatiſe *de Religione Politica*, cap. ix. Cardinal Pole was one of the firſt that wrote againſt Machiavel. In the Apology for his four Books *de unitate*

as has been ſaid, ſtand up in his vindication, and others go ſtill further and conſider him as a writer that had the public good very much at heart, and has laid open the arts of Politicians with no other view than to inſpire an abhorrence of Tyrants and exciteall man kind to the ſupport of liberty. This may, perhaps, have the air of a paradox: upon which account it is neceſſary (and therefore, it is hoped, excuſable) to quote at large the words of a celebrated Lawyer who judges ſo much to the advantage of Machiavel. But they muſt be joined to a ſort of a preface borrowed from another learned man, in order to furniſh two conſiderable teſtimonies at one view, *viz.* of Alberic Gentilis, and Chriſtopher Adam Rupertus. "Ego vero non poſſum hic præterire, qui cane pejus & angue odiſſe ſoleo conceptas de Auctoribus opiniones, accuratiſſimi juriſconſulti ac digniſſimi cenſoris judicium, l. iii. *de legationibus*. c. IX. ubi Legatum ſuum ex Philoſophia inſtruens, "Nec vero, inquit, in negotio iſto verebor omnium præſtantiſſimum dicere, & ad imitandum proponere Machiavellum, ejuſque plane aureas in Titum Livium obſervationes. Quod namque hominem indoctiſſimum eſſe volunt & Sceleſtiſſimum, id nihil ad me, qui prudentiam ejus ſingularem laudo, nec impietatem ac improbitatem, ſi qua eſt, tueor. Quanquam ſi librum editum adverſus illum conſidero, ſi Machiavelli conditionem reſpicio, ſi propoſitum ſcribendi ſuum recte cenſeo, ſi etiam meliore interpretatione volo dicta ipſius adjuvare, non equidem video cur & iis criminibus mortui hominis fama liberari non poſſit. Qui in illum ſcripſit *(intelligit Innocentium Gentilletum juriſconſultum Delphinenſem)* illum nec intellexit, nec non in multis calumniatus eſt, & talis omnino eſt, qualis, qui miſeratione digniſſimus ſit. Machiavellus Democratiæ laudator & aſſertor acerrimus, natus, educatus, honoratus, in eo Reipublicæ Statu, Tyrannidis ſumme inimicus fuit. Itaque Tyranno

Eccleſiæ, he calls him, *hoſtis humani generis*, *the enemy of mankind*, and ſays, the *Prince*, was *digitis Satanæ conſcriptum*, *written with the Devil's own fingers*. Scioppius, in a manuſcript work preſerved in many Libraries in Italy, intituled, *Machiavellicorum operæ pretium*, ſays, the Jeſuits at Ingolſtadt publickly burnt Machiavel in Effigy, with this inſcription upon him, *Quoniam fuerit homo vafer ac ſubdolus, diabolicarum cogitationum faber, optimus cacodæmonis auxiliator*. See Baretti's *Italian Library*, p. 241, 242. The ſame author ſays, "The *Prince* is a very wicked book, and has done more miſchief in Europe, than any other that is now extant. I generally call it *the Tyrant's Bible*. Yet Machiavel, who was ſo great an admirer of the moſt violent and arbitrary rogues of every age, was himſelf a very honeſt, good-natured man, if the account given of him by his cotemporaries may be credited: nor does it even appear by any of his writings, that he was that unbeliever, and ſanguinary man that he endeavours to make his reader. This inconſiſtency in his different characters of a man and a writer did not eſcape Wicquefort, the author of *the Ambaſſador*, who, therefore, ſays, he thinks the *Prince* was rather intended as a Satire upon, than a lecture to, Sovereigns and Politicians." *Ibid.* p. 43, 44.

non

non favet: ſui propoſiti non eſt Tyrannum inſtruere; ſed arcanis ejus palam factis ipſum miſeris populis nudum & conſpicum exhibere. An enim tales, quales ipſe deſcribit Principes, fuiſſe plurimos ignoramus? Eccur iſtiuſmodi Principibus moleſtum eſt, vivere hominis opera & in luce haberi. Hoc fuit viri omnium præſtantiſſimi conſilium, ut ſub ſpecie *principalis* eruditionis, populos erudiret." *Hæc Albericus Gentilis* [*u*]. But as Rupert ſeems to have ſuppreſſed ſomething, it may not be amiſs to purſue that paſſage a little further, as follows. "Et eam ſpeciem prætexuit, ut ſpes eſſet cur ferretur ab iis qui rerum gubernacula tenent, quaſi ipſorum Educator ac Pædagogus. Cæterum hæc diſceptatio ulterius haud ducitur. Si favere Scriptoribus volumus, multa & in hoc vitia emendabimus, aut illa ſaltem feremus in eo quæ in Platone feremus & Ariſtotele aliiſque, qui non diſſimilia commiſere peccata. Feremus autem, quia meliora deterioribus longe plurima & is habet [*x*]." There are two things to be conſidered in the latter part of the quotation from Gentilis Albericus. In the firſt place, he alledges that Machiavel choſe that method of inſtructing the People, in order to procure his Book a licence and indulgence from Princes: which they would not have granted if they had conſidered it as a Syſtem of Rules not deſigned for their uſe, but for the inſtruction of the lovers of Liberty. In the ſecond place, he pleads that the ſame faults ought to be connived at in Machiavel, that are excuſed in Plato and Ariſtotle. But Leonclavius differs widely in opinion from Gentilis in this point, in the dedication which he has prefixed to Beliſarius Aquaviva's *Education of Princes*; from whence Keckerman has quoted what it contains to Machiavel's diſadvantage [*y*]. If it be queſtionable, however, whether patriotiſm and the love of liberty were the Florentine's real motive for writing the *Prince*, it muſt at leaſt be allowed that he diſcovered a great deal of the Republican Spirit, in his conduct [*z*]. One of his moſt recent Antagoniſts is Father Lucheſini, an Italian Jeſuit, and aſſiſtant in the *Congregation of Rites*, who wrote a book entitled, *Saggio della ſciocchezza di Niccolo Machiavelli*. Printed at Rome in the year 1697 [*a*].

Atrocious as the *Prince* may appear in the eyes of moſt people, there is another Book upon the ſame ſubject that is much more ſo. The title of it is, *Conſiderations Politiques ſur les Coups d' Etat*: it was written about the middle of the Seventeenth Century by one

[*u*] *Chriſtoph. Adam. Rupert. diſſertat. ad Valer. Maxim.* lib. i. cap. 2, and 3.
[*x*] *Alberic. Gent. de legat.* lib. iii. cap. 9.
[*y*] See Crenius's *Method. Stud.* part. ii. p. 194.
[*z*] See the concluſion of Amelot's Preface, which follows theſe Anecdotes.
[*a*] The *Journal de Leipſic*, 1698. p. 352, gives an Extract from it.

Gabriel Naudè a Pariſian, Prior of Artige, and Canon of Verdun, at the expreſs command of Cardinal Mazarin. Thoſe that have read it ſay, the author has far exceeded the Florentine in the wickedneſs and barbarity of his horrid maxims; and that Machiavel's precepts ſeem mild and moderate in compariſon of the other. The *Prince* indeed eſcaped public cenſure for a long courſe of years; and it was owing to Poſſevin the Jeſuit, who yet had never read it, that it was at laſt condemned by the Inquiſition. The Book was publiſhed in the year 1515, and dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici nephew to Leo X. It did him no hurt with that Pope, though he was the firſt who threatened the readers of prohibited books with excommunication. "Nec tamen a Papa iſthoc vel liber ullo fuit ſiniſtro verbo notatus (quamvis Leo omnium primus intenderit vim librorum prohibitoriam, vetitis legi diſſidentium ſcriptis omnibus ſub excommunicationis pœna, quod hactenus carebat exemplo) vel auctor priſtino gratiæ loco motus [*b*]." From which paſſage, it appears that if Machiavel's book eſcaped ſo long with impunity, it cannot juſtly be aſcribed to any general remiſſneſs in the adminiſtration of that Pontif with regard to the publication of bad books. Indeed Leo was ſo far from diſcontinuing his favours to the author, that he employed him in writing a book which required ſecrecy, *viz.* a treatiſe upon the method of reforming the Republic of Florence. "Valuit in tantum apud Leonem, ut hujus juſſu arcanam diſſertationem concinnaverit *de reformatione Reipublicæ Florentinæ*, quam manuſcriptam in Bibliotheca Gaddiana ſupereſſe teſtatur Jacobus Gaddus [*c*]. Adrian VI. the ſucceſſor of Leo X. allowed Machiavel's book to reſt in quiet. Clement VII. who ſucceeded Adrian, indulged Machiavel in more than mere forbearance: for he not only gave him leave to dedicate his Hiſtory of Florence to him, but granted Antonio Blado a *privilege* to print his works at Rome [*d*]. The ſucceſſors of Clement VII.

[*b*] *Conringii præfat. Principis Machiavelli apud Magirum, Eponymolog.* p. 545.

[*c*] *Conringius, Ibid.*

[*d*] The Privilege runs in this manner;

Clemens VII. Papa.

Univerſis & ſingulis quibus hæ noſtræ Literæ exhibebuntur, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Exponi nobis fecit Antonius de Blado in almâ urbe noſtra librorum impreſſor, quod ipſe opera quondam Nicolai Machiavelli civis Florentini in materno Sermone conſcripta, videlicet *Hiſtoriam* ac de *Principe*, & *de diſcurſibus*, imprimere ſeu imprimi facere intendit; vereturque ne alii poſtmodum ex ſuo labore & impenſâ quam in dictis operibus imprimendis faciet, ſibi lucrum quærentes, illa imprimant ſeu imprimi faciant in illius jacturam & detrimentum. Quare idem Antonius nobis humiliter ſupplicari fecit, ut ſibi in præmiſſis opportune providere de benignitate Apoſtolicâ dignaremur. Nos igitur honeſto ipſius Antonii deſiderio annuere, ac illius indemnitati obviare volentes, omnibus & ſingulis Impreſſoribus, Bibliopolis, atque aliis cujuſcunque

down

down to Clement VIII. permitted the ſale of Machiavel's *Prince* all over Italy; and it paſſed through ſeveral Editions and Tranſlations. It was known however that the work gave offence to ſome Doctors: for in a book written by Ambroſe Catharin and printed at Rome in 1552 [*e*], there is a whole Chapter *againſt the diſcourſes and Prince of Nicholas Machiavel.* At laſt, in the year 1592 under the Pontificate of Clement VIII. the ſucceſſor of Innocent IX, the writings of this author were condemned after the outcry that had been raiſed againſt them at Rome by Poſſevin the Jeſuit, and one Thomas Bozius a Prieſt of the Oratory. Nevertheleſs it is certain, as has been ſaid above, that Poſſevin had never read the *Prince*, as plainly appears from the cenſure which he paſſed at Rome in 1592 by the order of *Innocent* IX, upon the four following authors, *viz.* la Noüe, Bodin, du Pleſſis Mornai, and Machiavel; where he ſuppoſes the *Prince* of the laſt mentioned writer to be divided into three books (which is viſibly falſe) and charges things upon him which are not to be found in that work. Conringius happily gueſſes at the cauſe of theſe miſtakes: which is, that Poſſevin had no further acquaintance with that book than what he had picked up in reading Gentillet. His words are as follow. " In ea (diſſertatione Poſſevini) vero ita diſſeritur, quaſi a Machiavello tres de Principe libri compoſiti ſint: hinc ſtatim initio, ubi de Machiavello agit, aliquot ejus ſententiis enumeratis, *et hæc quidem*, inquit ille, *ſceleratum illud Satanæ organum prioribus duobus libris, quibus de Principe agit, inſipienti mundo obtulit.* Non multo poſt cum diceret, *redeo ad eaſdem labes Machiavelli, ut cognita peſtis magis*

ſtatus, gradus, conditionis exiſtentibus, noſtræ ditioni temporaliter non ſubjectis, in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ & ſub excommunicationis latæ ſententiæ pœnâ; Nobis vero & ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ mediate vel immediate ſubjectis, etiam ſub amiſſionis librorum impreſſorum & viginti quinque ducatorum auri de Camera pro una Cameræ noſtræ Apoſtolicæ, pro reliqui vero medietatibus præfato Antonio, toties quoties contraventum fuerit applicandis pœnis; diſtricte præcipimus & mandamus, quatenus dicta opera per prædictum Antonium, ut præfertur, imprimenda, ad decennium non imprimant, neque imprimi facere, aut vendere, ſeu venalia habere audeant vel præſumant, niſi ad id dicti Antonii expreſſus acceſſerit aſſenſus. Quocirca quibuſvis locorum Ordinariis, ſeu eorum officialibus & vicariis in ſpiritualibus, committimus per præſentes, ut ubi, quando, & quoties, pro parte dicti Antonii requiſiti fuerint, ipſi Antonio efficacis defenſionis præſidio aſſiſtentes, faciant præſentes Literas & in eis contenta quæcunque inviolabiliter obſervari & publicari; contradicentes quoſlibet, & rebelles per cenſuras Eccleſiaſticas & pœnas prædictas appellatione poſtpoſitâ compeſcendo; invocato etiam ad hoc, ſi opus fuerit, auxilio brachii ſæcularis, in contrarium facientibus, non obſtantibus quibuſcunque. Datum Romæ apud ſanctum Petrum, ſub annulo Piſcatoris, die XXIII Auguſti, Pontificatus noſtri anno octavo.

Bloſius.

[*e*] It is entituled, *De libris a Chriſtiano deteſtandis, & ex Chriſtianiſmo penitus removendis.*

caveatur, in margine libri notat *librum tertium*: quasi libro tertio Machiavellus doceat, belli justitiam, in ea, quam sibi quisque putat esse necessitatem, collocari. At vero certo certius est, non nisi unicum, & quidem exiguum, libellum *de Principe*, Machiavello auctore esse conscriptum, et nusquam terrarum tres in partes illum fuisse sectum; nec in hoc libello reperiri ea, quœ inter alia criminatur Possevinus, Religionem (scilicet) Ethnicam Christianæ præferendam, aut Doctores Christianæ Religionis nihili faciendos: ut nec quicquam hoc libro (quod itidem Possevinus conqueritur) inclementius dicitur in Romanam Ecclesiam; sed contra, in capite undecimo, ipsum Principatum Pontificium non humanis consiliis atque artibus, sed quadam inusitata vi & quidem solius Dei favore, salvum esse; quod vix quisquam zelotici gregis affirmaverit. Nec tamen longe petenda aut hariolanda venit causa crassi illius Posseviniani erroris, modo quis inspexerit volumen illud quod *Anti-Machiavelli* titulo ανωνυμως opposuit, hinc inde ex variis libris Machiavellicis excerptis sententiis, Innocentius Gentilettus. Hoc enim in tres libros est distinctum, & in ejus duobus prioribus reprehensa sunt illa, quæ duobus prioribus de *Principe* libris haberi Possevinus ridicule affirmat: in tertio etiam illorum librorum animadvertitur in ea, quæ ex tertio libro de Principe frustra repetit Possevinus. Ut liquido appareat, ex illo volumine Antimachiavellico, non autem ex Machiavello ipso, Possevinum sua accepisse &c. [*f*]." Then follows this Reflexion upon the matter. "Et vero illud Possevini facinus luculenter ostendit, non deesse etiam eximiæ dignitatis atque existimationis viros, qui scripto publico ne inspectum quidem Machiavelli *Principem* sævo calculo abjecerint [*g*]." In this manner Machiavel's *Prince* was condemned, but not till seventy seven years after it was first published.

There are some who say that Machiavel was Cæsar Borgia's favourite Counsellor [*h*]: and perhaps he might be negotiating for him in France at the time when he had the conversation with the Cardinal of Rouen at Nantes, which he mentions in the third Chapter of his *Prince*. The author of the Appendix to the Treatise *de Literatorum infelicitate* has put him into his catalogue [*i*]; and not without good reason: for Machiavel had as great a share of ill fortune as almost

[*f*] Conringius apud Magirum, p. 549.
[*g*] Conringius apud eundem, p. 550.
[*h*] See Bosius *de comparanda Prudentia civili*, *num.* 42; & Conring. *in præfat. Principis Machiavelli.*
[*i*] See Cornelius Tollius *in Appendice ad Pierium Valerianum*, p. 20, 21.

any other man [*k*]. The following Epitaph made upon him by Antonio Vacca, may ſerve as a concluſion to theſe Anecdotes.

Quiſquis ades, ſacro flores & Serta Sepulchro
Adde, puer, cineri debita dona ferens.
Nam veteris belli & pacis qui reddidit artes,
Jampridem ignotas regibus & populis,
Hetruſcæ Machiavellus honos & gloria linguæ,
Hic jacet, hoc ſaxum, non coluiſſe, nefas.

[*k*] "He was neither much eſpouſed nor ſupported by the great men and Princes of his time (ſays the above-cited M. Gohory in the ſame piece) ſuch as Pope Clement VII. to whom he dedicated his Hiſtory of Florence, or Lorenzo de' Medici, to whom he preſented his *Prince*, though it was he that reſtored the Golden Age of Letters in Italy, careſſing and rewarding all thoſe that were diſtinguiſhed for their learning, as Marſilius Ficinus (who addreſſed his tranſlation of Plato's Works, and a Commentary upon them to him) Angelus Politianus, Hieronymus Donatus, and many others, whoſe Epiſtles are to be met with in a Collection, intituled, *Epiſtolæ virorum illuſtrium*. Machiavel complains to him of having been neglected, and tacitly implores his aid in the dedication of his *Prince*, in theſe terms. "If you ſhould ſometime or other vouchſafe to look down from the ſummit of your greatneſs, upon a man in ſo humble a ſtation, you will ſee how long and how unworthily I have been perſecuted in the moſt cruel manner, by the extreme and unrelenting malevolence of Fortune." But Gohory is here miſtaken, in imagining, that Lorenzo de' Medici, who was the Patron of Politian, *&c.* was the ſame Lorenzo to whom Machiavel dedicated his *Prince*; for this Lorenzo was the other's Grandſon.

Monſieur

Monſieur AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE's Dedication of his French Tranſlation of MACHIAVEL's *Prince*, to the Grand Duke of Tuſcany.

SIR,

DEDICATORS generally fix upon a Patron to whom they think their works will either prove agreeable, or ſeem to bear ſome relation. For my own part, I was ſoon determined to whom I ſhould preſent Machiavel's *Prince*. When I had once reſolved to tranſlate that work, the very title of it immediately led me to addreſs my Tranſlation to your *Moſt Serene Highneſs*, as Machiavel had formerly dedicated the Original to Lorenzo II. de' Medici, the father of Alexander firſt Duke of Florence. And this reſolution appeared to me the more reaſonable, as it was agreeable to the common courſe of nature; according to which, all things muſt ſometime or other revert to their firſt principles. But there is this difference betwixt what I am now doing and what Machiavel did ſo long ago, that he addreſſed his performance to Lorenzo de' Medici in a dictatorial manner, as Tutors inſtruct their Pupils: but I, on the contrary, preſume only to offer mine to your Serenity, as to a Prince of conſummate experience in the Art of governing (an Art which every one knows is the ancient inheritance of the illuſtrious Houſe of Medici) and a Judge who perfectly knows how to diſtinguiſh betwixt true and falſe Politics, as well as to hold the balance duly poiſed betwixt reaſons of State and Religion, how incompatible ſoever they may ſeem to be with each other. Upon which conſideration, *Sir*, I am not at all afraid of being accuſed of temerity in having prefixed your auguſt name to this piece; ſince it belongs properly to none but Princes like yourſelf to judge of Politics; the government of a private family being a very different thing from that of a State. A private man has nothing to do but to regulate his own conduct and expenſes and to provide for his houſhold: but he that governs a State muſt accommodate himſelf to other perſons, as well as to different times and circumſtances of affairs, which change every day. There are likewiſe ſad and preſſing conjunctures ſometimes, when Princes are forced to do what they *can*, inſtead of what they *ought*: and of this, the great Coſimo de' Medici (who was accounted the wiſeſt man of his time) was ſo ſenſible, that when ſome of his Fellow-citizens repreſented to him the bad conſequences that might attend the baniſhment of ſo many of the

the principal men in Florence as had been ſent into exile, in order to compoſe the fatal diviſions which then raged in that City, he anſwered, "it was better the Republic ſhould be weakened than utterly ruined [*a*]." A ſaying which has ſince paſſed into a political Aphoriſm amongſt Princes; and from whence we may learn that Governors of States both reaſon and act upon different principles from thoſe of private men. It is no wonder therefore that Machiavel has been cenſured by ſo many people; as there are but few that underſtand what is meant by *reaſons of State*, and conſequently are capable of judging properly of the nature of his precepts and maxims: but I cannot help taking notice by the by, that many Miniſters and Princes have not only ſtudied but practiſed them without any reſtriction, though they both condemned and deteſted them before they were exalted to government [*b*]. So true it is, that one ought to be either a Prince, or at leaſt a Miniſter, in order to judge rightly, I will not ſay of the expediency, but of the abſolute neceſſity of following thoſe maxims. Machiavel indeed has taken moſt of them from Tacitus, the great Oracle and inſtructor of Princes; and many paſſages in that author plainly ſhew that the Florentine is little more than his diſciple and interpreter: ſo that if there is any reaſon to value and eſteem the writings of the one, why not thoſe of the other likewiſe who has imitated him ſo nearly, eſpecially in the Hiſtory of Florence, in which all his ſpeeches and harangues are formed upon the model of Tacitus.

However that may be, *Sir*, I ſhall think my time very well employed upon this tranſlation, in which I have exerted the utmoſt of my ſmall abilities, if it has the good fortune to prove acceptable to your *Moſt Serene Highneſs*, and the honour to be admitted into the loweſt Claſs of your Library, as a public teſtimony of the profound veneration with which I profeſs myſelf to be,

SIR,

&c. &c. &c.

[*a*] See the Hiſtory of Florence, *Book* VII.
[*b*] See the Notes upon the 18th Chapter of the Prince.

Monſieur AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE's Preface to his Tranſlation.

AS Machiavel is an author whoſe writings are either not read, or not rightly underſtood by many, it ought not to ſeem ſtrange that the Vulgar are ſo prejudiced againſt them. I ſay *prejudiced*, becauſe amongſt thoſe that are moſt forward in cenſuring him, ſome have been ingenuous enough to confeſs they never ſaw his works, and others who have read them, have not been able to comprehend their true ſcope and meaning: as fully appears from the literal conſtruction they put upon ſeveral paſſages, which Politicians well know how to interpret otherwiſe. So that in fact, he is cenſured only becauſe he is not rightly underſtood; and he is not rightly underſtood by many who yet are capable of underſtanding him, merely becauſe they read his works with prejudice. Whereas if they would read like impartial Judges and duly balance the Scales betwixt him and his antagoniſts, they would ſee that his Maxims, for the moſt part, muſt of neceſſity be followed by Princes, "who, as the great Coſimo de' Medici ſaid, cannot govern their States only by counting a ſtring of beads, or mumbling over Pater Noſters." [*c*] Wicquefort in the firſt book of his *Ambaſſador*, Sect. 7, ſays, "we muſt ſuppoſe that Machiavel, almoſt throughout his whole work, tells us what Princes *actually do*, not what they *ought* to do." To condemn what Machiavel ſays then, is to condemn what Princes do, if it be true that he tells us what they do; or to ſpeak more juſtly, what they are ſometimes compelled to do. "A good man (ſays he in the fifteenth Chapter of his *Prince*) and one that is deſirous to approve himſelf as ſuch in all reſpects, muſt certainly be undone amongſt ſo many others of a different principle. So that it is abſolutely neceſſary for a Prince who would ſupport himſelf in his State, to learn not to be good ſometimes, and to make uſe of that knowledge upon occaſion, as the exigency of his affairs may require [*d*]." And in the eighteenth Chapter after he has ſaid, "that

[*c*] See the Hiſtory of Florence, Book VII. Franciſco, afterwards Grand Duke of Tuſcany, happening to hear one of his Courtiers murmuring at ſomething he had ordered him to do, reprimanded him out of the following paſſage in the Prophet Ezekiel, "Is not my way juſt; are not your ways unjuſt?" C. xviii. ver. 25. intimating, that there are things which ſeem unjuſt to private perſons, becauſe they know not the reaſons which oblige Princes to do them.

[*d*] Plutarch ſays, "That if the undeviating practice of every virtue, and a ſtrict adherence to juſtice in all caſes, could not be diſpenſed with in government, even Jupiter himſelf would not be able to rule the World."

a Prince

a Prince ought not to regard his word, when the keeping it will be to his prejudice; " he frankly owns, " that this is a maxim that ſhould not be inculcated, if the generality of mankind were good: but as they are far otherwiſe and will not perform their engagements to him, he is not obliged to keep any meaſures with them [*e*]: for if he does, he will loſe his dominions and conſequently his reputation; it being impoſſible that a Prince who has loſt the one, ſhould be able to preſerve the other." But ſince I have fallen upon the eighteenth Chapter of that piece, which is indeed the moſt exceptionable and dangerous of all his writings, it ſeems in ſome meaſure neceſſary to ſhew in what manner the inſtructions are to be underſtood which he there gives his Prince. " It is not at all neceſſary, ſays he, that a Prince ſhould actually be poſſeſſed of all the good qualities abovementioned; but highly ſo that he ſhould have the *appearance* of them. He ought to be conſtantly upon his guard, that nothing may ever drop from his mouth, but what ſeems to proceed from a heart full of goodneſs, mercy, truth, humanity, and Religion; but particularly of the laſt; as mankind in general form their judgment rather from appearances than realities [*f*]." Such is the bottom upon which the Vulgar have founded their opinion that Machiavel had no Religion, nay, that he was an Atheiſt: and it muſt be owned that appearances will be againſt him, if the matter is to be ſcanned only by weak and narrow minds. But if the meaning of his words are thoroughly weighed, he no where aſſerts (as he is accuſed) that a Prince ought not to have any Religion; but that if he has none, which may ſometimes happpen, he ſhould take great care that the people may not ſee that; as Religion is the ſtrongeſt bond of union betwixt him and his Subjects, and the want of it the moſt juſt, or at leaſt, the moſt ſpecious reaſon they can have for withdrawing their allegiance from him [*g*]. Now it is much better that a Prince ſhould be a hypocrite, than profeſſedly void of all manner of Religion and a declared Atheiſt;

[*e*] See the Notes upon the XVth and XVIIIth Chapters.

[*f*] The Prefacer here ſeems to have dealt unfairly; he has quoted as much as he thought would ſerve his purpoſe, and ſuppreſſed a great deal that evidently makes againſt it. As theſe paſſages therefore are garbled, the Reader is deſired to have recourſe to that Chapter itſelf, if he has a mind to ſee the argument in its full latitude, and be able to draw a juſt concluſion from it.

[*g*] " Nec toleraturos profani Principis imperium," ſays Tacitus *Annal.* xiv. that is, " A people will never ſuffer themſelves to be governed by a Prince who has no Religion." The French Chancellor de l'Hopital uſed to ſay, " that Religion had more influence upon the ſpirits of mankind, than all their paſſions put together; and that the cement by which it united them, was infinitely ſtronger than all the other obligations of civil ſo

a concealed evil being certainly leſs, than one that is univerſally known. All the world muſt be ſenſible of the one; but few can diſcover the other. And this, in my opinion, is what Machiavel means when he adds, "all men have eyes, but not many have the gift of penetration; every one ſees your exterior, but few can diſcern what you have in your heart." "We plainly ſee what is before our eyes, ſaid a Roman Knight to Tiberius, but in vain do we endeavour to look into the breaſt of a Prince [*b*]."

It muſt further be conſidered, that Machiavel always reaſons as a Politician, that is, according to Intereſts of State; which govern Princes, as they govern their Subjects [*i*], and that in ſo abſolute a manner, that an able miniſter uſed to ſay, "they had more regard for their States than their conſciences [*k*]." And this is the whole of what Juſtus Lipſius (who was as eminent for his piety and regard for Religion, as for his learning and political abilities) had to object to Machiavel's doctrine, of whom he freely owns he had a higher opinion than of all other modern Politicians put together [*l*]; which yet he would have been very far from ſaying, if he had in the leaſt ſuſpected him either of Atheiſm or Irreligion. It might be added, that Machiavel being a dependant on the houſe of Medici, durſt not have preſumed to addreſs his *Prince* to Lorenzo de' Medici whilſt his Uncle Pope Leo X. was alive, if it had been a dangerous or wicked book; nor his Hiſtory of Florence ſome years afterwards to Clement VII. with a dedicatory Epiſtle in which he ſays, "he hopes he ſhall find ſhelter under the ſanction of his favourable opinion and great wiſdom," if he had paſſed for an Infidel or an Atheiſt. And indeed whoever reads the twelfth Chapter of the firſt book of his *Political diſcourſes*, where he ſhews of how much importance it is to ſupport Divine Worſhip; and the firſt Chapter of the third book, where he praiſes the Orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic, as the reſtorers of the Chriſtian Religion, which had been totally diſfigured by the diſſolute lives of Church-men, will find, that notwithſtanding all his worldly wiſdom, he had very Religious ſentiments, and that conſequently we ſhould put a more favourable conſtruction than is

[*b*] Spectamus quæ coram habentur, abditos Principis ſenſus exquirere inlicitum, anceps; nec ideo adſequare. *Tacit. Annal.* vi.

[*i*] Nos Principi ſervimus (ſays Cicero) ipſe temporibus, *Ep.* l. ix.

[*k*] Monſieur de Villeroi, Secretary of State to Henry III. and IV. of France.

[*l*] "Qui nuper id tentârunt, non me tenent aut terrent; in quos ſi vere loquendum eſt, Cleobuli illud conveniat, *inſcitia in pleriſque & ſermonum multitudo*; niſi quod unius tamen Machiavelli ingenium non contemno, acre, ſubtile, igneum. Sed nimis ſæpe deflexit, & dum commodi illas ſemitas (he means intereſts of State) intente ſequitur, aberravit a regia via. *Præfat. Doctrin. Civil.*

uſually

uſually done, upon certain Maxims of State; the practice of which is become in a manner abſolutely neceſſary through the wickedneſs and perfidy of mankind: eſpecially, as Princes likewiſe are grown ſo double-hearted and deceitful, that any one who ſhould attempt to deal with his neighbours upon the footing of honour and ſincerity, would preſently become their Dupe. Many other things might be alledged in favour of Machiavel: but as I am writing a Preface and not an Apology, I ſhall leave thoſe to defend him that are either more intereſted in it, or better qualified for ſuch an undertaking than I am.

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N. B. *Here the Prefacer runs into a long deſcant upon the merit of his Tranſlation; but as it contains nothing curious or intereſting to any one elſe, it is therefore omitted.* After which, he proceeds as follows:

Somebody perhaps may aſk me, whether I think Cæſar Borgia, whom Machiavel propoſes as a Pattern, is really a good model. To which I anſwer, that I think he is a very good one for new Princes, I mean for ſuch as from private men have become Princes by uſurpation: but a very bad one for hereditary Princes. Now it is manifeſt from two paſſages in the Seventh Chapter of this work, that Machiavel propoſes Cæſar Borgia as a Pattern only to uſurpers, who cannot maintain the poſſeſſion of a new State without being cruel, at leaſt in the beginning of their reigns; becauſe all ſuch are ſure to be their enemies as do not find their account in that change: and even thoſe that aſſiſted them in the acquiſition of their dominions, will not long continue their friends; becauſe they cannot be gratified in every thing they aſk for. Whereas hereditary Princes, on the contrary, how ill ſoever they may govern, are under no neceſſity of having recourſe to violence and rigour to ſupport themſelves amongſt ſubjects who have been long accuſtomed to be ruled by Princes of the ſame blood. As to Duke Valentine (as Cæſar Borgia was generally called) I confeſs he was a very wicked man, and deſerved to die a thouſand deaths [*m*]; but it cannot be denied, at the ſame time, that he was both a great Soldier and Politician, and one of whom we may juſtly ſay what Paterculus ſays of Cinna, "that he did things which no good man would have dared to do; and ſucceeded in ſeveral enterprizes which nobody but a man of the greateſt valour durſt have attempted [*n*]."

[*m*] "Cæſarem Borgiam vel mille neces meritum." *Onuph. Panvin. in vit. Jul.* ii.

[*n*] "De quo vere dici poteſt, auſum eum, quæ nemo auderet bonus; perfeciſſe, quæ à nullo niſi fortiſſimo perfici poſſent." *Hiſt.* ii.

To conclude, I ſay, that Machiavel, who has every where been repreſented as a promoter of tyranny, was a greater enemy to it than perhaps any man of his time; as one may eaſily perceive from the tenth Chapter of the firſt book of his *Political Diſcourſes*, where he bitterly inveighs againſt Tyrants. And Nardi, his cotemporary, ſays, "he was one of thoſe that uſed to write panegyrics upon Liberty and Cardinal Juliano de' Medici, who after the death of Leo X, pretended that he would reſtore the liberties of his Country: and that he was ſuſpected of being an accomplice in the conſpiracy formed by Giacopo Diacetto, Zanobi Buondelmonti, Luigi Alamanni, and Coſimo Rucellai, againſt that Cardinal, on account of the ſtrict acquaintance and connections he had with them and other *Libertines*." [o] Probably it was owing to this ſuſpicion that he never received any reward for writing his Hiſtory of Florence; though he compoſed it by the command of the ſame Cardinal, as appears from the beginning of the Dedication of it to him after he was exalted to the Papacy. This is all that I thought neceſſary to ſay at preſent concerning Machiavel and his writings; of which, I leave every one to judge as he pleaſes.

[o] The partizans of the Medici called thoſe ſo, who they thought were conſpiring to recover their liberties. *Nardi. Hiſt. Flor.* l. iii.

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The King of PRUSSIA's Preface to his *Examen*, or *Critical Eſſay* upon MACHIAVEL's PRINCE.

MAchiavel's *Prince* may be looked upon with regard to *Morality*, in the ſame light, as Spinoſa's [*a*] Works in relation to matters of *Faith*. Spinoſa ſapped the foundations of Faith, with a deſign to ſubvert Religion; and Machiavel by corrupting Politics has ſtruck at the very root of true Morality. The errors of one are only ſpeculative; but thoſe of the other, are of ſuch a nature as immediately influence our practice. The Theologians however preſently rung the alarm-bell, and raiſed the World againſt Spinoſa in ſuch a manner, that his writings have been refuted in form, and Divinity ſettled upon ſo ſolid a baſis as to deſpiſe his attacks: whilſt Machiavel has only been pelted by here and there a Moraliſt; in ſpite of whom, notwithſtanding his pernicious doctrine, he has ſtill maintained his ground and ſat triumphant in the Political Chair to this very hour. Nevertheleſs, I ſhall venture to enter the liſts in defence of Humanity againſt this Monſter, this declared enemy to it, and arm myſelf with Reaſon and Juſtice, againſt Sophiſms and iniquitous argumentation, in the courſe of ſome reflections upon his *Prince*, which I ſhall ſubjoin Chapter by Chapter to that Work; that ſo the Reader may be immediately provided in one, with an antidote for the poiſon which he finds in the other.

I have always looked upon the *Prince* as one of the moſt dangerous works that ever was publiſhed. It is a book that muſt of courſe fall into the hands of Princes, and of many others that ſtudy Politics, and it may naturally be expected that young and ambitious men, whoſe heart and judgment are not ſufficiently matured to diſtinguiſh betwixt

[*a*] The works of this author, who was originally a Jew, and reſided moſtly in Holland, have made a great noiſe in the world; eſpecially his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, printed at Hamburg, 1670; in which his principal endeavour ſeems to be to overthrow all Religions, but more particularly the Jewiſh and Chriſtian; and inſtead thereof to introduce Atheiſm, and a free toleration of all ſyſtems of Religion in thoſe that are inclined to profeſs any. He ſays, they were only invented to make men live honeſtly, and obey the Magiſtrates, and apply themſelves to virtue; not for the hope of any reward after death, but for the excellence of virtue in itſelf, and the advantages which its votaries receive in this Life. Many other ſtrange poſitions he endeavoured to maintain, and at laſt fell into downright and profeſſed Atheiſm. His hypotheſis in his *opera poſthuma*, is a moſt abſurd and palpable contradiction to the cleareſt notions of the human underſtanding. If the Reader deſires to ſee it expoſed and confuted, he may conſult Mr. Bayle's Dictionary, under the article *Spinoſa*.

good!

good and evil, may be ſeduced by maxims that flatter their paſſions. But if it be wicked to corrupt the Innocence of private men, whoſe influence is but ſmall in the affairs of the World; is it not much more ſo to pervert the hearts of thoſe that are appointed to govern nations, to adminiſter Juſtice, to be examples of goodneſs and magnanimity to their Subjects, and to reſemble the Supreme Being in bounty and mercy? Inundations, and lightenings, and Peſtilences, which deſtroy Cities and deſolate Provinces, are not ſo fatal to the World, as corrupt morals and undiſciplin'd paſſions in Princes. Thoſe Scourges are but temporary, they only affect particular countries; and ſuch loſſes, how pitiable ſoever, are ſtill to be repaired: but the enormities of Princes are long felt by whole nations, and leave deep traces behind them. They have it in their power to do good or evil when they pleaſe: and in how wretched a ſituation muſt a people be when they have every thing to fear from the abuſe of that power in their Sovereign; when their properties may hourly become a prey to his avarice, their liberty to his caprice, their repoſe to his ambition, and their lives to his cruelty! Such muſt be the circumſtances of a State, governed by a Prince of Machiavel's forming.

I cannot conclude this Preface without a ſhort animadverſion upon the notion, *that Machiavel tells us rather what Princes really do, than what they ought to do*: a conceit, indeed, which has pleaſed many, becauſe it ſeems to have ſomething ſatirical in it. But thoſe who have pronounced in ſo deciſive and injurious a manner againſt Sovereigns, were probably led into that error, either by the examples of ſome bad Princes who lived in Machiavel's time and are cited by him, or by thoſe of ſome other Tyrants that were a diſgrace to human nature. I muſt deſire theſe Cenſors however to remember that Royalty, of all other conditions, is moſt liable to ſeduction; that it requires an extraordinary degree of virtue in a Sovereign to reſiſt it; and therefore that it ought not to ſeem at all wonderful, if in ſo numerous an order as that of Princes, there are ſome bad ones to be found. But if we meet with ſuch as Nero, Caligula and Tiberius amongſt the Roman Emperors; we likewiſe have the pleaſure of ſeeing the names of Titus, Trajan, and Antoninus immortalized for their virtues: ſo that it is highly unjuſt to ſtigmatize a whole body for the enormities of a few individuals.

The names of good Princes alone ſhould be recorded in Hiſtory; and thoſe of others ſuffered to periſh with their crimes. This indeed would greatly diminiſh the number of Hiſtories, but the world would be the better for it; as the honour of living in the Annals of fame

fame and having one's name handed down with glory to the lateſt poſterity, would become the reward of virtue only, and at the ſame time an effectual ſpur to it. Machiavel's *Prince* would then no longer infect the School of Politics; his numberleſs contradictions would make him deſpicable, and mankind be convinced that juſtice, prudence, and goodneſs, are the only true Politics, and infinitely preferable in every light to the incoherent and horrible Syſtem, which Machiavel has had the impudence to obtrude upon the World.

Mr. VOLTAIRE's Preface to the firſt Edition of the King of PRUSSIA's *Examen du Prince de Machiavel.*

I am perſuaded I ſhall do the world an acceptable ſervice in publiſhing the *Examen du Prince de Machiavel.* The illuſtrious author of this refutation, who is one of thoſe exalted Souls that are ſometimes, though but rarely formed by Heaven to recall mankind to virtue by their precepts and examples, committed it to writing ſome years ago, only to gratify the dictates of a heart warm in the cauſe of truth. He was then very young, and had no other deſign in penning it than to form himſelf to truth and virtue: and though it was not his intention to give leſſons to others; yet theſe leſſons are ſuch as deſerve to be attended to by all Princes, and may, it is hoped, contribute not a little to the happineſs of mankind. He did me the honour to ſend me the manuſcript; and I thought it a duty incumbent upon me to aſk his permiſſion to print it: for as Machiavel's poiſonous doctrine has now been ſpread very far abroad, it is neceſſary the Antidote ſhould be ſo too. Many copies were eagerly taken in manuſcript, and others again in haſte from them, which ſoon became common, though very faulty and defective: ſo that the work would have been much disfigured, if I had not made a preſent of a true and exact copy to ſome Bookſellers, who I hope will take care to follow it.

The Reader, without doubt, will be aſtoniſhed when I tell him that the perſon who wrote it in French, and in ſo noble, ſo energic, and for the moſt part ſo pure a Style, was a young foreigner, who at that time had never been in France. Indeed it is far ſuperior in every reſpect to Monſieur Amelot de la Houſſaye's Style, whoſe tranſlation of the *Prince* into French I have taken care to have printed on the ſame page with the refutation. This certainly is very wonderful: but the perſon whoſe work I here publiſh, has ſucceeded in the ſame manner in every thing elſe that he has applied himſelf to. It is of no importance to know whether he is an Engliſhman, a Spaniard, or an Italian; our buſineſs at preſent is not concerning his Country but his *Examen*, which I think is not only better written than Machiavel's performance, but much preferable to it upon all other accounts; and it is well for mankind that Virtue at laſt has been painted in ſo much more amiable colours than Vice.

After I became poſſeſſed of this precious depoſit, I purpoſely left ſome brilliant expreſſions unaltered which were not altogether pure French, though they deſerve to be ſo: and yet I will venture to ſay

that this work ſtands fair to poliſh our language as well as reform our morals. But it muſt be obſerved that every Chapter of it is not deſigned as a refutation of Machiavel; for the Florentine does not preach falſe doctrine throughout the whole of his *Prince*: there are ſome parts of this performance, which are rather reflections upon Machiavel's than pointed directly againſt it: upon which account I have given it the title of *Examen du Prince*, &c. But as the illuſtrious Author himſelf, has fully anſwered Machiavel, I have nothing further to add, except a ſhort anſwer to Monſieur Amelot de la Houſſaye's Preface to his Tranſlation of the *Prince*.

This Tranſlator takes upon him to talk like a Politician; but I can aſſure the Reader that the Refuter of Machiavel is in reality what Amelot only pretends to be. Amelot was an author that wrote for bread [*z*], and to ſpeak as favourably of him as we can, perhaps tranſlated Machiavel's *Prince* and defended his Maxims rather with a view to promote the ſale of his book, than any real deſign of making proſelytes. He talks much of *Reaſons of State* in his Dedicatory Epiſtle: but a man who had been Secretary to an Embaſſy, and yet could not find means to ſupport himſelf without ſuch wretched ſhifts, muſt be but indifferently qualified, in my opinion, to talk at all of *Reaſons of State*. He endeavours to juſtify his Author, by the ſuffrage of Juſtus Lipſius, who he ſays, "was as eminent for his piety and regard for Religion, as for his learning and political abilities." Upon which we may obſerve, in the firſt place, that whatſoever Lipſius or all the other learned men in the world may ſay in favour of a doctrine ſo fatal and pernicious to mankind, ought to have no manner of weight. In the next, that *Piety* and *Religion* (words which he here avails himſelf of with a very ill grace) teach us the direct contrary. Thirdly, that Lipſius, who was born a Catholic, and afterwards turned Lutheran, then Calviniſt, and at laſt became a Catholic again, was never accounted a truly religious man, notwithſtanding the pitiful verſes he addreſſed to the Virgin Mary [*a*].

[*z*] Mr. Voltaire, methinks, might very well have ſpared this Sarcaſm upon *a brother-writer for bread*; as it is well known he himſelf has written *for bread* all the days of his life, and now enjoys the fruits of his writings amongſt the Swiſs, where, it is ſaid, he lives in great ſplendor.

[*a*] After the publication of ſeveral learned and valuable works, he loſt his reputation by writing two very ſimple books, one intituled, *Juſti Lipſii Diva Virgo Hallenſis. Beneficia ejus & miracula fide atque ordine deſcripta*, i. e. *Juſtus Lipſius's Holy Virgin of Hall; containing a faithful and methodical account of her favours and miracles*: and the other, *Juſti Lipſii Diva Sichemienſis, ſive Aſpri-collis: nova ejus beneficia & admiranda*, i. e. *Juſtus Lipſius's Saint of Sichem; with an account of her new favours and*

In the fourth place, that his huge book of Politics is the moſt contemptible of all his works, though it is dedicated to *Emperors, Kings, and Princes.* Laſtly, that he ſays directly the contrary of what Amelot makes him ſay, " I wiſh, ſays Lipſius, (page the ninth of Plantin's edition) Machiavel had conducted his Prince the ſtraight way to the temple of Virtue and Honour." *Utinam Principem ſuum recta duxiſſet ad templum virtutis & honoris* &c. Amelot has utterly and purpoſely ſuppreſſed theſe words. Indeed it was the cuſtom of his age to quote very improperly and injudiciouſly: but to caſtrate ſo eſſential a paſſage is ſomething more than pedantry, it is not merely expoſing himſelf to ridicule, but a downright falſification. The great perſonage whoſe work I here publiſh, ſeldom or never quotes; but I am very much miſtaken if he himſelf will not often be quoted hereafter by ſuch as are friends to reaſon and juſtice.

Amelot takes much pains likewiſe to prove that Machiavel was very far from being an irreligious man. But is not Religion prettily treated upon this occaſion? An author recommends the practice of poiſoning and aſſaſſination; and his tranſlator has the aſſurance to extol his devotion! But his Readers are not to be impoſed upon in this manner. It is trifling to ſay his author praiſes the Franciſ-

miracles. The verſes alluded to by Voltaire, which he wrote when he dedicated a Silver Pen to the Lady of Hall, are mentioned in the following manner by Aubert Miræus in his *Life of Lipſius.* " Ipſe pennam argenteam (nec potuit pretioſius quidpiam) in templo ante aram Virginis ſuſpendit, & pios hoſce verſus ſubſcripſit.

" Hanc, Diva, Pennam interpretem mentis meæ,
Per alta ſpatia quæ volavit ætheris,
Per ima quæ volavit & terræ & maris:
Scientiæ, Prudentiæ, Sapientiæ,
Operata ſemper, auſa quæ *Conſtantiam*
Deſcribere & vulgare; quæ *Civilia,*
Quæ *Militaria* atque *Poliorcetica:*
Quæ, Roma, magnitudinem adſtruxit tuam:
Variaque luce ſcripta priſci ſæculi
Affecit & perfudit: hanc Pennam tibi
Nunc, Diva, merito conſecravi Lipſius:
Nam numine iſthæc inchoata ſunt tuo,
Et numine iſthæc abſoluta ſunt tuo.
Porro O benignitatis aura perpetim
Hæc ſpiret; & famæ fugacis in vicem
Quam Penna peperit, tu perenne gaudium
Vitamque, Diva, Lipſio pares tuo."

One of the above-mentioned ſilly Hiſtories happening to fall into the hands of our King James I. after he had read ſome part of it, he threw it down in a paſſion, with this curſe, " damnation to him that made it, and to him that believes it." *Joſ. Hall, Epiſt. Decad.* i. *Epiſt.* v.

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cans and the Dominicans, &c: for what have Monks to do in the caſe? It is the affair of Sovereigns only; whom Machiavel endeavours to teach the art of being wicked; an art, alas! that was but too well known before he taught it. Beſides, would any one think it a ſufficient juſtification of Mirvais [*b*], Cartouche, [*c*] Jacques Clement [*d*], or Ravillac [*e*], to ſay *they had very religious ſentiments?* Muſt that Sacred word *Religion* be for ever proſtituted to varniſh over the moſt execrable crimes, and to juſtify the wickedeſt and vileſt of mankind?

"Cæſar Borgia (continues the Tranſlator) is a very good model for *new* Princes, that is for Uſurpers [*f*]." But in the firſt place, every *new* Prince is not an Uſurper: the Medici were *new* Princes, and yet they could not be reproached with uſurpation. And in the next, the example of that baſtard of Pope Alexander VI, who was always deteſtable and often unfortunate, is but a wretched model for *any* Prince.

In the laſt place Amelot pretends, "that Machiavel hated Tyranny." Without doubt, every man muſt hate it: but is it not baſe as well as horrible to the laſt degree to hate, and at the ſame time to teach and recommend it?

I ſhall proſecute this matter no further however: let us hear the virtuous author of the *Examen*, who has done it in a much nobler ſtyle and manner of argumentation.

Bruſſels,
June 24, 1740.

V. - - - - -

N. B. Soon after the firſt Edition of the *Examen* by J. Van Duren at the Hague; another was publiſhed there by Mr. Voltaire himſelf, with the new title of *a Critical Eſſay upon Machiavel's Prince.*

In the latter, which is here tranſlated, there are many and large alterations and ſuppreſſions as well as additions made by the King of

[*b*] Mirvais, or Miruveis, or, as he is ſometimes called, Miriwitz, was an enterprizing Afghan, who made himſelf maſter of Candahar, a Province in Perſia, during the reign of Shah Huſſein, about the year 1713. See *Hanway's Travels*, vol. ii. p. 101, & ſeq.

[*c*] A notorious Robber, and head of a gang of Thieves in France, ſome time ago.

[*d*] A Jacobin Monk, who aſſaſſinated Henry III. of France.

[*e*] The wretch who aſſaſſinated Henry IV.

[*f*] Voltaire does not quote Amelot exactly in this place. The words of the latter are, "I think he is a very good model for new Princes, *I mean*, for ſuch as from private men have become Princes by uſurpation." He does not ſay, that *all new Princes are Uſurpers*, as Voltaire charges him with ſaying; who, therefore, has in this article been rather too ſharp upon him.

Pruſſia himſelf: ſo that it is very different in ſeveral places from the firſt. What follows is added to the preface in the latter. "I, the underſigned, have lodged the manuſcript in the hands of Monſieur Cyrille le Petit, Preacher to the French Church at the Hague: which manuſcript agrees exactly with a Book entitled *a Critical Eſſay upon the Prince*. And as every other Edition is defective, the Bookſellers are required to follow the preſent Copy.

Hague,
Oct. 12, 1740. F. DE VOLTAIRE.

THE

THE PRINCE.

CHAP I.

Concerning the different kinds of Principalities, and the means by which they are obtained.

THERE never was, nor is there at this day, any Government in the world, which exerciſes, or ever did exerciſe, power and dominion over others, but it is either a Republic, or a Principality [*a*]. Principalities are either hereditary, in a family which has been a long time in the poſſeſſion of them [*b*], or ſuch as are newly acquired. The latter are either wholly and abſolutely new, as the Government of Milan was to Franciſco Sforza; or annexed as appendages to the hereditary dominions of the Prince that makes himſelf maſter of them; as the Kingdom of Naples now is to thoſe of the King of Spain. The States, therefore, that are thus acquired, either by dint of one's own arms, or by thoſe of others, or by good fortune and conduct, muſt of neceſſity either become ſubject to the dominion of one Prince, or be left to enjoy their liberties under a freer kind of Government.

Examen: or Critical Eſſay upon Machiavel's Prince. Chap. I.

[*c*] BEFORE Machiavel proceeded to particularize the different kinds of Government, he ought, methinks, to have examined into the original of Civil Empire in general, and to have ſhewn the

[*a*] This diviſion ſeems to be founded upon the doctrine of Tacitus, who oppoſes a Republic and a Principality to each other, as two contraries. "Res diſſociabiles Principatum & Libertatem," ſays he, *in vit. Agricolæ.* "Romam a principio Reges habuêre, Libertatem L. Brutus inſtituit." *Annal.* i. "C. Marius & L. Sulla Libertatem in Dominationem verterunt." *Hiſt.* ii. "Haud facile Libertas & Domini miſcentur." *Hiſt.* iv. Every Republic, however, in fact, is a Principality. Accordingly, the Edicts of the Venetian Common-wealth run in this manner: "*Il ſereniſſimo Principe fa ſaper*, &c." "*Our moſt ſerene Prince hereby enacts*, &c. But every Principality is not a Republic.

[*b*] "In gentibus quæ regnantur, certa dominorum domus." *Tac. Hiſt.* i. "Non contra Caii, aut Claudii, vel Neronis, fundatam longo imperio domum exſurgimus." *Hiſt.* ii.

[*c*] The firſt Edition of the *Examen*, or *Critical Eſſay upon the Prince*, begins in this manner: Lorſqu'on veut raiſonner juſte, il faut commencer par approfondir la nature du reaſons

reaſons that induced men who were born free, to ſubject themſelves to the dominion of others. But perhaps he was aware that it would appear very ſtrange in the author of a book manifeſtly calculated for the inſtitution of Villains and Tyrants, if he ſhould ſet out with developing ſuch principles as muſt naturally ſubvert his own ſyſtem. For ſurely it muſt have been with a very bad grace, that he could in the firſt place have informed us, that mankind found it neceſſary for their repoſe and preſervation, to have Judges eſtabliſhed to decide their differences, and Protectors to defend and maintain them in the poſſeſſion of their properties againſt the attempts of their enemies; in ſhort, to appoint one or more Chiefs to unite them in a common intereſt; and that for theſe purpoſes they firſt made choice of ſuch perſons to govern them, as were moſt eminent amongſt them for their wiſdom, juſtice, diſintereſtedneſs, humanity, and valour.

Juſtice, therefore, (he muſt have been obliged to ſay) ought to be the main object of a Prince; and the welfare of the people whom he governs, at all times to be preferred to every other conſideration: for the ſovereign, inſtead of being abſolute Lord over the people that are under his government, is in reality nothing more than the chief Magiſtrate.

This view of the original of Sovereignty makes the actions of Tyrants and Uſurpers ſeem ſtill more unnatural and atrocious in the eyes of men than they would otherwiſe appear, if we looked back no further than their immediate oppreſſions: ſince they entirely defeat the firſt intention and expectation of thoſe by whom they were choſen to govern and protect them, and who gave up their native liberty merely upon thoſe terms. For they find, that in paying obedience to Rulers of this kind, they ſacrifice both their perſons and every thing elſe that is dear to them, only to ſatiate the avarice and gratify the caprice of a Tyrant, who tramples this original contract betwixt them under his feet; a contract at firſt deſigned to unite them in Civil Society, under a mutual obligation to defend and protect each other, and pur-

ſujet dont on veut parler, il faut remonter juſqu'a l'origine des choſes pour en connoitre; autant que l'on peut, les premiers principes: il eſt facile alors d'en deduire les progres, & toutes les conſequences qui peuvent s'en ſuivre." But this Mr. Voltaire thought fit to cut off in his ſecond; as indeed, he has ſeveral other paſſages, either of his own head, or by the order of the Royal Author. The latter is moſt reaſonable to ſuppoſe; eſpecially as there is a hint of that kind in one of his letters, dated at Bruſſels, July 10, 1740, and inſerted, p. 459, vol. vi. of the French Tranſlation of Machiavel's Works, by Tetard, printed at the Hague, in 1743; which likewiſe contains the Examen, or Critical Eſſay upon the Prince, and Monſieur Amelot's Tranſlation of that piece, inſtead of Tetard's. The moſt material alterations ſhall be taken notice of, as they occur.

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poſely entered into to guard them againſt the violence of ſuch oppreſſors.

There are but three juſtifiable means, by which any one can obtain dominion over others; the firſt is, by lineal and eſtabliſhed ſucceſſion; the ſecond, by being elected by a people who have a right to chooſe their Prince; and the third, from conqueſt, in conſequence of a war juſtly undertaken againſt an enemy. From theſe principles I ſhall argue in the courſe of my future reflections upon this work.

CHAP. II.

Of Hereditary Principalities.

AS I purpoſely here omit all mention of Republican Governments, becauſe they will be treated of at large in another place [*d*], I ſhall confine myſelf ſolely to the ſubject of Principalities at preſent, and endeavour to ſhew how the different ſorts of them, which have been already ſpecified, ſhould be governed and maintained. I ſay then, that it is a much eaſier matter to ſupport an hereditary State, which has been long accuſtomed to obey the family of a Prince that reigns over it, than ſuch a one as has been newly acquired [*e*]. Since nothing more is requiſite in this caſe, than to keep within the bounds that have been obſerved by the Anceſtors of that Prince [*f*], and to comply with the exigencies of the times upon

[*d*] In his *Political Diſcourſes* upon Livy.

[*e*] Tacitus ſays, that dominion acquired by violence, cannot be maintained by mild and gentle methods. "Non poſſe Principatum ſcelere quæſitum, ſubitâ modeſtiâ & priſcâ gravitate retineri." *Hiſt.* i. The rigorous meaſures, however, which are uſually taken, in order to ſecure a State that has been newly conquered, often occaſion the loſs of it, as they provoke ſubjects to revolt. "Atque illi (ſays the ſame author) quamvis ſervitio ſueti, patientiam abrumpunt." *Annal.* xii.

[*f*] Seneca's enemies urged this argument to Nero, *viz.* that as he was out of his minority, and old enough to govern of himſelf, he had no occaſion for any other Tutor or Inſtructor than the example of his predeceſſors. "Finitam pueritiam, & robur juventæ adeſſe, exueret magiſtrum, ſatis amplis doctoribus inſtructus, Majoribus ſuis. *Annal.* xiv. Tacitus ſays, that Tiberius, in the beginning of his reign, made it a rule, to imitate Auguſtus in every thing; "neque fas Tiberio infringere dicta ejus." *Annal.* i. "Qui omnia facta dictaque ejus, vice legis obſervem." *Annal.* iv. and that he durſt not at firſt ſhew any ſeverity to a people whom Auguſtus had treated with ſo much lenity. "Populum per tot annos molliter habitum, nondum audebat ad duriora vertere." *Annal.* i. That Vonones was deſpiſed by the Parthians, and driven out of his Kingdom, becauſe his conduct was very different from that of their former Kings: "accendebat dedignantes et ipſe, diverſus a majorum inſtitutis." *Annal.* ii. and that Italus was much beloved by the Cheruſcans; becauſe, though he was brought up at Rome, he nevertheleſs conformed to their debaucheries, as much as if he had been educated amongſt them. "Lætus Germanis adventus ejus; atque eo magis, quod ſæpius vinolentiam ac libidines, grata barbaris, uſurparet." *Annal.* xi.

particular occaſions. So that if the Prince is a perſon of only common capacity and attention, he will always be able to ſupport himſelf in his State, except he is driven out of it by ſome irreſiſtable and more than ordinary force: and even in that caſe he will be ſure to recover it, whenever the Uſurper meets with any check or diſaſter in the career of his fortune. Of this Italy affords us a memorable example in the Duke of Ferrara [*g*], who was enabled to make ſo brave a ſtand againſt the Venetians when they invaded his dominions in the year 1484, and againſt Pope Julius II. in 1510, merely by having been ſo long eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of that Duchy. For a natural Prince neither lies under any neceſſity, nor can have any motive to oppreſs or diſguſt his ſubjects: from whence it muſt follow of courſe, that he will be more beloved by them than another, except ſome enormous vices ſhould happen to make him odious. Beſides, the long ſucceſſion and duration of his government aboliſh both the cauſes and memory of innovations [*b*]: for one change generally leaves a *toothing* (as it is called in buildings) and aptitude for another [*i*].

[*g*] This was Alphonſo d'Eſte, whom Julius II. excommunicated, and endeavoured to deprive of his Dukedom.

[*b*] According to Tacitus, people find more inconvenience in trying a new Prince, than in keeping one whom they had before: "Minore diſcrimine ſumi Principem quam quæri." *Hiſt.* i.

[*i*] Examples are generally improved upon, as Paterculus ſays, "non enim ibi conſiſtunt exempla unde cœperunt, ſed quamlibet in tenuem recepta tramitem latiſſimè evagandi ſibi viam faciunt." *Hiſt.* ii. Tacitus gives us two pregnant inſtances, how apt one change is to occaſion another. "Libertatem & Conſulatum L. Brutus inſtituit. Dictaturæ ad tempus ſumebantur: neque Decem-viralis poteſtas ultra biennium, neque Tribunorum militum conſulare jus diu valuit. Non Cinnæ, non Sullæ longa Dominatio; & Pompeii Craſſique potentia in Cæſarem; Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Auguſtum ceſſere." *Annal.* i. *i. e.* Lucius Brutus firſt inſtituted Conſuls, and ſet up a free government in Rome, after the expulſion of Kings. Sometimes a Dictator was created for a while, but his power expired as ſoon as the people were out of danger. The Decemviri did not continue in office above two Years; neither did the Conſular power of military Tribunes laſt long. The Domination of Cinna, and the Dictatorſhip of Sylla, were but of ſhort duration. The Power of Craſſus and Pompey were ſoon united in the perſon of Julius Cæſar their Collegue; and the authority of Lepidus and Marc Anthony in that of Auguſtus. This is a remarkable ſeries of changes. Here follows the other. "Sulla Dictator abolitis vel converſis prioribus; cum plura addidiſſet, otium ei rei haud in longum paravit. Statim turbidis Lepidi rogationibus, neque multo poſt Tribunis redditâ licentiâ quoquo vellent populum agitandi. Jamque non modo in commune ſed in ſingulos homines latæ quæſtiones. . . . . Exin continua per viginti annos diſcordia, non mos, non jus." *Annal.* iii. *i. e.* Sylla the Dictator, either changed or aboliſhed the Laws made by Gracchus and Saturninus, in order to eſtabliſh others of his own making: but the turbulency of the times did not ſuffer them to continue long in force. For Lepidus, and ſoon after the Tribunes, having recovered their former power, began to harraſs the people at their pleaſure, with new Laws and oppreſſions; ſo that without any regard to the good of the public, there were almoſt as

EXAMEN. CHAP. II.

THE generality of mankind have a fond veneration for Antiquity that amounts almoſt to ſuperſtition: ſo that when hereditary right is joined with the influence which this reverence for Antiquity has upon the minds of men; even the heavieſt Yoke will appear light to them. I ſhall not therefore diſpute a point with Machiavel which every one muſt readily allow, namely, that ſuch States are the moſt eaſily governed of all others. I ſhall only add, that hereditary Princes are naturally fortified in the poſſeſſion of their dominions, by the connection which ſubſiſts betwixt them and the moſt powerful families amongſt their ſubjects, moſt of which muſt of courſe lie under obligations to the crown for their honours and poſſeſſions: ſo that their fortune is inſeparably united with that of their Prince, whom they are therefore obliged to ſupport at all events, as they muſt be ſenſible that their own ruin will be the inevitable conſequence of his fall. At preſent indeed the powerful armies which moſt Princes keep on foot in times of peace as well as war, contribute much to the ſecurity of their dominions: they are a check upon the ambition of their neighbours; for the ſight of a drawn ſword often keeps that of others in the Scabbard.

But it is not ſufficient that a Prince ſhould barely be *a perſon only of common capacity and attention* (as Machiavel ſays) with regard to himſelf; it ſhould be his great buſineſs to make his Subjects happy and contented. For in ſuch circumſtances they will never think of revolting; nay, they will be more afraid than their Prince himſelf of any misfortune happening to one who is their Benefactor as well as their Sovereign. The Hollanders would never have rebelled againſt the Spaniards, if the Domination of the latter had not been ſo rigorous and inſupportable, that they thought they had nothing more grievous to be afraid of. The Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily have paſſed ſeveral times from the Spaniards to the Emperors of Germany, and from the Emperors to the Spaniards again: and the conqueſt of them has at all times been very eaſy; becauſe the government of both thoſe powers appeared ſo tyrannical to the people, that they always hoped for redreſs from new Maſters.

many new regulations made as there were private men. . . . . After which, inſtead of juſtice and equity, and civil order, there was nothing but continual diſcord for the ſpace of twenty years betwixt the Senate and the People.

What a difference betwixt theſe poor Neapolitans and the people of Lorrain! when the latter were forced to change their Sovereign, all the Country was in tears; they could not help bitterly lamenting the loſs of the poſterity of thoſe Dukes who had governed them for many ages, and who were ſo revered for their goodneſs, that they may worthily be propoſed as examples for the imitation of Kings. The memory of [*k*] Duke Leopold was ſtill ſo dear to the people when his Widow was obliged to quit Luneville, that they threw themſelves upon their knees before her chariot, and ſtopped the horſes at the end of every Street: nothing was to be heard or ſeen in that City but tears and lamentations from all quarters.

CHAP. III.

Of mixed Principalities.

BUT in the government of a Principality newly acquired, many difficulties occur. For if it is not abſolutely new, but annexed as an appendage only to the dominions of the Uſurper (in which caſe that State may properly be called a *mixed* one) tumults and revolutions will in the firſt place enſue from the perverſeneſs and inſtability that are incident to the Subjects of all new States; becauſe, as moſt men are ready enough to change their maſters, in expectation of bettering their condition [*l*], ſuch a perſuaſion induces them to take up arms againſt their Governors: but they are often deceived in this, and have the mortification to find by experience that they have changed for the worſe [*m*]. This proceeds from another natural and ordinary

[*k*] The French firſt made themſelves maſters of this Duchy, in the reign of Lewis XIII. but reſtored it by the Pyrenean treaty 1660. In the year 1670, the French ſeized upon it again. After which, Charles Leopold, of famous memory, who ſhould have ſucceeded his Uncle in the Duchy, went into the Emperor's ſervice, and gained more honour in the field, than almoſt any General of his time. See Collier's Dictionary, in the Article *Charles* IV. *of Lorrain*. He died after a ſhort illneſs at Weltz, upon his road to Vienna, in 1690, at the age of 49; having firſt recommended his wife, children, and ſubjects, to the Emperor's protection, in a ſhort letter, which concludes in this manner: "*Sacræ Cæſareæ Majeſtati commendat ſe ſuoſque, & ultimum dicit vale Carolus Lotharingiæ Dux.*" He married Eleonora Maria of Auſtria, Queen Dowager to Michael, King of Poland, and Siſter to the Emperor: his eldeſt Son Leopold had the inheritance of his Anceſtors reſtored to him by virtue of the treaty of Ryſwick, in the year 1697.

[*l*] "Parthos præſentibus mobiles, abſentibus æquos." *Tacit. Annal.* vi. All nations, ſays the ſame Author, *Annal.* xii. are alike in this reſpect, *ſervitii ingenio*, by a caprice incident to ſervitude.

[*m*] Do you imagine, ſaid a Roman Senator, that Tyranny is extinguiſhed by the death of Nero? many thought it had died with Tiberius and Caligula; and yet another Tyrant is ſprung up more ſanguinary and deteſtable than either of the former. "An

occaſion: for a new Prince being neceſſarily obliged to harraſs his Subjects by quartering Soldiers upon them, and many other grievances that are always the attendants of recent acquiſitions, cannot help diſguſting them [*n*]. So that he is ſure to make all thoſe his enemies whom he has injured in ſeizing upon that Principality; and cannot preſerve the friendſhip of others who aſſiſted him in his undertaking; becauſe he can neither reward them in the manner they expect, nor proceed againſt them with rigour, as they have laid him under ſuch obligations. For how numerous and powerful ſoever the troops of any one may be who embarks in ſuch an enterprize, he will find it abſolutely neceſſary to engage the favour and intereſt of ſome of the natives of that State which he deſigns to invade, in order to get footing there at the firſt. From theſe concurrent circumſtances, it came to paſs that Lewis XII of France ſo ſoon made himſelf maſter of Milan; and from the cauſes above mentioned Ludovico Sforza with no other aſſiſtance but that of his own troops, as ſoon wreſted it out of his hands again: for the people who had thrown open the gates of that City to the French, finding themſelves diſappointed in the hopes they had conceived of future favours and rewards, could not bear the inſolent and faſtidious behaviour of their new Lords [*o*]. It is an eaſier matter indeed to maintain a State that has been once reduced, and then rebelled, and afterwards been conquered again; becauſe the Uſurper may make a handle of that revolt, and proceed with leſs reſerve in ſecuring himſelf, by puniſhing the delinquents, by keep-

Neronem extremum Dominorum putatis? Idem crediderant qui Tiberio, qui Caligulæ ſuperſtites fueruht: cum interim inteſtabilior & ſævior exortus eſt." *Hiſt.* iv. Claudius told the Parthian Ambaſſadors, who deſired he would give them a better King, they would be never the better for changing their ſovereigns ſo often, and therefore it would be the beſt way to accommodate themſelves to their humours. "Ferenda Regum ingenia, neque uſui crebras mutationes." *Annal.* xii. A Roman Senator ſaid, he admired the paſt times, and conformed to the preſent; and though he could not help wiſhing for good Princes, he would bear with thoſe that were bad. "Se meminiſſe temporum quibus natus ſit; ulteriora mirari, præſentia ſequi; bonos Imperatores voto expetere, qualeſcunque tolerare. *Hiſt.* iv. See Machiavel's *Political Diſcourſes*, Book iii. cap. vi. towards the beginning, where he ſays, this is *a golden maxim.* But it is a doctrine that would not go down in theſe times; and indeed it is not fit it ſhould.

[*n*] Res dura, & regni novitas me talia cogunt
Moliri, & latè fines cuſtode tueri,

Said the Queen of Carthage to Æneas. *Æneid* I. "Arma, ſays Tacitus, quæ neque parari poſſint neque haberi per bonas artes." *Annal.* I. A force that cannot be ſupported without giving offence.

[*o*] Tacitus ſays, the Parthians received Tiridates with open arms, in hopes of being better treated by him than they had been by Artabanus; and that ſoon after, they not only hated Tiridates as much as they had careſſed him at firſt, but recalled Artabanus, who had been ſo diſagreeable to them before. "Qui Artabanum ob ſævitiam, execrati, come Tiridatis ingenium ſperabant . . . ad Artabanum vertere, [illegible] *Annal.* vi.

in

ing a watchful eye over the ſuſpected, and by fortifying his weak ſide more effectually for the future [p]. So that although Sforza ſucceeded the firſt time in expelling the French only by harraſſing the confines of the Milaneſe, and raiſing continual alarms and commotions there; yet when they had poſſeſſed themſelves of that State a ſecond time, he found it neceſſary to confederate himſelf with many other Princes againſt them, in order to drive their forces out of Italy, and once more to recover the poſſeſſion of Milan; all which was owing to the cauſes juſt now aſſigned. Nevertheleſs, he met with ſucceſs in both attempts: and as I have already ſhewn to what that may principally be attributed in the firſt caſe, I ſhall likewiſe endeavour to point out the occaſion of it in the ſecond; and ſee what reſources and expedients the King of France had, or any other Prince in the ſame circumſtances may have another time, to ſupport himſelf in the poſſeſſion of his newly acquired dominions in a more effectual manner than he did.

I ſay then, that dominions newly acquired and annexed to the ancient territories of the conqueror are either Provinces of the ſame nation and language with his own ſubjects, or they are not. When it happens that they really are ſo, they are very eaſily maintained, eſpecially if the people have not been too much accuſtomed to liberty. For to ſecure the poſſeſſion of them, little more is required than to extirpate the family of the Prince who laſt reigned over them: after which, the natives will live quietly enough, provided they are ſuffered to enjoy their former privileges, and there does not happen to be any remarkable and material diſſimilitude in the manners and cuſtoms of the two States. And of this, we have ſufficient proof in the examples of Burgundy, Bretagne, Gaſcony and Normandy, which Provinces have continued ſo long united with France: for though indeed there is ſome little difference in their reſpective languages, yet their manners and cuſtoms are nearly alike, and of conſequence eaſily adjuſted betwixt them. Whoſoever therefore would keep poſſeſſion of a new acquiſition, muſt have a particular regard to two points. In the firſt place, he muſt take care to extinguiſh the whole family of the laſt reigning Prince: and in the next, he muſt neither alter its laws, nor augment the taxes: by which manner of proceeding, that State will ſoon become firmly conſolidated with his

[p] Tacitus ſays, that Rhadamiſtus having recovered Armenia, from whence he had been expelled by his ſubjects, treated them with the utmoſt rigour, looking upon them as rebels, who only wanted an opportunity of revolting again. "Vacuam rurſus Armeniam invaſit truculentior quam antea, tanquam adverſus defectores, & in tempore rebellaturos." *Annal.* xii.

other

other dominions. But when the language, cuſtoms, and inſtitutions of the conquered people are very different from thoſe of the conquerors, great difficulties will ariſe, and it requires not only much good fortune, but the utmoſt addreſs and application to keep them in ſubjection [q]: one of the quickeſt and moſt efficacious expedients for this purpoſe, would be for the Conqueror to live amongſt them himſelf, which would make his poſſeſſion more durable and ſecure. Thus the Turk, notwithſtanding all his other arts and endeavours to eſtabliſh himſelf in Greece, would never have been able to effect it, if he had not fixed his reſidence there. For when the Prince is immediately preſent amongſt his new ſubjects, he can inſtantly attend himſelf to any diſorder that may ariſe, and apply a ſpeedy remedy [r]: but if he is at a diſtance it muſt be ſome time before he can be informed of it, and perhaps not till it has got to ſo great a head that it is become incurable. Beſides, in the firſt caſe, his Provinces are not liable to be pillaged by Deputies or other Officers; as the people can have immediate redreſs from a Prince that is ſo near them: which conſideration will not only incline them to love him more cordially, if they are well diſpoſed to him, and make them fear him if they are diſaffected, but prevent any foreign enemy that might otherwiſe deſign to invade thoſe dominions, from embarking in an enterprize, which the reſidence of the Prince muſt render exceeding difficult and precarious.

Another good expedient would be to ſettle Colonies in two or three different parts of ſuch a State, which may ſerve as keys to it: becauſe if that is not done, it will be neceſſary to maintain a ſtanding army there, and a conſiderable one too, both of horſe and foot; which will be a heavier burden and charge to each ſide. For Colonies are not very expenſive to a Prince: it coſts him little or nothing to ſend them out and ſupport them, and he only makes thoſe his enemies whom he is obliged to diſpoſſeſs of their lands and houſes for the ſubſiſtance and accommodation of thoſe Colonies: who making but a very ſmall part of that State, and being by theſe means reduced to poverty and diſperſed into different parts, can never have it in their power to hurt him: and as to others who have had no injury done to them, they will naturally be inclined to ſit quiet upon that account

[q] "Ex diverſitate morum crebra bella." *Tacit. Hiſt.* v. Diverſity of manners frequently occaſions wars.

[r] Commotions are often eaſily compoſed, if timely remedies are applied. "Modicis remediis primos motus conſediſſe." *Tac. Annal.* xiv. To this purpoſe, Tiberius was told upon ſuch an occaſion, that he had nothing to do but to ſhew himſelf to the rebels, and they would preſently return to their duty at the ſight of their Prince. "Ire, ipſum & opponere Majeſtatem Imperatoriam debuiſſe, ceſſuris ubi Principem vidiſſent." *Annal.* i.

in

in the firſt place; and in the next, out of fear of being ſtripped like their neighbours, if they ſhould offer to ſtir. It muſt be added, that Colonies, though nothing like ſo expenſive as a ſtanding military force, are yet more to be depended upon by their Prince, and much leſs diſguſtful to others: and thoſe few who have ſuffered by them, being poor and ſeparated, cannot do them any harm, as I ſaid before. For it ſhould be remembered, that one ought either to keep upon good terms with others, or to cruſh them utterly if they are once provoked: becauſe if the injury that is done them be but a ſlight one, they are left in a capacity to return it; but if it is done to the purpoſe, it will not be in their power: ſo that when a man reſolves to injure another, he ſhould do it in ſuch a manner as to cut off all poſſibility of revenge [s].

But if inſtead of Colonies an armed force is ſent thither, the charge will be very great, and the whole revenue of the Province ſwallowed up in ſupporting it; which will make the acquiſition a loſs rather than a gain, and occaſion much more diſcontent: for the frequent removal of a camp from one place to another, and harraſſing the whole country in that manner, is a grievance which will be felt and reſented by the inhabitants who are ſtill left in the enjoyment of their poſſeſſions, and have it in their power to be dangerous enemies; becauſe though vanquiſhed and oppreſſed, they are not utterly diſperſed or extinguiſhed. Such a force therefore will be in every reſpect as prejudicial, as Colonies are ſerviceable.

A Prince who has got poſſeſſion of a Province, the manners and conſtitution of which are different from thoſe of his own, ought likewiſe to defend and protect ſuch of his neighbours as are in a low and feeble condition, and endeavour to weaken thoſe that are more potent than he is; and above all, to take particular care that no foreign Prince of equal ſtrength with himſelf ſhall, upon any account, gain footing in that Province: for it almoſt always happens that the diſcontented party call in ſomebody or other, either out of ambition or fear. Of which, we have an example in the Etolians, who introduced the Romans into Greece: and in every other Province where they gained admittance, it was at firſt by the favour and co-operation of the natives. It commonly happens in ſuch caſes, that as ſoon as any powerful foreigner

[s] When Rinaldo degli Albizi found the Signiory had only ſentenced Coſimo de' Medici to baniſhment, and not to death, as he would have had them, he told them, "it would have been much better for them to have remained content in their former circumſtances, than to ſuffer Coſimo to eſcape with Life, and leave ſo many of his friends in Florence; as people, eſpecially great men, ought either never to be provoked, or if they are, to be entirely cruſhed." *Hiſt. Flor.* Book iv.

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gets footing in a Province, all the Malecontents and inferior party immediately join him out of hatred to thoſe that have depreſſed and domineer'd over them: ſo that it coſts him but little pains to gain them, and when they are gained they very ſoon and willingly fall in with the meaſures of government which he preſcribes. But he muſt take ſpecial care that they do not grow too ſtrong and powerful; and then by their aſſiſtance, and the ſtrength of his own forces, he may eaſily pull down the authority of others and make himſelf ſole Arbiter of the Province. He that does not diligently attend to this point will ſoon loſe what he has acquired, and meet with nothing but difficulties and troubles whilſt he is in poſſeſſion of it. The Romans conſtantly and aſſiduouſly purſued theſe maxims in their new conqueſts; they planted Colonies there, they protected and cheriſhed ſuch neighbouring States as were depreſſed, without increaſing their ſtrength; they humbled the over-grown power of others, and would never ſuffer any potent foreigner to aſſume the leaſt degree of authority or eſtabliſh any intereſt in them. Let us bring our proofs of this from Greece, where they ſupported the Achaians and Etolians, depreſſed the Macedonians, and drove Antiochus out of his dominions; and yet neither the merits of the Achaians and Etolians, could prevail upon the Romans to let them make any addition to their States; nor could the Sollicitations of King Philip induce them to be his friends till they had lowered his power; nor the puiſſance of Antiochus ever make them conſent that he ſhould have any kind of dominion or authority in that Province. In which reſpects the Romans acted as all wiſe Princes ought to do, who ſhould not only endeavour to remedy the preſent, but to prevent future evils and inconveniences: for when they are foreſeen afar off, it is an eaſy matter to guard againſt them; but if we wait till they fall upon us, it often happens that all expedients are too late, and our ruin becomes inevitable. The Phyſicians ſay of Hectic fevers, that it is no hard taſk to get the better of them in their beginning, but difficult to diſcover them: yet in courſe of time when they have not been properly treated and diſtinguiſhed, they are eaſily diſcovered, but difficult to be ſubdued. So it happens in political bodies; for when the evils and diſturbances that may probably ariſe in any Government are foreſeen (which yet can only be done by a ſagacious and provident man) it is eaſy to ward them off: but if they are ſuffered to ſprout up and grow to ſuch a height that their malignity is obvious to every one, there is ſeldom any remedy to be found of ſufficient efficacy to repreſs them. The Romans therefore when aware of miſchiefs that might happen, took timely care to avert them, and never let them grow to a head, merely

to evade a war; well knowing that the war was not to be avoided by ſuch means, though it might perhaps be deferred for ſome time; which would rather be an advantage than otherwiſe to the enemy. Upon which account, they rather choſe to make war upon Philip and Antiochus in Greece than ſuffer them to invade Italy [*t*]. And though they might at that time have avoided one, and prevented the other by temporary expedients; yet they judged better, and never acted according to the maxim which prevails ſo much amongſt the Politicians of our days, *that we ought to truſt to time for what is to come, and make the beſt of the preſent*; for as time might bring forth evil in its courſe as well as good, they thought it a ſafer way to depend upon their own wiſdom and valour.

But let us return to the King of France and ſee how he followed theſe rules. I do not mean Charles VIII, but Lewis XII, who continued ſo much longer in the poſſeſſion of ſome parts of Italy, that his conduct affords more room for obſervation. And here we ſhall find that he proceeded in a manner entirely contrary to what a Prince ought to do, who would keep poſſeſſion of a State ſo different in moſt reſpects from his own. Lewis was introduced into Italy by the ambition of the Venetians, who were in hopes of gaining ſome part of Lombardy by ſo doing; and I am far from condemning this enterprize in general, or the courſe which he took at firſt: for as he wanted to get footing in Italy, and was then ſo far from having any friends in that Country, that almoſt every avenue into it was induſtriouſly barred againſt the French (out of reſentment for the uſage which the Italians had met with from Charles VIII) he was obliged to avail himſelf of ſuch as he could afterwards make there: and he would certainly have accompliſhed his deſigns, if he had not been guilty of ſome ſubſequent errors. For he ſoon made himſelf Maſter of Lombardy, and having recovered the reputation which Charles had loſt, Genoa preſently ſubmitted to him, the Florentines, the Marquis of Mantua, the Duke of Ferrara, the Bentivogli Lords of Bologna, the Counteſs of Furli, the Lords of Faenza, Peſaro, Rimini, Camerino, Piombino, the Luccheſe, the Piſans, the Sieneſe, all paid their court to him, and made him offers of their

[*t*] "Fuit proprium populi Romani longe a domo bellare," ſays Cicero. Tiberius always obſerved this maxim; "Deſtinata retinens, conſiliis & aſtu res externas moliri, arma procul habere." *Annal.* vi. This the Romans did to preſerve the liberty, and ſave the treaſures of Italy. For if foreigners ever got footing there, they were ſure to avail themſelves of the riches and arms of the Country; which muſt have weakened the Romans exceedingly. Upon which account, Hannibal told Antiochus, that they never could be beaten, but in Italy.

friendſhip

friendſhip and aſſiſtance. The Venetians had then ſufficient reaſon to repent of their folly, who, in order to gain two towns in Lombardy, had made the King of France Maſter of two thirds of Italy.

After this, how eaſily might Lewis have maintained his reputation in that Country, if he had acted according to the rules above preſcribed, and protected his friends there, who being numerous, and yet weak and fearful (ſome of the Pope, and others of the Venetians) were under a neceſſity of continuing firm to him upon all occaſions! ſo that by their means he might effectually have ſecured himſelf againſt others that were more powerful. But as ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of Milan, he proceeded in a very different manner, and aſſiſted Pope Alexander VI in conquering Romagna: not being aware that in ſo doing he muſt diſguſt thoſe friends who had thrown themſelves into his arms, and weaken himſelf whilſt he was aggrandizing the Church, by adding ſo much more temporal dominion to its Spiritual power and authority which was already grown very formidable. This falſe ſtep was attended with ſuch conſequences, that at laſt he was forced to march himſelf into Italy to controul the ambition of Pope Alexander, and to prevent him from becoming maſter of Tuſcany alſo. Nor was he content with having thus aggrandized the Church and alienated the affections of his friends; for he afterwards, out of a deſire of reducing the whole Kingdom of Naples in the end, was ſimple enough to let the Spaniards ſhare with him in the acquiſition of it at firſt; ſo that although he was ſole Arbiter of Italy before, he condeſcended to admit an aſſociate in the direction of it, to whom, all ſuch as had any ambitious views in that Province, or were diſaffected to his perſon, might have recourſe upon occaſion for encouragement and protection; and, when he had it in his power to have left it in ſecurity under the government of a Prince who would willingly have become tributary to him, he diſpoſſeſſed him to eſtabliſh another there, who was potent enough to drive out the French likewiſe in their turn.

The deſire of acquiſition indeed is very common and natural to mankind [*u*]; and when they attempt nothing more than they are able to perform, they will always be applauded, or at leaſt not condemned for it [*x*]: but when they are not equal to the enterprizes

[*u*] "Vetus ac jampridem inſita mortalibus potentiæ cupido." *Tacit. Hiſt.* ii.

[*x*] "I call you to empire, ſaid Mucian to Veſpaſian; it is in your power, if you pleaſe: and it would ſeem baſe and cowardly to ſuffer your Country to be ruined; though perhaps you might ingloriouſly ſave your own life by ſubmitting to be a ſlave to

they engage in, and ſtill perſiſt in them, they certainly deſerve both cenſure and ridicule. If the King of France therefore was powerful enough to have invaded the Kingdom of Naples with his own forces only, he ſhould have done it: but if he was not, he ought not upon any conſideration to have divided it with another. And if the diviſion of Lombardy which he ſhared with the Venetians may in ſome meaſure be excuſed, becauſe he got footing in Italy merely by that means; yet the partition of Naples with the King of Spain cannot be defended at any rate, as he was not under the ſame neceſſity of acting in that manner.

Lewis then was guilty of five errors in this expedition; for he ruined the inferior States; he ſuffered a neighbouring Prince, who was before too potent, to increaſe his dominions; he introduced another, and a foreigner too, into the ſame Province, who was ſtill more powerful; he neither ſtaid to reſide there himſelf, nor ſettled any Colonies: all which errors might yet poſſibly have been remedied whilſt he lived, if he had not committed a Sixth in depreſſing the power of the Venetians. For if he had neither thrown too much weight into the ſcale of the Church, nor introduced the Spaniards into Italy, it would have been but right and neceſſary to humble them: but when he had taken thoſe ſteps, he ſhould not have ſuffered their power to be diminiſhed; becauſe whilſt that continued reſpectable, they would always have endeavoured to prevent any one elſe from making further acquiſitions in Lombardy, by which they themſelves would not be benefited; ſince it could not be expected that the new invaders would ſtrip the French of what they had got poſſeſſion of there, merely to give it away to them: nor was there any occaſion to apprehend that any other ſtate would be hardy enough to contend with them both whilſt they continued united. But if it be objected that Lewis gave up Romagna to the Pope, and the Kingdom of Naples to the Spaniards in order to evade a war, I ſay again, that a preſent inconvenience ought never to be ſubmitted to, merely to prevent a war; for the war inſtead of being entirely averted thereby, will only be deferred and fall ſo much the heavier at laſt. Others perhaps may alledge that King Lewis had given his word to the Pope that he would aſſiſt him in his deſigns upon Romagna, in return for the diſſolution of his marriage [*y*], and the favour of a Cardinal's

another." Ego te ad imperium voco; in tuâ manu poſitum eſt . . . Torpere ultra, & perdendam Rempublicam relinquere, ſopor & ignavia videretur, etiamſi tibi quam inhoneſta, tam tuta ſervitus eſſet." *Hiſt.* ii.

[*y*] Lewis XII. was more eager to enter into a ſtrict alliance with Pope Alexander VI. than any other Prince, for ſeveral reaſons: one of which was, that he wanted to be

hat which his Holineſs had conferred upon the Archbiſhop of Rouen at his requeſt [x]; but I muſt refer ſuch for an anſwer, to what I have ſaid elſewhere concerning the good faith of Princes and how far they are obliged by their promiſes [a].

The King of France therefore loſt Lombardy for want of obſerving thoſe maxims, which have been, and always ought to be followed, by ſuch as would keep poſſeſſion of the Provinces they have conquered. Nor was it much to be wondered at indeed, but rather to be expected as a common thing and the neceſſary effect of his conduct. In a converſation with the Cardinal of Rouen upon this ſubject at Nantes, when the Duke of Valentinois or Duke Valentine (as Cæſar Borgia, Son to Pope Alexander the VI was commonly called) had ſeized upon Romagna, the Cardinal ſaid, *the Italians did not underſtand the art of war*; to which I made anſwer, *that the French were no leſs ignorant in Politics; otherwiſe, they would never have ſuffered the Church to grow ſo powerful.* And experience has ſince ſhewn that both the grandeur of the Church and the power of the Spaniards in Italy, have been ſolely owing to the Kings of France; and that they, in requital for theſe Services, have been the ruin of the French in that Country. From whence we may draw this general and almoſt infallible concluſion; *that the Prince who contributes to the advancement of another, is the cauſe of his own diminu-*

divorced from his wife Jane, daughter of Lewis XI. with whom he had lived two and twenty years, without having any children by her. No other law but that of nature could authorize this divorce; and yet diſlike and State policy rendered it neceſſary. He had been in love with Anne of Bretagne, widow of Charles VIII. long before ſhe was married to that Prince, to which match ſhe conſented, to prevent the entire ruin of her Duchy of Bretagne. And as ſhe had an equal paſſion for him, he was deſirous of marrying her, in order to ſave the Duchy of Bretagne, which otherwiſe he muſt have parted with. It was an ancient but dangerous cuſtom for Princes to addreſs themſelves to the Court of Rome, either to obtain leave to marry their relations, or be divorced from their wives. For as ſuch marriages, or ſuch divorces, were often neceſſary to the State, the tranquillity of a nation muſt conſequently have depended upon the humour or diſpoſition of a Pope, as it happened in the caſe of Henry VIII. of England. *See Voltaire's Gen. Hiſt. of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 115.

[x] This matter of the divorce was a very difficult attempt, upon many accounts; but d'Amboiſe, Archbiſhop of Rouen, the King's Prime Miniſter, found means to bring it about by procuring the Duchy of Valentinois for Cæſar Borgia, the Pope's baſtard, together with a large penſion, and other honours and emoluments; for which ſervices d'Amboiſe had a Cardinal's hat given him by the Pope; and was otherwiſe rewarded by the King. *See Le Gendre's Vie du Cardinal d'Amboiſe.* Nardi in his Hiſtory of Florence, lib. iv. obſerves, that both Alexander VI. and Lewis XII. made uſe of ſpiritual means upon this occaſion to advance their temporal intereſts: Alexander to gain Romagna for his Son, and Lewis, to unite the Duchy of Bretagne to the crown of France, in which they both ſucceeded.

[a] See Chap. XVIII. of the Prince.

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tion: for he that has been thus advanced, will always grow jealous and ſuſpicious at laſt of that policy or power to which he owes his exaltation.

EXAMEN. CHAP. III.

THE fifteenth Century, in which Machiavel lived, ſtill retained a ſtrong tincture of Barbariſm: they ſtill preferred the baneful glory of Conquerors, and exploits that dazzle mankind with an air of grandeur, to gentleneſs of manners, to juſtice, to clemency, and all other virtues. But in theſe times, thank Heaven, the practice of humanity ſeems more glorious than the falſe luſtre that uſed to attend the actions of Conquerors; and the world is now grown too wiſe any longer to admire and encourage thoſe cruel paſſions which occaſion ſuch havock in it. I would fain know for what purpoſe a man can be deſirous to eſtabliſh an over-grown power upon the miſery and deſtruction of others; or how he ſhould ever think of making himſelf illuſtrious by oppreſſing the reſt of his fellow-creatures. The dominions which a Prince enjoyed before, are not enriched by new conqueſts; his ſubjects are not at all the better for them; and he is much deceived himſelf, if he imagines they will make him any happier than he was. How many Princes have conquered Provinces by their Generals, which they afterwards never ſaw themſelves? ſuch conqueſts therefore are but imaginary acquiſitions: and they ruin thouſands of people only to gratify the caprice of one man, whoſe name is yet very often unworthy of being known to the world.

But ſuppoſe a Conqueror could ſubdue the whole world: would he be able to govern it when he had done? The greateſt Prince, (who, after all, is but a poor limited creature) would hardly be able to remember ſo much as the names of its ſeveral Provinces; and his ſeeming grandeur would only ſerve to convince him of his real frailty and impotence.

It is not the largeneſs of territory alone that gives luſtre to a Prince; neither does the acquiſition of a certain number of leagues more in length or breadth, in the leaſt add to his glory: for if that was the caſe, every man would be eſteemed according to the number of acres he poſſeſſes.

The people in general who lived in Machiavel's days, might indeed be miſtaken like him, with regard to their notions of glory; but ſurely they could not in general be ſo wicked at the heart as he was.

was. Nothing can be more horrible than the expedients which he recommends to ſuch as would keep poſſeſſion of their conqueſts: for if we examine them, there is not ſo much as one of them that has the leaſt appearance either of reaſon or juſtice on its ſide. *One ought*, ſays he, *to extinguiſh the whole family of the Prince who reigned before ſuch a conqueſt.* Can any man read this maxim without trembling? would not this be trampling upon every thing that is ſacred in the world, and opening a door to all ſorts of wickedneſs for the ſake of private intereſt? Suppoſe an ambitious Prince ſhould forcibly and unjuſtly deprive another of his dominions; has he therefore a right to poiſon or aſſaſſinate him and his whole family? Beſides, a Conqueror by ſuch a manner of proceeding, is ſure to introduce a practice that will at laſt turn to his own deſtruction. Another more ambitious and more powerful than himſelf, may invade his territories, and retaliate his barbarity, by extinguiſhing him and his family, with the ſame unrelenting rigour that he murdered his Predeceſſors. Of this, Machiavel's own times will afford us too many examples.

Alexander VI. when he died, was upon the point of being depoſed for his unparalleled cruelties: his deteſtable Baſtard, Cæſar Borgia, was ſtripped of all that he had heaped together by violence and rapine, and died miſerably: Galeazzo Sforza was publickly aſſaſſinated in a Church at Milan: Ludovico Sforza, who afterwards uſurped that State, was carried into France, where he was confined in an iron cage, and there died [*b*]. The Princes of the two houſes of York and Lancaſter, in England, tore out each other's bowels: the Grecian Emperors were continually murdering one another; till at laſt, the Turk taking advantage of the weak condition to which they had reduced the empire by thoſe ſlaughters, invaded their dominions, and utterly extirpated them. If ſuch revolutions are not ſo frequent amongſt Chriſtians in theſe times, it is becauſe the principles of true morality are now more generally promulged; the minds of men are better cultivated, they have leſs ferocity in their manners; and for this, perhaps, they are obliged to the writings of thoſe learned men who of late have contributed ſo much to poliſh and civilize Europe.

Machiavel's ſecond rule is, *That a Conqueror ought to eſtabliſh his reſidence in his new dominions.* In this there is nothing amiſs; indeed

[*b*] Voltaire in his general Hiſtory of Europe, vol. ii. p. 119. ſays, this ſtory of the iron cage is entirely falſe; and that Sforza was not only treated with diſtinction, but permitted to go abroad, the laſt five years of his life, to any place within five leagues of the Caſtle of Loches, though indeed he had been more ſtrictly confined before.

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it is very proper in ſome reſpects. But it ought to be conſidered, that when a Prince is poſſeſſed of many and large Provinces, he cannot well leave the center without great prejudice to the other parts of his dominions: as he is the firſt principle and ſpirit that actuates and invigorates the whole, if he quits the center, the extremities of courſe muſt languiſh.

Our Politician's third maxim is, *That ſuch a Prince muſt ſend Colonies to ſettle in his new conqueſts, in order to ſecure the fidelity of the natives.* In this point he founds his argumentation upon the practice of the Romans: but he does not ſeem to conſider, that if the Romans had not ſent armies likewiſe to protect their Colonies when eſtabliſhed, they would ſoon have been deſtroyed: nor does he take any notice of the alliances which the Romans always took care to contract with the neighbouring States upon ſuch occaſions. The Romans, in the flouriſhing times of their Republic, were the cunningeſt Robbers that ever ravaged the face of the Earth; they maintained by artifice, what they had got by injuſtice: at laſt, however, like all other uſurpers, they themſelves were depreſſed in their turn.

But let us examine, whether theſe Colonies, for the eſtabliſhment of which, Machiavel's Prince is to be guilty of ſuch grievous oppreſſions, will anſwer the end he propoſes. If he ſends numerous Colonies into a Country newly conquered, he muſt conſiderably depopulate, and conſequently enervate his own: and if he makes but weak ſettlements there, they will not be able to keep poſſeſſion: ſo that he will harraſs and diſtreſs the natives without reaping any advantage himſelf. It would therefore be a much better way to ſend a body of regular troops thither, which, by good diſcipline, might be prevented from oppreſſing the people, and be no great burden to the towns where they ſhould be quartered. This certainly would be the more eligible expedient: but perhaps it might not be thought of in Machiavel's time. Princes in thoſe days did not maintain numerous armies in their pay; their forces were little better than a pack of Banditti, who, for the moſt part, ſupported themſelves upon rapine and violence: they had not yet begun to keep troops in conſtant exerciſe, and under their colours in peaceable times: they had then neither Barracks, nor Magazines, nor were they acquainted with ſeveral other inſtitutions, which ſerve to ſecure a State in time of peace, both againſt the attempts of its neighbours, and of Mercenaries that are taken into pay for its defence.

His fourth maxim is, *That a Prince ought to gain the confidence of the petty States that are his neighbours, to protect them one againſt another,*

ther, and to ſow diſcord amongſt them; that ſo he may have it in his power either to exalt or depreſs ſuch of them as he ſhall think fit. This was the policy of Clovis, the firſt barbarian King that was converted to Chriſtianity [*c*]; and he has been followed in it by ſome other Princes no leſs cruel than himſelf. But what a difference betwixt theſe tyrants and a good man, who would take upon him to be a mediator betwixt thoſe petty States, who would decide their differences in an amicable manner, who would gain their confidence by his probity, good faith, ſtrict impartiality, and diſintereſtedneſs! his prudence would make him the father, inſtead of the oppreſſor, of his neighbours, and his grandeur would rather incline him to protect than devour them. It is certain, likewiſe, that ſeveral Princes who have endeavoured to exalt others with a high hand, have ruined themſelves by it; our own times afford us examples of this [*d*].

I conclude, therefore, that an Uſurper has no title to true glory; that Aſſaſſins will always be abhorred by mankind; that Princes, who are guilty of violence and injuſtice to their new ſubjects, will certainly alienate inſtead of gaining their affections; that nothing can be ſaid to the purpoſe in juſtification of oppreſſion; and that whoſoever ſhall undertake to make any farther apology for it, will reaſon no better than Machiavel has done before him. To turn the art of ratiocination againſt the peace and welfare of human-kind, is to wound ourſelves with a ſword which was given us for our defence.

[*c*] He was baptized at Rheims, on Chriſtmas-day, 496, where his Siſter Alboſiede, and three thouſand of his ſoldiers, became Chriſtians the ſame day, and the reſt ſoon after followed their example. If we will believe the French Hiſtorians, God honoured him, and the Kings his ſucceſſors, with many miraculous gifts, particularly with that of curing the King's Evil; with the *Sainte Ampoulle*, or *Holy Phial*, which contained the oil he was anointed with, and is ſtill preſerved in the Cathedral of Rheims, and was brought him by a Dove; the *Fleur de Lis's*, and *Oriflame*, or *Flaming Standard*, delivered by an Angel into the hands of a Hermit in the Wilderneſs. After which, he killed Alaric, King of the Goths, an Arian, in a battle near Poictiers, in 507. Here it was, *they ſay*, that a Doe ſhewed him where to ford the river Vienne, which had then over-flowed its banks in ſuch a manner, that the right paſſage could not be diſtinguiſhed: and this place is therefore ſtill called, *Pas de la Biche, the Doe's Paſſage*. There is much other trumpery of this ſort to be found in Gregory of *Tours*, lib. ii. *Hincmar. &c.*

[*d*] The firſt edition ſays, "Notre ſiecle en a fourni deux exemples; l'un eſt celui de Charles douze, qui eleva Staniſlaus ſur le Trone de Pologne, l'autre eſt plus recent."

CHAP. IV.

How it came to paſs that the Kingdom of Darius, uſurped by Alexander, did not rebel againſt Alexander's Succeſſors after his death.

CONSIDERING the difficulties therefore that occur in keeping poſſeſſion of a State newly acquired, it might reaſonably have been expected, that Aſia, which Alexander wholly ſubdued in the ſpace of a very few years, and died before he had well eſtabliſhed himſelf in the poſſeſſion of it, would have rebelled immediately after his death: and yet his Succeſſors ſupported themſelves in it for a conſiderable time, and without meeting with any material difficulties, but ſuch as aroſe amongſt them from their own ambition. To account for this, I ſay that all Monarchies of which there are any records left, have either been governed by an abſolute Prince, who arbitrarily appoints ſuch of his Servants as he thinks fit, out of his mere grace and favour, to aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration of the State; or by a Prince and his Barons who claim a ſhare in the government, not from his grace or favour, but from the antiquity and nobility of their extraction. Such Barons have States and ſubjects of their own, who acknowledge them as ſovereigns and pay them a natural obedience. But a Prince has much more authority who either governs his dominions himſelf, or by Miniſters of his own appointment; becauſe there is no other Sovereign acknowledged there: and if any other man or men are obeyed, they are obeyed as his Servants and Officers, and not out of any natural or particular reſpect to their perſons. The Grand Signior and the King of France may ſerve for examples of theſe two different kinds of Government in the preſent times. The whole Empire of Turkey is governed by one Prince; all the reſt are but Slaves: this Monarch divides his dominions into Sanjacs or Provinces, into which he ſends different Governors and changes them as often as he pleaſes. The King of France on the contrary, has a multitude of ancient Barons [*e*], who again have their reſpective ſubjects and are beloved and revered by them: not to mention ſeveral privileges and preeminencies, of which the King cannot deprive them

[*e*] The Reader muſt remember this was written when the Dukes of Burgundy, Bretagne, Normandy, Gaſcony, &c. had great power, and frequently uſed to combine againſt the Kings of France, and ſide with foreigners againſt them; but the caſe is far otherwiſe at preſent.

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without very great danger to himſelf. Whoſoever therefore conſiders the different conſtitution of theſe two States, will perceive that it would be a difficult matter to conquer Turkey, but a very eaſy one to keep poſſeſſion of it when conquered. The difficulties in conquering it, would conſiſt in this: that the Invader could not poſſibly be called in by the Grandees of that Empire, nor hope for any revolt amongſt the Miniſters to facilitate his enterprize, from the cauſes already aſſigned. For as the principal Officers of State are Slaves and creatures of the Prince's own hands, they could not eaſily be corrupted: and ſuppoſing that poſſible, but little advantage could be expected from it, as they could not draw any conſiderable party after them, for the reaſons above mentioned. So that if any one ſhould take it into his head to invade the Turks, he may almoſt certainly depend upon finding them united, and muſt truſt rather to his own valour and forces, than any diſaffection or rebellion amongſt that people. But if he ſhould be fortunate enough to conquer them and diſperſe their armies in ſuch a manner that they could not face him again in the field, the main difficulty would then be ſurmounted, and no obſtacle left in his way to the ſecure poſſeſſion of his conqueſts, but the family of the Emperor, which muſt be extinguiſhed; after which, there is nothing further to be apprehended, ſince no one elſe will have intereſt enough amongſt the people to give him any diſturbance: and as the Invader could have no hopes from them before they were conquered, ſo he will have nothing to fear from them afterwards.

But the caſe is very different with regard to Kingdoms that are built upon the ſame model with France: for in ſuch, it is an eaſy matter to get footing by the aſſiſtance of the Barons; as ſome of them will always be diſcontented or diſaffected under ſuch Governments, and conſequently deſirous of a change. Theſe I ſay will open him a way into ſuch States and facilitate the conqueſt of them, for the reaſons above given: but ſtill he will meet with many difficulties in keeping poſſeſſion, and much oppoſition both from thoſe that he has injured, and thoſe that have been his friends. Nor will it be ſufficient in this caſe to extinguiſh the family of the laſt reigning Prince; becauſe thoſe Barons, who are ſtill left, will put themſelves at the head of new commotions; and as he can neither ſatisfy nor exterminate them, it will not be long before he loſes that acquiſition.

Now if we conſider the conſtitution of the Kingdom governed by Darius, we ſhall find it in many reſpects like that of the Turks: ſo that Alexander was under a neceſſity of ſtriking home at firſt, to

drive him entirely out of the field: and as he ſucceeded in his blow, and Darius died ſoon after, he remained in quiet poſſeſſion of that State, from the reaſons before aſſigned. And if his Succeſſors had continued united, they might likewiſe have enjoyed it in peace; ſince no other tumults afterwards happened there, but ſuch as were altogether owing to themſelves. But of Kingdoms conſtituted like that of France, it is impoſſible to keep poſſeſſion at ſo eaſy a rate: witneſs the frequent defections of Spain, France and Greece from the Romans; all which were occaſioned by the number of little principalities that were in a manner interwoven with thoſe States: for whilſt they ſubſiſted, the power which the Romans uſurped there was always diſturbed and precarious: but when they were extinguiſhed at laſt by length of time and duration of Empire, the Romans met with nothing further to moleſt them in the poſſeſſion of thoſe acquiſitions. Nay their power was ſo well eſtabliſhed there in the end, that when the Civil wars broke out and the Lieutenants of the ſeveral Provinces began to quarrel amongſt themſelves, every one of them had his party and found means to ſecure ſome of thoſe Provinces to himſelf, according to the authority he had acquired amongſt the Natives, who no longer acknowledged any other maſters than the Romans, after the race of their former Princes was extinct. Theſe circumſtances therefore being duly conſidered, it is no great wonder that Alexander ſhould find it ſo eaſy a matter to keep poſſeſſion of Aſia; nor on the contrary, that Pyrrhus and ſeveral others ſhould meet with ſo many difficulties in ſecuring the conqueſts they had made: for the difference of their Succeſs is not to be attributed either to the good or bad conduct of the Conquerors, but to the diſſimilitude of the conquered [*f*].

[*f*] Of this, Machiavel gives a good inſtance in his *Political Diſcourſes*, Book iii. ch. 12. where he ſpeaks of the different circumſtances of the Venetians and Florentines.

EXAMEN.

EXAMEN, CHAP. IV.

IN order to form a true judgment of the Spirit and genius of different Nations, it is necessary to compare them with each other. Machiavel in this Chapter draws a parallel betwixt the Turks and the French, two people very different in their Customs, Manners, and Opinions: he gives reasons why it would be a difficult matter to make a conquest of Turkey, but an easy one to keep possession of it when conquered: on the other hand, he pretends to shew what would contribute to an easy and speedy reduction of France; and what would afterwards excite continual commotions there, and prevent the Usurper from enjoying it in quiet and security. But the Author only considers things in one point of view, and dwells merely upon the constitution of Governments: he seems to think that the Strength of the Turkish and Persian Empires is founded solely upon the general State of Slavery which prevails in those Nations, and upon the despotic rule of one man alone; and that an absolute Government firmly established, is the only one that can effectually enable a Prince to reign in peace and make head against his enemies.

In Machiavel's time the Barons and Grandees of France were still regarded as petty Princes who had some share in the Government with their Sovereign: and this gave occasion to continual divisions and frequent revolts. I can't tell however whether the Grand Signior is not as liable to be dethroned as a King of France. The chief difference betwixt them is, that a Turkish Emperor is generally Strangled by the Janizaries, and a King of France has more than once been assassinated by the hands of a Fanatic [g]. But Machiavel in this Chapter, it must be owned, speaks rather of general revolutions than particular cases: and though indeed he has laid open some of the Springs of a very complicated Machine; yet he does not seem, as far as I can judge, to have discovered the principal movements. The diversity of climates, of aliment, and education, make a wide difference in mankind, as to their manner of living and thinking. Hence it comes to pass, that an Italian Monk and a Chinese Bonze hardly seem to be animals of the same Species: the temperament of a thoughtful but hypochondriac Englishman, is quite of another cast from that of a haughty and disdainful Spaniard; and there is as little resemblance betwixt a Frenchman and a Hollander, as betwixt the vivacity of an

[g] The first edition runs thus, "Ont ete assassinez par des moines, ou par des monstres que les moines avoient formez."

Ape and the phlegm of a Tortoiſe. It is a very old obſervation that the genius of the Eaſtern people inclines them to perſiſt in an obſtinate attachment to their ancient cuſtoms. Their Religion alſo, which is very different from that of the Europeans, will not ſuffer them to favour *Infidels* (as they call them) in enterprizes that tend to the prejudice of their Sovereigns: and they are ſtrictly prohibited from concurring in any meaſures that may endanger their civil or religious eſtabliſhments. But theſe Maxims ſerve rather to ſecure the Empire than the Sovereign himſelf, for their Princes have been often depoſed, but their Government has never been ſubverted.

On the other hand, the genius of the French, ſo oppoſite to that of the Muſſulmans, has either been wholly or in a great meaſure the cauſe of the frequent revolutions which have happened in that Kingdom. Levity and inconſtancy form the character of that otherwiſe amiable people: they are naturally reſtleſs, inclined to libertiniſm, and apt to be ſoon tired of every thing; their love of change is viſible even in the moſt weighty and important affairs. It ſeems as if thoſe two Cardinals, who ſucceſſively governed the French and were ſo much both hated and eſteemed by them, had availed themſelves of Machiavel's rules to lower the authority of their Grandees; and of the perfect knowledge they had of the genius of that Nation, to avert the Storms with which their Princes were continually threatened from the light and deſultory temper of their Subjects. The Politics of Cardinal Richlieu were ſolely employed in humbling the Grandees, in order to increaſe the power of the King, and to make that the foundation of the French Conſtitution: and he ſucceeded ſo well in his deſign, that there are no traces now left in France of that power which the Barons and Grandees once had there, and which they ſometimes abuſed.

Cardinal Mazarin followed the ſteps of Richlieu, but met with great oppoſition to his meaſures; which he ſurmounted however, and deprived the Parliament of its privileges in ſuch a manner, that it is at preſent but a mere phantom, which yet ſometimes pretends to be a real body; but is generally ſoon made ſenſible of its error.

The ſame Policy that induced thoſe Miniſters to eſtabliſh an abſolute deſpotic Government in France, taught them likewiſe the addreſs to amuſe and encourage the natural levity of that people in order to make them leſs formidable enemies to themſelves and their Princes; the love of pleaſure and trifling ſoon wrought ſuch a change in the Nation, that a people who had anciently fought ſo bravely againſt Julius Cæſar, who had ſo often ſhaken off the yoke of the Roman Emperors, who

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uſed to call in foreigners to their aid in the time of the Valois family, who formed themſelves into a League againſt Henry IV, who were continually caballing in every minority; this people I ſay, at preſent ſpend their time in nothing but imitating new faſhions, in varying their taſte, in laughing one day at what they paſſionately admired the day before; their great affair is, to inſpire fickleneſs and inconſtancy into all that depend upon them, to change their Miſtreſſes, their houſes, and diverſions.

Beſides, the powerful armies that are at preſent kept on foot, and the number of fortreſſes which have been built of late years in France, for ever ſecure the poſſeſſion of that Kingdom to its Sovereigns, who now have nothing to fear either from inteſtine wars, or the attempts of their neighbours.

CHAP. V.

How ſuch States or Principalities are to be governed, as lived under their own Laws before they were ſubdued.

WHEN States that are newly conquered have been accuſtomed to liberty and to live under their own Laws, there are three ways of maintaining them. The firſt is, to ruin them [*h*], the ſecond, to reſide there in perſon; and the third, to leave them in the enjoyment of their old Laws and privileges, upon condition that they will become tributary, and ſubmit to be governed by a Council of State conſiſting of a few of their own Citizens to take care of your intereſt there, and to keep the people in amity and obedience [*i*]. For that Council being eſtabliſhed by the Conqueror, and therefore wholly dependant upon his favour and authority, will naturally exert its utmoſt endeavours to ſupport him: and thoſe that have a mind to keep poſſeſſion of a State that has been uſed to live in freedom, will always find it more eaſy to accompliſh their deſign by putting it under the government of its own Citizens, than by any other means whatſoever. The conduct of the Spartans and Romans may ſerve for a proof of what I have here laid down. The former having got poſſeſſion of Athens and Thebes, eſtabliſhed an Oligarchy in thoſe two Cities; and

[*h*] This is a maxim with the Turks.

[*i*] Artabanus, King of the Parthians, acted in this manner with regard to Seleucia; the Government of which being Democratical, he changed it into an Oligarchy, as approaching nearer to Royalty. "Qui plebem primoribus tradidit, ex ſuo uſu. Nam populi imperium juxta libertatem, paucorum dominatio regiæ libidini propior eſt." *Tacit. Annal.* vi.

yet

yet they afterwards loſt them: the latter maintained themſelves in the territories of Capua, Carthage, and Numantia by ruining the Cities. On the contrary, when they endeavoured to keep poſſeſſion of Greece by governing almoſt in the ſame manner that the Spartans had done, and ſuffering it to enjoy its former Laws and Liberties, they were defeated in their deſign; and at laſt found themſelves under a neceſſity of ruining many Cities in that Province before they could effectually ſecure it. And without doubt that is the ſafeſt way: for otherwiſe, whoſoever makes himſelf maſter of a free State, may expect to be ruined by it himſelf; as the name of Liberty and the remembrance of its former Laws and privileges, which neither length of time, nor any kind of benefactions, can ever eradicate, will always furniſh it with a pretence to rebel. So that in ſpite of all precaution, or proviſions that can be made to the contrary, if the inhabitants are not in ſome manner either divided or diſperſed [*k*]; they will take every opportunity of aſſerting their ancient liberties; as the Republic of Piſa did, after it had continued ſo many years in ſubjection to the Florentines. But the caſe is very different, where Cities or Provinces have been uſed to live under a Prince, and the race of that Prince is extinct; for as, on one hand, they have been accuſtomed to obey, and on the other, they are deprived of their former Prince, they will neither agree amongſt themſelves to ſet up another of their own body, nor know how to govern like free States: from whence it muſt neceſſarily come to paſs that they will be but little diſpoſed to rebel, and a Conqueror may not only gain but ſecure their affections without any great difficulty. In Republics, however, the reſentment of the Citizens runs much higher, and their deſire of revenge is more eager and inveterate: for the memory of their former Liberty never will nor can ſuffer them to reſt in peace: ſo that it is the moſt ſecure way either to ruin them entirely, or to reſide amongſt them.

[*k*] "Quoties concordes agunt, ſpernitur Parthus: ubi diſſenſêre, dum ſibi quiſque contra æmulos ſubſidium vocant, accitus in partem, adverſum omnes valeſcit." *Tacit. Ibid.*—Again, "Deditur Seleucia ſeptimo poſt defectionem anno, non ſine dedecore Parthorum, quos una civitas tam diu eluſerat." *Annal.* ii. One City ſupported itſelf for ſeven years, againſt the whole force of the Parthians, only by continuing united. This ſhewed the neceſſity of dividing it.

EXAMEN.

EXAMEN. CHAP. V.

ACCORDING to Machiavel, *there is no certain way to ſecure the poſſeſſion of a free State newly conquered, but to ruin it.* To be ſure it is an effectual method to prevent revolts. An Engliſhman, who was mad enough to kill himſelf ſome years ago at London, left a billet upon his table, in which he endeavoured to juſtify the fact, by ſaying, he had done it to get out of the reach of pain and ſickneſs [*n*]. Is not this exactly the caſe of a Prince who ruins a State to prevent the loſs of it? I ſhall not betray the cauſe of virtue by entering into a diſpute with Machiavel, in defence of Humanity: it is eaſy enough to refute him from his own principles, from the tenets of ſelf-intereſt, that conſtant topic and marrow of his writings, that Idol of his iniquitous Politics.

As to his maxim, "that a Prince ought to ruin a free State which is newly conquered, in order to ſecure poſſeſſion of it effectually,"

[*n*] His Majeſty is here ſuppoſed to allude to a Fact, which is thus related by Dr. Smollet, in his Hiſtory of England: "The moſt remarkable incident that diſtinguiſhed this year (1732) in England, was a very uncommon inſtance of Suicide; an act of deſpair, ſo frequent amongſt the Engliſh, that in other Countries, it is objected to them as a national reproach. Though it may be generally termed the effect of Lunacy, proceeding from natural cauſes operating upon the human body; yet it ſeems in ſome few inſtances to have been the reſult of cool deliberation—Richard Smith, a Bookbinder, and priſoner for debt within the Liberties of the King's Bench, perſuaded his Wife to follow his example, in making away with herſelf, after they had murdered their little infant. This wretched pair was in the month of April, found hanging in their bedchamber, at about a yard's diſtance from each other; and in a ſeparate apartment, the child lay dead in a cradle. They left two papers, incloſed in a ſhort Letter to their Landlord, whoſe kindneſs they implored in favour of their dog and cat. They even left money to pay the porter who ſhould carry the incloſed papers to the perſon they were addreſſed to. In one of theſe, the huſband thanked that perſon for the marks of friendſhip he had received at his hands, and complained of the ill offices he had undergone from a different quarter. The other Paper, ſubſcribed both by the huſband and wife, contained the reaſons which induced them to act ſuch a tragedy on themſelves and their offſpring. This letter was altogether ſurprizing, for the calm reſolution, the good humour, and propriety with which it was written. They declared, that they withdrew themſelves from poverty and rags; evils which, through a train of unlucky accidents, were become inevitable. They appealed to their neighbours for the induſtry with which they had endeavoured to earn a livelyhood: they juſtified the murder of their child, by ſaying, it was leſs cruelty to take her with them, than to leave her friendleſs in the world, expoſed to ignorance and miſery: they profeſſed their belief in an Almighty God, the Fountain of Goodneſs and Beneficence, who could not poſſibly take delight in the miſery of his creatures: they therefore reſigned up their lives to him, without any terrible apprehenſions; ſubmitting themſelves to what in his goodneſs he ſhould appoint them after their death.—Theſe two unfortunate Suicides had always been induſtrious and frugal, invincibly honeſt, and remarkable for conjugal affection.

I ſhould be glad to know for what purpoſe he undertook that conqueſt. If it was to increaſe his power, and make himſelf more formidable, the obſervation of this rule will produce a very contrary effect: for, after ſuch a conqueſt has coſt him immenſe ſums of money, he ruins the State that might otherwiſe have indemnified him. The acquiſition of a plundered and depopulated Country, cannot make any Prince more powerful than he was before; nor would he become more formidable, though poſſeſſed of all the vaſt deſarts of Africa; except Tygers and Lions, and Crocodiles, could ſupply the want of human ſubjects, of opulent towns, of navigable rivers, of ports full of ſhipping, of induſtrious Citizens, of regular troops, and in ſhort, of all thoſe other neceſſaries and conveniencies of Life, which are to be met with in a flouriſhing well peopled Country. Every body muſt allow, that the ſtrength of a State does not conſiſt in the largeneſs of its territories, but in the number of its inhabitants. Let us compare Holland with Ruſſia. The former conſiſts only of marſhy and barren Iſles, that are borrowed from the Sea; it is a little Republick, not above forty-eight leagues in length, and forty in breadth: but this little body is nothing but nerves; its inhabitants are numberleſs, and their induſtry has made them exceeding opulent and powerful. They ſhook off the yoke of Spain, when it was the moſt formidable Monarchy in Europe.

This Republic extends its commerce to the uttermoſt bounds of the world, and takes rank immediately after crowned heads: in time of war, it can ſend out an army of fifty thouſand men [o], excluſive of a very powerful and well appointed navy.

Let us now turn our eyes upon Ruſſia. Here, an immenſe tract of land preſents itſelf to our view; but it is like the world emerging out of its Chaotic ſtate. This Country is bounded on one ſide by Great Tartary and the Indies, and on another, by the Black Sea and Hungary: its frontiers extend as far as Poland, Lithuania, and Courland; and on the North-weſt it is bounded by Sweden: the breadth of it is about three hundred German miles [p], and the length about ſix hundred. It abounds with corn, and produces all manner of proviſions that are neceſſary for the life of man, eſpecially about Moſcow, and towards Little Tartary: and yet notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, there are not above fifteen millions of inhabitants in it.

[o] The Dutch had 130,000 men in pay ſometimes, in the laſt war they were engaged in, which ended in the peace of Utrecht.

[p] A German mile is reckoned equal to about five Engliſh.

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The Strength of a State, as I ſaid before, does not conſiſt in a large extent of territory, or the poſſeſſion of immenſe tracts of uncultivated and uninhabited lands; but in the riches and number of its Subjects. It is the intereſt of a Prince, therefore, to people a Country, and not to lay it waſte and depopulate it. But if Machiavel's cruel and wicked principles inſpire us with horror on one hand; the weakneſs of his argumentation is certainly much to be pitied on the other: and it would have been more commendable in him if he had learned to reaſon well himſelf, inſtead of pretending to inſtruct others in his monſtrous Syſtem of Politics.

His third Maxim is, "*that a Prince ought to reſide in a free State that has been newly conquered*". This indeed is ſomething more moderate than the others: but I have already ſhewn the inconveniencies that may attend it in the third chapter of this eſſay. For my own part, I think a Prince who has conquered a free State, after he had juſt reaſon to make war upon it, ought to content himſelf with having chaſtiſed it in a proper manner, and afterwards to reſtore its former liberties and privileges. Few people, perhaps, will be of this opinion: thoſe that are inclined to act otherwiſe, may keep poſſeſſion of their new conqueſts by quartering ſtrong garriſons upon the principal towns, and leaving the Natives to enjoy their liberties at large in other reſpects. Infatuated as we are! we graſp at all, as if we had an Eternity to enjoy it in; not conſidering the ſhortneſs of human life, and that whilſt we think we are labouring for ourſelves, it often happens that we are toiling only for unworthy or ungrateful Succeſſors.

CHAP. VI.

Of new Principalities acquired by one's own conduct and arms.

IT ought not to appear ſtrange to any one, if in what I am going to ſay concerning Principalities and Princes and States, altogether new, I ſhall quote great and eminent examples: for as mankind in general are apt to tread in the footſteps and imitate the actions of others; yet ſince it is not poſſible to keep exactly the ſame route, nor to come up entirely to that pattern of virtue and excellence which they have propoſed to themſelves, a wiſe man ought always to follow the traces of thoſe illuſtrious Perſonages whoſe actions are moſt worthy

of his imitation: ſo that if he cannot equal, he may at leaſt in ſome meaſure reſemble them; like ſkilful Archers, who being rather at too great a diſtance from their mark, and knowing that their Bow will not carry point blank ſo far, commonly take aim above it; not out of any expectation that their arrow will fly directly to ſuch a height, but by making that allowance for the diſtance of the object, to come as near it as they can.

I ſay then, that the poſſeſſion of a Principality newly acquired by one who was not a Prince before, is more or leſs difficult to be maintained, in proportion to the abilities of the perſon that acquires it. Now as it argues a great ſhare of valour and conduct, or of good fortune at leaſt, to raiſe one's ſelf from a private condition to the rank of a Prince; either that valour and conduct, or that good fortune, in all probability, will enable the ſame perſon to ſurmount many other enſuing difficulties. But it has been obſerved, that ſuch as have truſted the leaſt to fortune, have ſupported themſelves the longeſt in their acquiſitions: and this is more eaſily done by ſuch as having no dominions of their own, are obliged to reſide perſonally upon their conqueſts.

The moſt eminent of thoſe that have made themſelves Princes by dint of their own Virtues are Moſes, Cyrus, Romulus, Theſeus, and ſome others of that claſs. And though Moſes might have been excepted, as he was the immediate Miniſter of God's commands, yet he certainly deſerves to be admired on account of the grace that made him worthy of communing with God. But if we conſider the actions of Cyrus and other ſuch Conquerors and Founders of Monarchies, we ſhall find them very extraordinary indeed: and if we examine their lives and particular inſtitutions, they will appear not altogether unlike thoſe of Moſes, though he was under the guidance of an Almighty Maſter: for they don't ſeem to have been obliged to fortune for any thing more than opportunity, which enabled them to introduce and eſtabliſh ſuch kinds of Government as they thought fit: and as their virtue could never have diſtinguiſhed itſelf without opportunity; ſo without virtue the opportunity would have happened in vain. It was neceſſary therefore that Moſes ſhould find the Children of Iſrael in a State of Slavery and oppreſſion amongſt the Egyptians; that ſo in order to ſhake off that yoke, they might be the more readily diſpoſed to follow him. It was fortunate for Romulus that he was thrown out of Alba and expoſed to wild beaſts in his infancy; otherwiſe he had never thought of making himſelf the Founder and King of Rome. It happened luckily for Cyrus that he found the Perſians diſ-

contented under the tyranny of the Medes; and the Medes grown ſoft and effeminate by a long interval of peace. Theſeus could never have made himſelf ſo renowned as he did, if he had not found the Athenians diſperſed and ſcattered abroad as they were [q]. Such occaſions made theſe great men ſucceſsful; and their wiſdom taught them how to improve thoſe opportunities to the reputation and deliverance of their reſpective Countries. It is a difficult matter indeed for other people to raiſe themſelves to dominion in the ſame heroic manner that they did: but when they ſucceed, it is very eaſy to maintain it. The difficulties that occur in acquiring dominion ariſe in ſome meaſure from the new cuſtoms and inſtitutions which they are forced to introduce for the eſtabliſhment of their Sovereignty, and ſecurity of their perſons: it muſt be conſidered that of all undertakings, the moſt arduous, the moſt dangerous, and the moſt liable to miſcarry, is the introduction of new Laws. For he that introduces them will be ſure to make all thoſe his enemies who live to their Satisfaction under the ſhelter and protection of their old inſtitutions; and will be but coolly ſupported by ſuch as are to be benefited by the new ones: which coolneſs proceeds partly from the fear they ſtand in of their adverſaries, who have the old Laws on their ſide; and partly from a ſort of diffidence and incredulity that is natural to mankind, who for the moſt part, have but an indifferent opinion of new eſtabliſhments till they are recommended by ſufficient experience. From hence it comes to paſs, that when his enemies have an opportunity of exerting themſelves againſt him, they do it vigorouſly and with advantage: whilſt he, on the contrary, will find himſelf ſo faintly defended, that both he and his adherents will be in danger of periſhing together. But for a fuller diſcuſſion of this matter, it is neceſſary to enquire whether thoſe that attempt ſuch innovations ſtand upon their own bottom, or depend upon others; that is, whether they have recourſe to exhortations and entreaties, or to force and arms in the conduct of their enterprize: for in the firſt caſe they almoſt always miſcarry; but when they truſt to their own ſtrength, and have power to enforce the obſervation of their ordinances, they ſeldom or never fail of ſucceſs. Hence it came to paſs that all the Prophets who were ſupported by an armed force, ſucceeded in their undertakings:

[q] He was the firſt that collected them into one City. See Plutarch's *Life of Theſeus*. "It ſeems (ſays Pliny the younger to Trajan, in his Panegyric upon that Emperor) as if our military diſcipline had been corrupted on purpoſe that you might have the glory of reſtoring it." Corrupta eſt diſciplina caſtrorum, ut tu corrector emendatorque contingeres.

whilſt,

whilſt, on the contrary, thoſe that had not ſuch a force to truſt to, were defeated and deſtroyed [*r*]: for beſides what has been already

[*r*] The original Italian runs thus, "Di qui nacque che tutti li *Profeti* armati vinſero, e li diſarmati rovinarono," which the Editor of the old Engliſh tranſlation in 1675 has rendered thus, "For further eviction, the Scripture ſhews us, that thoſe of the *Prophets* whoſe arms were in their hands, and had power to compel, ſucceeded better in the reformations which they deſigned: whereas thoſe who came only with exhortation and good language, ſuffered martyrdom and baniſhment." This is taking a great deal of liberty with the original: but that is not the point at preſent. Amelot de la Houſſaye has tranſlated the paſſage in this manner, "De la vient que tous les Princes *que j'ai nommez* ont vaincu, aiant les armes a la main; & ont peri etant deſarmez."—Sylveſter Telius's Latin tranſlation of it is as follows, "Hinc factum eſt, *quos prædiximus* armis inſtructos, eos omnes victoriam reportaſſe; porro inermes domitos periiſſe." Now though all the Italian Editions of Machiavel's works that I have ſeen (which are not many indeed) ſay *Profeti*, and the old Engliſh verſion ſays *Prophets*; yet there is ſome room to ſuſpect from the *que j'ai nommez* of the French, and the *quos prædiximus* of the Latin, that both the laſt tranſlators followed ſome old copy of Machiavel's Works, where the word was *profati*, which ſome Printer, by miſtake, might afterwards convert into *profeti*, and ſo miſlead others. Every one knows ſuch blunders have been committed more than once or twice. But if it was originally and intentionally written *Profeti*, the author is guilty of aſſerting a falſhood (as might be ſhewn at large, if it was neceſſary) except he meant the Founders of Sects, and Teachers of falſe Religion: and it would be no eaſy matter to reckon up many of thoſe that have ſucceeded by dint of an armed force alone, if we leave out Mahomet and the Pope of Rome. Moſes and his ſucceſſors depended chiefly upon exhortation, and doctrine founded upon reaſon; as did Jeſus Chriſt alſo, and his Apoſtles: which gave Tertullian occaſion to ſay, "non eſt Religionis cogere Religionem, quæ ſponte ſuſcipi debet, non vi." And it is very remarkable, that the Civil Power did not favour Chriſtianity for three whole centuries after Our Saviour's birth: ſo that his Religion, though planted and propagated by peaceable, unarmed, and illiterate men, triumphed over all the rage and oppoſition of a perverſe and obſtinate world. Sanguis Martyrum eſt ſemen Eccleſiæ.—There is no doubt but Our Saviour, who had all the powers of nature at command, could have had *legions of Angels* to ſupport his Miſſion, or to deſtroy his Perſecutors, if he had thought fit: but he came *to ſeek and to ſave*; not to perſecute and deſtroy; to court and convince by doctrine, by miracles and ſufferings; by appeals to the reaſon and ſenſes of mankind; not to uſe violence, or *compel them to come in*, as ſome others have done under the countenance of that text.—The genius of the Chriſtian Religion, is *mild, gentle, long-ſuffering, peaceable, full of mercy and charity*, intended for the reformation and welfare, not for the ſcourge and deſtruction of men. Accordingly, when ſome of the Diſciples would have had our great Prophet call down fire from Heaven to conſume the Samaritans, he rebuked them, and told them, *they knew not what manner of Spirit they were of; for the Son of Man was not come to deſtroy men's lives, but to ſave them.*—Some, indeed, of the old Prophets, were ſent with an armed force to ſupport their miſſion; which was not to make converts, or to eſtabliſh any particular Doctrine, but to cut off, or exterminate ſinful nations, when the meaſure of their iniquities was fulfilled. But it is as true, that Jonas was ſent only to *preach* to the Ninevites; and that many others whom the author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews enumerates, inſtead of cutting peoples throats, *wrought righteouſneſs, through Faith ſubdued Kingdoms, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens*, &c. So that Machiavel's aſſertion, *that armed Prophets have always ſucceeded, and unarmed ones been defeated*, does not hold either way in general: if yet he really deſigned to ſpeak of *Prophets*, which is ſubmitted to the Reader.

ſaid,

ſaid, it is the nature of mankind to be fickle and inconſtant in their opinions; and though it may be an eaſy matter to perſuade them to believe a thing at firſt, it is very difficult to keep them long in that perſuaſion: upon which account, it is neceſſary to be ſo appointed, as to be in a condition to make them believe by force, when they will no longer believe of themſelves. Neither Moſes [*s*], nor Cyrus, nor Theſeus, nor Romulus, could ever have cauſed their inſtitutions to have been long obſerved, if they had not been armed: in our own times Girolamo Savonarola the Dominican was deſtroyed when the multitude began to fall off from him; becauſe he had neither power to keep thoſe ſteady in their perſuaſion who acknowledged his Miſſion, nor to make others believe who denied it [*t*]. Such perſons, therefore,

[*s*] Whoever reads the Bible carefully and attentively (ſays Machiavel, Book iii. Chap. xxx. of his *Political Diſcourſes*) will ſee that Moſes, in order to render his laws inviolable, was obliged to put a great number of men to death, who oppoſed him out of Envy: for having aſſembled the Sons of Levi, he ſpoke to them in this manner: "Thus ſaith the Lord God of Iſrael, Put every man his Sword by his ſide, and go in and out from gate to gate, throughout the Camp, and ſlay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour. And the children of Levi did according to the words of Moſes; and there fell of the people that day about three thouſand men." *Exod.* xxxii. 27.

[*t*] "It may here be proper (ſays Voltaire in his *General Hiſtory of Europe*, vol. ii. p. iii..) to give ſome attention to an extraordinary fact, which at that time (viz. about the year 1498) exerciſed the credulity of Europe, and diſplayed the Power of Phanaticiſm. There was a Dominican Friar at Florence, named Jerome Savonarola: this man was one of thoſe Preachers, whoſe talent in haranguing from the Pulpit, makes them believe they are able to govern nations; one of thoſe Theologians, who, after writing comments upon the Apocalypſe, imagine they are endowed with the gift of Prophecy. He directed, he preached, he heard confeſſions, he wrote; and in a free City, neceſſarily divided into factions, he wanted to be at the head of a party.

As ſoon as the principal Citizens knew that Charles VIII. was projecting an expedition into Italy, he foretold it, and the common people thought him inſpired. He declaimed againſt Pope Alexander; he likewiſe encouraged ſuch of his country-men as oppoſed the Medici, and had ſpilt the blood of the friends of that family. No man in Florence ever had a greater influence over the minds of the vulgar. He was become a kind of Tribune of the People, by getting Artificers admitted into the Magiſtracy.

To be revenged on him, the Pope and the Medici had recourſe to the ſame arms that he made uſe of: they ſent a Franciſcan Friar to preach againſt him; as the Order of St. Francis hated that of St. Dominic, full as much as the Guelphs had ever hated the Ghibelines. The Franciſcan ſucceeded in making the Dominican odious: upon which, the two Orders came to open war. At laſt a Dominican offered to walk through a kindled pile of wood, in order to prove the ſanctity of Savonarola. A Franciſcan likewiſe propoſed the ſame Ordeal to prove him an impoſtor. The people naturally greedy of ſuch ſpectacles, inſiſted upon this being exhibited; and the Magiſtrates were obliged to comply. Their minds were ſtill prepoſſeſſed with the old fable of Aldobrandinus, ſurnamed *Petrus Igneus*, who in the eleventh century, had paſſed and re-paſſed over burning coals in the midſt of two piles of wood, and the partiſans of Savonarola made no doubt but God would do for a Dominican, what he had done for a Benedictine. The contrary will

will always find great dangers and impediments in the way to the accompliſhment of their deſigns, and it will require an extraordinary degree of virtue and courage to ſurmount them: but when that is once done, and they have extinguiſhed thoſe that envied their

faction expected as much in favour of the Franciſcan. The piles were ſet on fire, and the Champions entered the liſts in the preſence of an innumerable multitude of people. But when they ſaw the flames, they both trembled; and their common fear ſuggeſted to them a common evaſion. The Dominican would not mount the pile, except he had the Hoſt in his hand: and the Franciſcan pretended, that this was a condition which had not been agreed upon. They both inſiſted obſtinately upon their point, and by thus helping each other out of the ſcrape, the public were deprived of the ſhocking comedy they had ſo greedily expected. Upon which, the mob was ſo incenſed by the party of the Franciſcans, that they wanted to lay hold on Savonarola; which the Magiſtrates perceiving, ordered him to withdraw: but though he had the Pope, the faction of the Medici, and the People againſt him, he refuſed to obey.

He was therefore apprehended, and put ſeven times to the torture. The extract of his depoſition ſays, that he acknowleged himſelf to be a falſe Prophet, and a Cheat, who had abuſed the ſecret of Auricular confeſſions, as well as thoſe that were revealed to him by his brethren. Might he not well own himſelf an Impoſtor? Is not a perſon that pretends to inſpiration, and yet concerns himſelf in State intrigues, convicted of being a Cheat? Perhaps he was more of a Phanatic. The human imagination is capable of joining theſe two extremes which ſeem ſo oppoſite. If Juſtice alone had condemned him, impriſonment and penance would have been ſufficient: but the ſpirit of party was concerned in the affair. Accordingly, he and two other Dominicans were ſentenced to the flames which they had ſo boldly defied: they were ſtrangled, however, before they were thrown into the fire. The partiſans of Savonarola did not fail to attribute miracles to him; the laſt ſhift of the adherents of an unhappy Chief. It muſt not be forgot, that when he was condemned, Alexander VI. ſent him a plenary indulgence."

According to Machiavel, who ſpeaks of him with great reverence, he had perſuaded the people of Florence, that he converſed with God. See chap. xi. l. i. of his *Political Diſcourſes*, towards the end; and Nardi ſays, in his *Hiſtory of Florence*, lib. 2. that thoſe of Savonarola's party were called *Piagnoni*, that is, *Weepers*, or *Hypocrites*; and his enemies, *Arrabiati*, that is, madmen, or *Indiſciplinable*. Many writers mention him with much reſpect, as a truly devout and holy man, who was perſecuted only for preaching boldly againſt the flagitious life of Alexander VI. and the vices of the times.

Whilſt he was in priſon, he wrote his *Meditations upon the* 30th *and* 51ſt *Pſalms*, and a book, *de Triumpho Crucis*. He alſo propheſied the deſtruction of Rome and Florence, and the Reformation of the Church. Joannes Fr. Picus de Mirandola, and Marſilius Ficinus, have written in his defence, and celebrated him as a Prophet. Beſides the pieces above-mentioned, he wrote *Commentaries upon the* 50th, 70th, *and* 71ſt *Pſalms*; *Sermons upon Ezekiel*, *Amos*, *Haggai*, &c. *an Expoſition of the Lord's Prayer*, and many other works. Luther called him the *Forerunner of the Reformation*; and Beza has inſerted him in his Catalogue of famous men. The following Epitaph was written upon him by Flaminius:

Dum fera flamma tuos, Hieronyme, paſcitur artus,
Religio flevit dilaniata comas.
Flevit, & O dixit, crudeles parcite flammæ,
Parcite, ſunt iſto viſcera noſtra rogo.

See Collier's Dictionary, and ſome curious Anecdotes relating to him in the General Dict. vol. ix. p. 83. & ſeq.

riſing

riſing greatneſs, they will be held in veneration, and afterwards not only maintain their power, but live in ſecurity, honour and happineſs [*u*].

To theſe great and remarkable examples I will add another; not ſo conſpicuous perhaps, but yet ſuch a one as ſhall bear ſome proportion and reſemblance to the reſt, and may ſuffice for all others of the like nature: I mean that of Hiero the Syracuſan. This man raiſed himſelf from a private condition to be Prince of Syracuſe; for which he was obliged to fortune no further than for indulging him with a proper opportunity: for the Syracuſans being oppreſſed made choice of him to be their General; in which command he behaved himſelf ſo much to their ſatisfaction, that they afterwards thought him worthy to rule over them. And indeed ſo eminent were his virtues even whilſt he was in a private ſtation, that ſuch authors as ſpeak of him all allow, that he wanted nothing but a Kingdom to make him a complete Prince. He diſbanded the veteran troops, and raiſed a freſh army: he quitted his former alliances and contracted others: and having ſecured the affections of new friends, and a new Soldiery, he was afterwards enabled to erect ſuch a ſuperſtructure upon that foundation as he thought fit: ſo that although he met with many difficulties in acquiring that Principality, he found few or none in maintaining it.

EXAMEN. CHAP. VI.

IF mankind had been born without paſſions, Machiavel might have been in ſome meaſure excuſable for endeavouring to ſupply that want by inſpiring them into us, like another Prometheus who had ſtolen fire from Heaven to animate creatures of his own making. But that is not the caſe; no man is without paſſions: when they are kept within proper bounds, they conſtitute the life and Soul of Society; but if they break looſe, they tend to the ſubverſion of it.

Of all the paſſions that tyrannize over the heart of man, there is none more ruinous to the perſon himſelf who is under their dominion, more oppoſite to the laws of Humanity, or more fatal to the repoſe of mankind, than irregular ambition and an exceſſive deſire of falſe glory. A private man who has the misfortune to be born with ſuch a diſpoſition is more to be pitied than a madman. He never has any enjoyment of the preſent, but continually depends upon future

[*u*] See the *Political Diſcourſes*, book iii. chap. xxx.

times: nothing is ſufficient to ſatisfy his longings; the gall of ambition gives a tinge to his whole life, and embitters every pleaſure.

An ambitious Prince is ſtill more unhappy than a private man: for his folly being proportionable to his greatneſs, is more vague, more ungovernable, and harder to be ſoothed. The paſſions of private men are enflamed only with a deſire of particular honours or grandeur; but the ambition of Princes aſpires to whole Provinces and Kingdoms: and as it is an eaſier matter to obtain civil honours and employments, than to conquer nations, the thirſt of private men is not ſo difficult to be allayed as that of Princes. Machiavel propoſes the examples of Moſes, of Cyrus, Romulus, Theſeus, and Hiero, for their imitation: and one might eaſily eke out this catalogue to a much greater length, by adding the founders of ſeveral Sects, as Mahomet in Aſia, Mango Copac in America [*v*], Odin

[*v*] The Kingdom of Peru, (ſays Sir W. Temple) deduced its original from Mango Copac, and his wife and Siſter Coya Mama, who are ſaid to have appeared firſt in that Country, near a vaſt Lake, which is ſtill ſacred with them, upon that occaſion.

Before that time, the people of theſe countries are reported to have lived like beaſts, without any traces of order, laws, or religion; without other food than from trees or herbs, or what game they could catch; without further proviſion than for preſent hunger; without any cloathing or houſes; they dwelt in rocks, or caves, or trees, to be ſecure from wild beaſts; or on the tops of hills, if they were in fear of fierce neighbours. When Mango Copac and his ſiſter came firſt into theſe naked lands, as they were perſons of excellent ſhape and beauty, ſo they were adorned with ſuch cloths as afterwards continued the uſual habit of the Inca's, by which name they called themſelves. They told the people who came firſt about them, that they were the children of the Sun; and that their father taking pity upon the miſerable condition of mankind, had ſent them down to reclaim them from their beſtial way of life, and to inſtruct them how to live happily and ſafely, by obſerving ſuch laws, as their father the Sun had commanded them to teach them. The firſt great rule they taught was, that every man ſhould live according to Reaſon, and conſequently neither ſay nor do any thing to others, which they were not willing others ſhould ſay or do to them: becauſe it was againſt all common reaſon to make one law for themſelves, and another for other people. And this was the great Principle of all their morality. In the next place, that they ſhould worſhip the Sun, who took care of the whole world, gave life to all creatures, made the plants grow, and the herbs fit food to maintain them; and was ſo careful and good as to ſpare no pains of his own, but to go round the world every day to inſpect and provide for all that were upon it, and had ſent them, his two children, down on purpoſe, for the good and happineſs of mankind, and to rule them with the ſame care and goodneſs that he did the world.

After this, they taught them the arts moſt neceſſary for Life. Copac inſtructed them how to ſow Corn at certain ſeaſons, to preſerve it againſt others, and to build houſes againſt the inclemency of the ſeaſons, and danger of wild beaſts, to diſtinguiſh themſelves by wedlock into different families, to cloath themſelves ſo as to cover at leaſt the ſhame of nakedneſs, to tame and nouriſh ſuch creatures as might be of common uſe and ſuſtenance. Coya Mama taught the women to ſpin and weave cotton, and certain other coarſe wools of ſome beaſts that were amongſt them.

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in the North [w], and of many other ſuch Chiefs that have appeared in the world [x].

With theſe inſtructions and inventions, they were ſo much believed in all they ſaid, and adored for what they did and taught of common utility, that they were followed by great numbers of people, and obſerved and obeyed like children of the Sun, ſent down from Heaven to inſtruct and govern them. See Sir W. Temple upon *Heroic Virtue*, Sect. iii.

One might obſerve here, that Copac was a Chief (or Prophet if any one has a mind to call him ſo) who eſtabliſhed himſelf by *Doctrine and Exhortation*, &c. and not by an *armed force*; notwithſtanding what Machiavel ſays of the impoſſibility of ſo doing: and that his poſterity reigned over the Peruvians happily and glorioufly for the ſpace of above eight hundred years; that is, till they were conquered by the Spaniards.

It is true, the ſame author ſays, that after Copac had modelled his Kingdom, and divided it into particular diſtricts, by a voluntary ſubmiſſion of the people, as to ſome Evangelical, rather than legal doctrines or inſtitutions, he aſſembled his Curacas, or Governors, and told them, that his father the Sun had commanded him to extend his Inſtitutions or Orders as far as he was able, for the good and happineſs of mankind; and for that purpoſe, to go with armed troops to thoſe remoter parts that had not yet received them, and to reduce them to obedience. That he was likewiſe commanded not to hurt or offend any that would ſubmit to him, and thereby accept of the good and happineſs that was offered them by ſuch Divine bounty; but to diſtreſs ſuch only as refuſed, without killing any that did not aſſault them; and then to do it juſtly in their own defence.

For this deſign, he raiſed and diſciplined troops, which he armed both with offenſive and defenſive weapons, but chiefly with the latter, and reduced many new territories under his dominion, declaring to every people whom he approached, the ſame things that he had done at firſt to thoſe that came about him near the great Lake, and offering them the benefits of the arts he had taught, the orders he had inſtituted, the protection he had given his ſubjects, and the felicity they had enjoyed under it. Thoſe that ſubmitted were received into the ſame rights and enjoyments with the reſt of his ſubjects: but thoſe that refuſed were diſtreſſed by his forces, till they were neceſſitated to accept his offers and conditions. He uſed no offenſive weapons againſt any till he was attacked by them; and even then defenſive only at firſt, till the danger and ſlaughter of his men grew unavoidable: after which, he ſuffered his forces to fall upon them, and kill without mercy, and not to ſpare even thoſe that yielded, after they had ſo long and obſtinately reſiſted. Such as ſubmitted after the firſt threats, or diſtreſſes, or bloodleſs oppoſition, he received to grace, permitted them to approach his perſon, made great and common feaſts for them and his own ſoldiers together for ſeveral days, and then incorporated them into the body of his Empire, giving them cloths to wear, and corn to ſow. By theſe ways, and ſuch heroic virtues, he ſo far extended his Dominions, as to divide them into four Provinces, over each whereof he appointed an Inca to be viceroy (having many Sons grown fit to command) and in each eſtabliſhed three ſupreme Councils; the firſt of Juſtice, the ſecond of war, and the third of the Revenue, of which an Inca was likewiſe Preſident, which continued ever after. *Ibid.*

But we ſee that he ſucceeded in his main and original deſign, reformed the people, eſtabliſhed his Doctrines, and even poſſeſſed himſelf of Sovereign power, without any violence or armed force to ſupport him. What enſued was only a conſequence of his firſt plan. Machiavel's aſſertion therefore falls to the ground.

[w] Odin, or, Woden, from whence *Woden's day*, or *Wedneſday*, was a Heathen Deity, or deified Hero, formerly worſhipped by the northern Nations. Some learned

But the unfair manner in which Machiavel quotes examples deſerves to be taken ſome notice of. He ſets ambition before our eyes in the moſt flattering point of view, and ſpeaks of ſuch of its votaries only as have been favourites of fortune; but carefully avoids all mention of thoſe that have fallen victims to their paſſions. Is not this impoſing upon mankind and acting the part of a Mountebank whilſt he is diſtributing his poiſon? After he had cited the examples of the great Legiſlator of the Jews, the firſt Monarch of Athens, the Conqueror of the Medes, and the Founder of Rome, who all ſucceeded in their deſigns; why did he not likewiſe add the names of other Chiefs that failed in them, to ſhew that if ſome men have been advanced by their ambition, a much greater number have periſhed by it? Had he never heard of John of Leyden, who after the fleſh was torn from his bones with red hot pincers, was hung up in an iron cage, and then burnt to death at Munſter [*y*]? If Oliver Cromwell was ſucceſsful, his Son Richard was depoſed and had the mortification to ſee his father's carcaſe raked out of the grave and hung upon

men are of opinion, that he, and the other Gods, worſhiped by them, were Magicians, who came to Sweden and Denmark from Aſiatic Scythia, and made people believe, by magic arts, they were the ſame Gods they then adored, whoſe names they gave themſelves. They report of Odin, that finding he could not eſcape death, he ordered his body to be burnt as ſoon as he was dead, aſſuring them, his ſoul would return to Aſgardie, from whence he came, there to live for ever: which Aſgardie was the capital City of the Country whence theſe Magicians came, and where the Northern People placed their *Vall-hol*, or *Elyzium*. *Barthol. Antiq. Danic.*

[*x*] Here the following paſſage, which was in the firſt Edition, is ſtruck out by Mr. Voltaire, " Et que les Jeſuites du Paragai me permettent de leur offrir ici une petite place qui ne peut que leur etre glorieuſe, les mettant au nombre des Legiſlateurs."

[*y*] John Buckhold, a Chief of the Anabaptiſts, who though of very mean birth and education, had ſuch qualities, as enabled him to put himſelf at the head of that Sect, and to draw a great number of followers after him. He ſeized upon Munſter, which he plundered, and committed unheard of cruelties and enormities there: and pretending to inſpirations, he aſſumed the title of *The King of Juſtice, and the new Jeruſalem.*

After which, he had a ſtately throne erected in the Market-place, which he mounted, with a crown of gold upon his head, attended by a magnificent train of Nobility, and State Officers of his own creating, with a ſword and a Bible carried before him, ſet with diamonds of a great value. He likewiſe cauſed money to be coined, with this inſcription upon it, *Verbum Caro factum quod habitat in nobis*, and exerciſed all other branches of the Regal Dignity. But, after a long and moſt obſtinate ſiege which he ſtood againſt the Biſhop of Munſter's troops, he was at laſt betrayed by one of his own Sect, and puniſhed; with ſome other Ringleaders of it, in the manner above-mentioned. This happened about the year 1555, and was reckoned one of the moſt remarkable events in the ſixteenth Century. *See Sleidan's Commentary.*

a gibbet.

a gibbet [*z*]. Three or four Jews who at different times, ſince the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, pretended to be the Meſſiah, were put to death with the moſt exquiſite tortures: the laſt Pretender of that kind was circumciſed and preferred to the rank of a Skullion in the Grand Signior's Kitchen [*a*]. If Pepin dethroned his Maſter [*b*]; with the approbation of the Pope, the Duke of Guiſe, who attempted to have done the ſame and with the like authority, was aſſaſſinated for his pains [*c*]. One might reckon up above thirty Chiefs of Sects, and thouſands of others whoſe ambition at laſt brought them to a violent death.

Is it not likewiſe injudicious at leaſt in Machiavel to rank Moſes in the ſame claſs with Romulus, Cyrus, and Theſeus? Moſes was immediately inſpired by God: if he had not been ſo, one could not look upon him in any other light than that of an impoſtor who made uſe of God's name almoſt in the ſame manner that Poets do when they employ their Deities as machines to extricate them out of difficulties that would otherwiſe be inſurmountable. [Moſes when conſidered as a ſingular inſtrument of Divine Providence (which he certainly was) far excelled all other Legiſlators who were only endued with human wiſdom: but if we conſider him merely as a man, he is not to be compared to Cyrus, to Theſeus, or to Hercules. He did nothing more than conduct the Iſraelites through a deſart; he built no cities; he was not the Founder of any great Empire: he did not eſtabliſh commerce or invent new arts; nor did he make his nation great and

[*z*] Some affirm, it was not Oliver Cromwell's body, but K. Charles's, that was hung upon the gibbet; which the friends of the deceaſed Uſurper (who it is ſaid was very privately buried in Naſeby Field) had cauſed to be removed out of the grave where it was firſt interred, and to be laid in that where Cromwell himſelf was commonly ſuppoſed to have been buried; in order to elude the rage of the public, if the times ſhould change, and to turn it upon the laſt remains of that unfortunate Monarch, by a ſtrain of malice, which, it ſeems, did not end with his death. There is a remarkable Narrative of the methods and artifices ſaid to have been practiſed in this ſtrange affair, to be met with in the *Harleian Miſcellany*. Vol. ii. p. 269. but it is too long to be inſerted here.

[*a*] Sabbatai Sevi; to whom may be added, Theudas, Barcochab, *&c.* There is a curious and entertaining account of Sabbatai, in the Jewiſh Spy, in Voltaire's Gen. Hiſt. vol. iii. part iv. p. 167. and in de la Croix's Memoires, part. ii.

[*b*] Childeric III. of France.

[*c*] Henry of Lorrain, Duke of Guiſe, ſurnamed *Balafre*, from a ſcar on his face, occaſioned by a wound he had received in battle. He was head of the League formed againſt Henry III. of France, whom he deſigned to have depoſed, and put into a Convent; but was aſſaſſinated by the orders and contrivance of that Prince at Blois, where the States General of the Kingdom were aſſembled. *Davila*, vol. i. p. 364. & 630 *of the laſt Tranſlation.*

flouriſhing;

flouriſhing: and ſo far was he from taking any care to multiply his people, that he cauſed three thouſand of them to be put to death in one day: we muſt therefore admire the influence of Divine Providence in him, and examine what is ſaid concerning the Virtue and Prudence of the others] [*d*].

I confeſs ingenuouſly and without prejudice, that in general it would require great genius, courage, and addreſs to equal the actions of ſuch men as Theſeus, Cyrus, Romulus, and Mahomet: yet I cannot tell whether they deſerve the epithet of *Virtuous*. Valour and addreſs are equally common to Highwaymen and Conquerors. The only difference betwixt them is, that the Conqueror is an illuſtrious Robber, and the Highwayman an obſcure Thief: one receives oblations of incenſe and crowns of laurel, the other, a halter as a reward for his villainies [*e*]. [Whoever is ambitious of trampling his equals under foot, without doubt is an unjuſt and blood-thirſty man. The Chiefs of the Fanatics amongſt the Cevennois pretended to be inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, and cauſed numbers to be maſſacred, who, they ſaid, were condemned to die by the *Spirit*: yet thoſe wretches, who defied both God and man in the faſtneſſes of their Mountains, were very brave and would have been looked upon as more than men in the days of Fohi [*f*] and Zoroaſter [*g*]. In times when mankind were little better than Savages, a Knight errant, an Orlando Furioſo [*h*], a John of Leyden, would have been regarded as an Hercules or Oſiris [*i*]: but at preſent an Hercules or an Oſiris would not be able to diſtinguiſh themſelves in any conſiderable degree] [*k*].

[*d*] What is included betwixt the two Crotches above, runs thus in the firſt edition; "Moiſe etoit d'ailleurs ſi peu habile, (a raiſonner humainement) qu' il conduiſit le peuple Juif pendant quarante annees par un chemin qu' ils auroient tres commodement fait en ſix ſemaines: il avoit tres peu profitè des lumieres des Egiptiens, & il etoit en ce ſens-la beaucoup inferieur a Romulus, & a Theſee, & a ces Heros. Si Moiſe etoit inſpire de Dieu, comme il ſe voit ſans doute, on ne peut le regarder que comme l'organe aveugle de la toute-puiſſance Divine; & le conducteur des Juifs etoit en ce ſens bien inferieur, comme homme, au fondateur de l'Empire Romain, au Monarque Perſan, & aux Heros qui faiſoient par leur propre valeur & par leurs propres forces de plus grandes actions que l'autre n'en faiſoit avec l'aſſiſtance immediate de Dieu.

[*e*] Ille crucem ſceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema.
Juvenal.

[*f*] The firſt King of China.

[*g*] King of the Bactrians, in the time of Ninus, by whom he was vanquiſhed. *Juſtin*, lib. i. cap. i.

[*h*] The Hero of Arioſto's Epic Poem.

[*i*] A Conqueror, and Law-giver of the Egyptians, who was deified after his death.

[*k*] What is included in the two Crochets above, was not in the firſt edition, which runs thus, "Il eſt vrai que toutes les fois que l'on voudra introduire des novautez dans

I ſhall conclude this Chapter with ſome reflections upon the conduct of Hiero the Syracuſan whom Machiavel propoſes as a pattern to ſuch as would raiſe themſelves to Empire by the aſſiſtance of new friends and freſh troops. Hiero diſcarded his old friends and veterans, who had been moſt ſerviceable to him in the execution of his deſigns: he contracted new alliances, and raiſed another army. I aſſert, however, in contradiction to Machiavel and all other Ingrates, that Hiero was guilty of very bad policy in this; and that it would have been much more prudent in him to have confided in troops whoſe valour he had experienced, and in friends whoſe fidelity he had ſufficiently proved, than in others who were in a manner ſtrangers to him, and of whoſe attachment he could not be ſecure [*l*]. The ſignification which Machiavel gives to ſome words ought likewiſe to be carefully attended to. Otherwiſe we might be led into an error by his aſſerting, that *Virtue without opportunity can never effectually diſtinguiſh itſelf:* by which he means that Villains and fool-hardy men cannot exert their talents without the concurrence of favourable circumſtances and occaſions: without this clue it would be impoſſible to underſtand his meaning. The Italians call Muſic, Painting, Geometry &c. *Virtue*; and ſuch as cultivate thoſe arts *Virtuoſi:* but *Virtue*, according to Machiavel, conſiſts entirely in Perfidy and ambition. For my own part, it is my opinion upon the whole, that the only lawful opportunity that a private man can have of advancing himſelf to a throne, is when he is either called to it by a people that have a right to elect their own Prince; or when he has been the Deliverer of his Country. John Sobieſki in Poland; Guſtavus Vaſa in Sweden; the Antoninus's of Rome are examples of both ſorts. Let Cæſar Borgia then be the pattern of the Machiavelliſts; Marcus Aurelius [*m*] ſhall be mine.

le monde, il ſe preſentera mille obſtacles pour les empecher, & qu'un Prophete a la tête d'un armee ſera plus de Proſelites que s'il ne combattoit qu' avec des arguments. Il eſt vray, que la Religion Cretienne, ne ſe ſoutenant que par les diſputes, fut faible & opprimee, & qu'elle ne s'etendit en Europe qu' apres avoir repandu beaucoup de ſang: il n'en eſt pas moins vray, que l'on a pu donner cours a des opinions, & a des novautez avec peu de peine. Que de Religions, que de Sectes, ont etè introduites avec une facilite infinie! Il n'y a rien du plus propre que le fanatiſme pour accrediter des novautez, & il me ſemble que Machiavel a parle d'un ton trop deciſif ſur cette matiere."

[*l*] The following paſſage is here ſtruck out in the ſecond Edition, "Je laiſſe au Lecteur a pouſſer ce raiſonnement plus loin; tous ceux qui abhorrent l'ingratitude, & qui ſont aſſez heureux pour connoitre l'amitie ne reſteront point a ſec ſur cette matiere."

[*m*] Marcus Aurelius Antonius Verus, ſurnamed the *Philoſopher*. He was reckoned the beſt of all the Roman Emperors.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of new Principalities that have been acquired either by the forces and aſſiſtance of others, or by good fortune.

THOSE that aſcend from a private condition to the dignity of Princes by the favour of fortune alone, meet with few impediments in the acquiſition, but many and very great ones in the maintenance of that rank: as the paſſage is open and nothing to obſtruct them, they commonly ſoar to the throne at one flight; but when they are once ſeated upon it, they begin to find themſelves ſurrounded with difficulties and dangers. Theſe Princes are chiefly ſuch as either buy their dominions, or receive them as gifts from others; as ſeveral did in different parts of Greece, in the cities of Ionia and upon the Helleſpont, who were inveſted with that power by Darius for his own ſecurity and glory: or as others did who from private men became Emperors by corrupting the Soldiery. But ſuch Princes depend for their ſupport merely upon the good will and fortune of thoſe that advanced them; which is a very weak and uncertain foundation. Beſides, they have neither experience nor ſtrength ſufficient to maintain themſelves in their States for any conſiderable time: for in the firſt place, except they are men of uncommon virtue and abilities, how can it be expected that they ſhould know in what manner to govern other people, who have always been uſed to live in a private ſtation themſelves? and in the next, they cannot well be ſuppoſed to have ſufficient ſtrength, as they have no troops in whoſe fidelity and affection they can put any confidence. It muſt likewiſe be conſidered, that new raiſed States (like all other things of ſudden riſe and growth) have neither had time to ſtrike their roots deep enough, nor to fortify themſelves with proper connexions: ſo that they muſt neceſſarily be in danger of being blown down by the firſt guſt of adverſity; except (as I ſaid before) the Princes that have been thus ſuddenly exalted, are men of ſuch virtue and wiſdom as will enable them to make due proviſion in time for the conſervation of what fortune has thrown into their hands; and afterwards to lay ſuch foundations for their eſtabliſhment as others have done before they were Princes.

To confirm what I have ſaid concerning the acquiſition of Dominion either by virtue and merit, or by good fortune, I will cite two inſtances

inſtances that have happened in our own times and are ſtill freſh in every one's memory: the one is of Franciſco Sforza; the other of Cæſar Borgia. Sforza raiſed himſelf from a private condition to be Duke of Milan by due means and dint of extraordinary virtue; and with very little difficulty maintained what he had been at infinite pains to acquire. On the other hand, Cæſar Borgia (commonly called Duke Valentine) got poſſeſſion of ſeveral territories by the good fortune of his father, Pope Alexander VI. but ſoon loſt them after the death of that Pontif; though he exerted his utmoſt endeavours and did every thing that a wiſe or brave man could or ought to do, in order to eſtabliſh himſelf in thoſe States which he had acquired by the arms and good fortune of others. For though, as I ſaid above, a good foundation may not be laid before a man arrives at dominion, it may poſſibly be done afterwards, if he is poſſeſſed of an extraordinary ſhare of abilities: but it will always be with great difficulty to the Architect, and danger to the Edifice. If, therefore, we conſider the Duke's conduct from firſt to laſt, we ſhall ſee how firm a foundation he had laid for future greatneſs: and perhaps it may not ſeem altogether unneceſſary here to enter into ſome detail of his actions, as I know no better pattern that can be propoſed for the imitation of a new Prince: for if the ſchemes which he had concerted proved abortive in the end, it was not to be imputed to any failure in him, but to the extreme malignity of fortune.

Alexander VI. was very deſirous of aggrandizing his Son: but ſaw many preſent and future difficulties in his way. For in the firſt place, he perceived that he could not make him Sovereign of any State which was independent on the Church: and if he ſhould endeavour to diſmember the Eccleſiaſtical State, he knew very well that neither the Duke of Milan, nor the Venetians would ſuffer it; as the latter had already taken Rimini and Faenza under their protection. He was likewiſe ſenſible that the forces of Italy, eſpecially thoſe that were capable of doing him any material ſervice, were in the hands of ſuch as had the greateſt reaſon to be apprehenſive of the papal power, as the Urſini, the Colonni, and their friends. It was neceſſary therefore to break thoſe connexions and attachments, and to throw the States of Italy into confuſion; that ſo he might ſecurely make himſelf maſter of ſome of them. And this was no difficult matter to effect, as he found the Venetians were ſolliciting the French, upon other accounts, to make a ſecond expedition into Italy; which he was ſo far from oppoſing, that he diſſolved the marriage betwixt King Lewis XII. and his firſt Wife, on purpoſe to facilitate it. That Prince accordingly

marched into Italy at the invitation of the Venetians, and with the conſent of the Pope: and he was no ſooner arrived at Milan but he ſent a body of forces to aſſiſt his Holineſs in his deſigns upon Romagna, which was preſently ſurrendered to him upon the reputation of his alliance with the King of France. After this acquiſition, the Duke found means to depreſs the power of the Colonni: but there were two obſtacles which prevented him not only from making any further progreſs, but even from maintaining what he had got: for in the firſt place, he could not put any great confidence either in the forces of the Urſini or the King of France, which he had chiefly employed; being apprehenſive they both would fail him in time of need, and be ſo far from aſſiſting him in making any future conqueſts, that they would combine to deprive him of what he had already acquired. Indeed he had juſt reaſon to ſuſpect the Urſini: for after the reduction of Faenza, he laid ſiege to Bologna, but found their troops very cold and backward in an aſſault which he made upon that place; and as to the King, he had pretty well diſcovered how he ſtood affected to him: for when he had conquered the Duchy of Urbino, and was going to invade Tuſcany, his Majeſty obliged him to deſiſt from that enterprize: upon which account, he determined to truſt no longer to the arms and fortune of others.

The firſt ſtep he took after this reſolution, was to lower the power and authority of the Urſini and Colonni in Rome: for which purpoſe, he corrupted all ſuch of their adherents as were men of any diſtinction or intereſt, by taking them into his own ſervice, and giving them honourable penſions and Governments and commands, according to their reſpective qualities: ſo that in the ſpace of a few months, their attachment to that faction was wholly extinguiſhed, and they all came over to the Duke. When he had thus humbled the Colonni, he reſolved to take the firſt opportunity of ruining the Urſini: and it was not long before one offered, which he did not fail to make uſe of. For the Urſini being aware that the riſing greatneſs of the Duke and the Church muſt be eſtabliſhed upon their ruin, called a Council of their friends together at Magione in the territories of Perugia, to conſider of proper means to prevent it. In conſequence of theſe deliberations, Urbino revolted from the Duke, and great commotions enſued in Romagna, which ſeemed to threaten him with deſtruction on every ſide: but he happily over-came all thoſe difficulties by the aſſiſtance of the French. However, after he had eſtabliſhed his reputation, he grew weary of foreign allies in whom he could not thoroughly confide; and therefore had recourſe to artifice and diſſimu-

lation, in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that he reconciled the Urſini to him by the mediation of Signior Paolo, one of that family, whom he had ſo effectually gained over to his intereſts by all manner of friendly offices and making him very rich preſents, that being deceived himſelf, he ſo far prevailed upon the credulity of the reſt, that they attended him to an interview which the Duke had appointed at Sinigaglia, where they were all put to death [*n*]. By thus ridding himſelf of the Heads of theſe families, and making their partizans his friends, the Duke laid a good foundation for future greatneſs; as he thereby made himſelf maſter of all Romagna, the Duchy of Urbino, and afterwards gained the affections of the people there by giving them ſome foretaſtes of the happineſs they might expect under his government. And ſince the part he acted in theſe circumſtances is highly worthy not only of notice, but imitation, I ſhall give ſome account of it.

After the Duke had got poſſeſſion of Romagna and found it had been governed in ſuch a manner by thoſe petty Lords, who had rather pillaged their Subjects than contributed to their felicity, and given them ſufficient occaſion to rebel, inſtead of living quietly and contentedly under their adminiſtration; and that there was nothing to be ſeen throughout the whole Province but daily tumults, factions, robberies, and all other kinds of outrages and enormities, he thought it abſolutely neceſſary to eſtabliſh good order and a regular government amongſt them; that ſo he might induce them to live peaceably and

[*n*] There is a particular Narrative of theſe murders, immediately after *the Life of Caſtruccio Caſtracani*, towards the end of this Volume.

The States which theſe unfortunate Lords poſſeſſed, had formerly belonged to the Church; but in the quarrels betwixt Benedict XII. and the Emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, the latter took upon him to give them away to the Vicars of the Church that were then in poſſeſſion of them, as the Pope had given away ſome of the Emperor's States in Italy before.

"The Emperor, therefore, (ſays Machiavel, in his *Hiſtory of Florence*, Book i.) obſerving how liberally the Pope had diſpoſed of the States that belonged to the Empire, that he might not be behind hand with him, in ſuch ſort of generoſity, likewiſe gave away all the States which had been uſurped from the Church, to be held of the Empire by the preſent poſſeſſors. By which donation, Galeotto Malateſta, and his Brothers became Lords of Rimini, Peſaro, and Fano; Antonio da Montefeltro, of la Marca and Urbino; Gentile da Varano, of Camerino; Guido di Polenta, of Ravenna; Sinebaldo Ordelaffi, of Furli and Ceſena; Giovanni Manfredi, of Faenza; Ludovico Alidoſi, of Imola; and many more of other places; ſo that of all the lands belonging to the Church, there were hardly any left without a new Maſter; which reduced the Church to the low condition it was in in the days of Alexander VI. who, in our times, drove the poſterity of thoſe intruders out of their poſſeſſions, to their utter ruin, and reſtored it to its former ſplendour and authority."

in due obedience to him as their Sovereign. For this purpoſe, he made choice of Remiro d'Orco, a man of an active but cruel diſpoſition to govern that Province: and as he was inveſted with abſolute power, he ſoon reſtored peace and good order there, with no ſmall reputation to himſelf. After which, the Duke apprehending that the continuance of ſo unlimited an authority in the hands of his Deputy, might make himſelf odious to his new Subjects [o], erected a Court of civil judicature in the midſt of the Province, with a worthy and uncorrupt Magiſtrate to preſide over it, where every City had its reſpective Advocate. And as he was aware that the paſt ſeverities had already excited ſome murmurings and diſcontent, he reſolved to clear himſelf of all imputations of that kind, and conciliate the affections of the people entirely to himſelf, by ſhewing them that if any extraordinary degree of ſeverity had been exerciſed, it was not owing to him, but to the rigorous and cruel diſpoſition of his Miniſter [p]. Making a handle therefore of theſe diſcontents, he cauſed Remiro to be cut in two one morning in the market place at Ceſena; and the two parts of his body to be hung up, with a piece of a gibbet and a bloody axe by the ſide of them: the dreadfulneſs of which Spectacle at once appeaſed and aſtoniſhed the people.

But to return to our Subject. The Duke now finding himſelf very powerful and in a great meaſure ſafe from any preſent danger [as he had taken effectual means to ſecure himſelf by putting it out of the power of his neighbours to annoy him] had nothing to fear from any body but the French in the purſuit of further acquiſitions: for he well knew that the King of France was at laſt convinced of his error, and would be far from giving him any further ſupport. Upon this conſideration, he reſolved to provide himſelf with new Allies, and began to ſhuffle and prevaricate with the French; as it plainly appeared when their army was marching to the relief of Gaieta in the Kingdom of Naples, which was beſieged by the Spaniards: for he was determined at all events if poſſible, to fortify himſelf effectually againſt them; and he would certainly have done it, if his father had lived a while longer.

Such were the Methods he took to guard againſt preſent dangers. Againſt thoſe that were more remote (as he had reaſon to apprehend

[o] "Nec unquam ſatis fida potentia, ubi nimia eſt." *Tacit. Hiſt.* ii.

[p] Princes generally ſacrifice the inſtruments of their cruelty ſooner or later. "Scelerum miniſtros, ſays Tacitus of Tiberius, ut perverti ab aliis nolebat, ita plerumque ſatiatus, veteres & prægraves adflixit." *Annal.* iv. "Levi poſt admiſſum facinus gratiâ, dein graviore odio." *Annal.* xiv.

the

the next Pope would be his enemy and endeavour to resume what Alexander had given him) he designed to have made four different provisions: in the first place, by utterly extinguishing the families of those Lords whom he had deprived of their States [q], that so it might not be in the power of the succeeding Pope to re-establish them: in the next, by drawing the Nobility of Rome over to his party: in the third, by securing a majority in the College of Cardinals; and lastly, by establishing his power so firmly before his father died, that he should be able of himself to make head against the first attack of any enemy.

Three of these expedients he succeeded in, and had almost accomplished the fourth before the death of his father. For he put all the dispossessed Lords to death that fell into his hands; and very few of them escaped him: he had entirely gained the Nobility of Rome; and secured a very considerable party amongst the Cardinals: and for a further augmentation of his power, he designed to have made himself Master of Tuscany, having already got possession of Perugia and Piombino, and taken Pisa under his protection; which he soon after boldly seized upon, as he had no longer any occasion to stand in awe of the French, who were driven out of the Kingdom of Naples by the Spaniards, and the Spaniards themselves were obliged to court his friendship. After this, Lucca and Siena presently submitted to him, either out of fear, or envy to the Florentines, who were not able by any means to prevent it. So that if these events had happened before (as they happened only in the very same year that Alexander VI. died) the Duke's power and reputation would have been so great that he might have been able to stand firm upon his own bottom, without any dependance upon the fortune or forces of others.

But Alexander died within five years after he had unsheathed his Sword, and left him nothing certain and thoroughly established but Romagna; for the rest of his dominions were little better than Castles in the air: besides, he was at that time not only sick to death himself [r], but straitly enclosed betwixt two hostile and very powerful armies. Yet so great were his spirit and abilities, so perfectly was he acquainted with the arts either of gaining or ruining others as it best suited his

[q] Thus Mucian, Prime Minister to Vespasian, put Vitellius's son to death, in order to extinguish all seeds of future war. "Mucianus Vitellii filium interfici jubet, mansuram discordiam obtendens, ni femina belli restinxisset." *Hist.* iv. Such Ministers think it dangerous to leave those alive whom they have deprived of their rights. "Periculum ex misericordiâ . . . . Ubi Vespasianus imperium invaserit, non amicis ejus, non exercitibus securitatem, nisi extincto æmulatu redituram." *Hist.* iii.

[r] Of poison, which he had taken himself, but designed for others.

purposes,

purpoſes, and ſo ſtrong were the foundations he had laid in that ſhort time, that if he had either been in health, or not diſtreſſed by thoſe two armies, he would certainly have ſupported himſelf in ſpite of all other difficulties. That his foundations were well laid, plainly appeared from the behaviour of the Romagneſe, who remained firm to his intereſt for above a month afterwards: and notwithſtanding the Baglioni, the Vitelli, and ſuch of the Urſini as were ſtill left alive, all came to Rome at that time, yet half-dead as he was, he continued ſecure and unmoleſted there; and if he had it not in his power to chuſe ſuch a Pope as he pleaſed, he was able however to have prevented any one from being choſen that he did not approve of. But if he had been in health when Alexander died, he would have ſucceeded in all his deſigns: for he told me himſelf, the very day that Julius II was elected, that he had foreſeen every thing that might probably happen upon his father's deceaſe, and had made all proper and neceſſary proviſions againſt ſuch events; but that he did not dream of being ſo near death himſelf at that time.

Upon a thorough review therefore of the Duke's conduct and actions, I ſee nothing worthy of reprehenſion in them: on the contrary, I have propoſed them and here propoſe them again as a pattern for the imitation of all ſuch as arrive at dominion by the arms or fortune of others. For as he had a great Spirit and vaſt deſigns, he could not well have acted otherwiſe in his circumſtances: and if he miſcarried in them, it was entirely owing to the ſudden death of his father, and the deſperate condition in which he happened to lye himſelf at that critical juncture.

Whoſoever then would ſecure himſelf in a new Principality againſt the attempts of Enemies, and finds it neceſſary to gain friends, to ſurmount obſtacles either by force or fraud, to make himſelf beloved and feared by his people, reſpected and obeyed by the Soldiery, to extinguiſh all ſuch as can or may oppoſe his deſigns, to aboliſh old Laws and cuſtoms, to introduce new ones in their room, to be ſevere, grateful, liberal, and magnanimous, to diſband an army that he cannot truſt, to raiſe another, to maintain a good correſpondence with other Princes, that ſo they may either be ready to ſerve or unwilling to offend him; ſuch a one, I ſay, cannot have a better or more recent model than the conduct of Duke Valentine. In this only he was miſtaken in his politics, that he made a bad choice of a Pope in the perſon of Julius II. for, as I ſaid before, if he could not have got ſuch a Pontif elected as he deſired, he had it in his power to have excluded any one that he diſliked; and therefore ought not to have conſented to the exaltation of any of thoſe Cardinals whom he had formerly injured,

or

or who had reaſon to live in fear of him after they were elected; as mankind are naturally prompted to miſchieve others by motives of fear [s], as well as hatred. Amongſt other Cardinals whom he had injured, were thoſe of San Pietro in Vinculis [t], Colonna [u], San Georgio [w] and Aſcanio [x]. All the reſt had reaſon to be afraid of him, if any of them ſhould be advanced to the Pontificate, except the Cardinal of Rouen and the Spaniſh Cardinals; the latter of whom were attached to him by alliances and obligations, and the former powerfully ſupported by the King of France. The Duke therefore ought by all means to have got a Pope elected out of the Spaniſh Cardinals: and if he could not effect that, to have conſented to the Election of the Cardinal of Rouen; but upon no account to that of the Cardinal of San Pietro in Vinculis, as he did [y]: an error which proved the occaſion of his utter ruin. For whoſoever imagines that the merit of new obligations will extinguiſh the reſentment of former injuries and diſguſts amongſt great men, will find himſelf at laſt egregiouſly miſtaken [z].

[s] Nero depoſed four Tribunes, merely becauſe he was afraid of them. "Exuti tribunatu, quaſi principem non quidem odiſſent, ſed tamen extimerentur. *Annal.* xv. He put Oſtorius to death, only becauſe he was afraid of his great bodily ſtrength and reputation. "Cauſa feſtinandi (cædem) ex eo oriebatur, quod Oſtorius ingenti corporis robore armorumque ſcientiâ metum Neroni fecerat, ne invaderet pavidum ſemper." *Annal.* 16. For, "Satis clarus eſt apud timentem, quiſquis timetur." *Hiſt.* ii.

[t] "Alexandro Pontifice, quicum veteres & privatas ſimultates habebat, perpetuis decem annis urbe abfuit. *Onuph. in vit. Jul.* ii.

[u] Giovanni Colonna.

[w] Raphael Riario, Grand Chamberlain.

[x] Aſcanio Sforza, ſon to Galeazzo, Duke of Milan.

[y] The Spaniſh Cardinals having bound themſelves by an oath, not to give their votes to any perſon but who ſhould be propoſed by Duke Valentine, the Cardinal of St. Peter in Vinculis, who was that Duke's enemy, bribed ſome perſons, who wrought ſo far upon him, as to make him believe he was his father; that he had kept his mother at a time when ſhe was thought to be enjoyed only by Cardinal Borgia, who was afterwards Alexander VI.; that the jealouſy which this Borgia had conceived on that account, was the ſole cauſe of his proſecuting him for upwards of ten years; but that now, ſince a new Pope was to be elected, he would treat the Duke as his ſon, provided he would employ his intereſt for him. The Duke, though very ſubtle, ſwallowed the Bait, and gave credit to what was told him in confidence, ſo far as to conſent, that the Cardinals of his faction, ſhould chuſe him of St. Peter in Vinculis, who, immediately after his election, ſtripped him of all Romagna and Umbria, inſtead of acknowleging him for his ſon. *Varilla's Anecdotes de France*, p. 229.

[z] "Quarum apud præpotentes in longum memoria eſt." *Tacit. Ann.* v. Benefits and favours do not make ſo deep an impreſſion as injuries; as gratitude is attended with ſome trouble and expence, but revenge is at the coſt of thoſe whom we hate. "Tanto proclivius eſt injuriæ, quam beneficii vicem exſolvere, quia gratia oneri, ultio in quæſtu habetur." *Hiſt.* iv.

EXAMEN.

EXAMEN. CHAP. VII.

IF we compare Monſieur Fenelon's *Prince* with Machiavel's, we ſhall find one of them full of goodneſs, equity, and every kind of virtue: he ſeems to be one of thoſe pure Intelligences that Eternal Wiſdom has appointed to ſuperintend the government of the Univerſe: the other is a compoſition of cruelty, perfidy, and all ſort of wickedneſs.

In Telemachus mankind reſemble the Angels; but in Machiavel's performance they appear like Devils. Cæſar Borgia is the model upon which he forms his Prince, the pattern which he has the effrontery to propoſe for the imitation of others who are advanced to dominion either by fortune, or the arms and aſſiſtance of their friends.

Let us therefore examine the Character of Cæſar Borgia, that ſo we may form a juſt Idea both of the Hero himſelf, and the Author that has undertaken to celebrate his Virtues.

Borgia aſſaſſinated his own brother, becauſe he was his rival in glory and love; and that too almoſt under the eyes of their Siſter. He cauſed the Pope's Swiſs guards to be maſſacred, to revenge himſelf upon ſome of that Nation who had affronted his Mother. He violently deprived ſeveral of the Cardinals of all they had, to ſatiate his avarice. He depoſed the Duke of Urbino, the lawful poſſeſſor of Romagna, and put Remiro d' Orco, his own bloody-Sub-tyrant to a barbarous and unexampled kind of death. He murdered ſeveral Lords of the Urſini family whom he looked upon as obſtacles to his greatneſs, after he had decoyed them in the moſt perfidious manner to an interview at Sinigaglia. He cauſed a Venetian Lady of quality whom he had raviſhed, to be thrown into the Tiber and drowned. In ſhort, there is no kind of cruelty or wickedneſs which he was not guilty of.

Such was the wretch whom Machiavel prefers to all the great men of his own times and the Heroes of antiquity; and whoſe conduct he propoſes as a pattern to thoſe that are exalted to dominion by the ſmiles of fortune.

But it is neceſſary to enter into a fuller diſcuſſion of this matter, in order to ſhew the ſad expedients which Machiavel's diſciples muſt have recourſe to. Cæſar Borgia formed the hopes of his future greatneſs upon the diſſenſion of the Italian Princes. To get poſſeſſion of my neighbour's eſtate, I muſt weaken him in the firſt place; and in order to weaken him, I muſt embroil him in quarrels with others. Such is their wicked Logic!

To

To ſecure a firm ſupport in time of need, Borgia prevailed upon his father to diſſolve the marriage of Lewis XII. [In this manner thoſe who ought to be patterns of equity and uprightneſs to the reſt of mankind, mock Heaven to ſerve their own private ends [z]! If there were juſt reaſons for the diſſolution of that marriage, it was the Pope's duty to diſſolve it, ſuppoſing he had a lawful power: but if there were no ſuch reaſons, the Head of the Roman Church ſhould not have been determined to act as he did by any other motives whatſoever.

Borgia found it neceſſary to ſecure a number of adherents and dependants: for which purpoſe he corrupted the factious Nobility at Rome, by giving them large penſions and preſents. But he was guilty of ſo many other horrid crimes, that there is leſs occaſion to expatiate upon this; eſpecially as it wears ſome faint reſemblance of beneficence.

Borgia wanted to rid himſelf of ſome Lords of the Houſe of Urſini, of Vitellozzo Vitelli, and Oliverotto da Fermo; and Machiavel commends his addreſs in inveigling them to an interview at Sinigaglia and putting them to death. But is there nothing more than *addreſs* in thus abuſing the confidence of mankind? in practiſing the vileſt and moſt infamous of all artifices? in perjury and aſſaſſination? and where is the good policy in teaching men to perjure themſelves? When all regard to oaths and good faith is aboliſhed, what other reſtraint or ſecurity will be left in the World? If a man teaches others to be traitors, may he not naturally expect to be betrayed himſelf? and if he makes aſſaſſins, what can he expect but to be murdered by the hands of his own diſciples? Borgia appointed Remiro d'Orco, a cruel and blood-thirſty man, Governor of Romagna, to repreſs the diſorders of that Province: Borgia puniſhed the delinquencies of others, who were not half ſo vile as himſelf, with the moſt unrelenting Severity: the moſt rapacious of all Uſurpers, the wretch that had been guilty of the moſt horrid perjuries, the moſt blood-thirſty aſſaſſin and poiſoner that ever the world ſaw, condemned ſome petty Villains and rebels to die a cruel death, who yet had only copied the actions of their new maſter in miniature according to their humble capacities.

The King of Poland, whoſe death has lately occaſioned ſuch diſturbances in Europe, acted in a very different and much more princely manner with regard to his Subjects in Saxony. By a Law that

[z] What is included betwixt the two crochets above, runs thus in the firſt Edition. C'eſt ainſi que tant de Politiques ſe ſont jouez du monde, & qu'ils ne penſoient qu'a leurs interets, lorſqu'ils paraiſſoient le plus attachez celui du Ciel.

had long prevailed in that Electorate a convicted Adulterer was condemned to die: but I ſhall not ſtop here to examine the reaſonableneſs of an inſtitution which ſeems better ſuited to the jealouſy of an Italian, than the patience of a German Huſband. A tranſgreſſor of this Law was actually condemned, and Auguſtus was obliged to ſign his death Warrant. He did ſo: but as he was a Prince of an amorous diſpoſition, and naturally inclined to mercy, he pardoned the criminal and repealed a Law by which he himſelf was tacity condemned to ſuffer the ſame puniſhment. In this he acted like a ſenſible and humane Prince. Cæſar Borgia, on the contrary, puniſhed offenders of every kind with the inclemency of a mercileſs Tyrant. He cauſed Remiro d' Orco, whom he had ſent on purpoſe into Romagna to execute his commands with the utmoſt rigour, to be cut in two, in order to appeaſe the people and ingratiate himſelf with them by ſacrificing the inſtrument of his barbarities. The bitterneſs of tyranny is never ſo ſenſibly felt, as when the Tyrant avails himſelf of a ſhew of juſtice, and acts under the ſhelter and protection of eſtabliſhed Laws.

Borgia foreſeeing what might happen to him after his father's death, began to guard againſt it by exterminating all ſuch as he had forcibly deprived of their States or other poſſeſſions, in order to prevent the ſucceeding Pope from availing himſelf of their enmity to him. What a concatenation of crimes! to ſupport his enormities, he muſt have money; to get money, he muſt uſe violence; and to enjoy it in ſecurity, he muſt murder the perſons whom he robs. What can a Highwayman do more!

Borgia cauſed ſome of the Cardinals to be invited to ſup at the Vatican with a deſign to poiſon them: but both he and the Pope were poiſoned themſelves by miſtake. Alexander died; Borgia with much difficulty eſcaped, to lead a wretched life indeed, as a reward for his poiſonings and aſſaſſinations [*a*].

[*a*] "Alexander omnium qui unquam fuerunt perfidiâ, libidine, ſævitiâ, ſceleratiſſimus. Cujus filius Cæſar Borgia, perfectum præbuit Machiavello callidi, ſed nefarii Principis exemplar." *Perizon. Hiſt. Sect.* xvi. p. 7. See Jortin's *Life of Eraſmus*, part. i. p. 20. note *t*. One may truly apply to theſe two monſters, what Virgil ſays of the Harpies.

Triſtius haud illis monſtrum, nec ſævior ulla
Peſtis et ira Deûm Stygiis ſeſe extulit undis.
Æneid. iii. 215.

Monſters more fierce offended Heav'n ne'er ſent
From Hell's abyſs for human puniſhment.
Dryden.

Such

Such are the wiſdom, virtue, and abilities, which Machiavel has taken upon him to recommend to the imitation of others in the like

But, as Bembo, Tomaſi, our Countryman Gordon, and many others, have written their Diabolical Lives, the Reader, it is hoped, will excuſe a repetition of ſuch crimes as would make human nature ſhudder with horror. Let it ſuffice to quote what Mr. Voltaire ſays of their deaths in his General Hiſtory of Europe, *vol.* ii. p. 125. Italy, not long after, ſays he, was delivered of Alexander VI. and his ſon. Hiſtorians unanimouſly tranſmit to poſterity, that this Pope died of poiſon; which he deſigned for ſome Cardinals whom he had invited to ſup with him: an exit indeed, worthy of his life. But the fact is not very probable. They pretend, that upon a preſſing occaſion for money, he wanted to enjoy the inheritance of thoſe Cardinals. But it is well atteſted, that Cæſar Borgia carried away a hundred thouſand Ducats of gold out of his father's treaſures, after his deceaſe: ſo that he could not be in any real want. Beſides, how could they both have been ſo miſtaken in that poiſoned bottle of wine, which is ſaid to have been the cauſe of the Pope's death, and to have brought his ſon to the brink of the grave? Perſons ſo long experienced in villainy, ſeldom leave room for ſuch miſtakes. They mentſon nobody that ever divulged the fact: how came they then to the knowledge of it? If the cauſe of the Pope's death had been known at the time he died, it would have been known to the very perſons whom he wanted to poiſon. If ſo, they would not have ſuffered Borgia quietly to take poſſeſſion of his father's treaſure. The people who held ſuch monſters in abhorrence, having been kept in ſubjection by Alexander, would have broke through all reſtraint at his death; they would have interrupted the funeral pomp of this wretch, and torn his abominable ſon to pieces.

In ſhort, the Journal of the Houſe of Borgia mentions, that the Pope being ſeventy-two years old, was ſeized with an intermitting fever, which ſoon became continual, and proved mortal. It is moreover ſaid, that Duke Valentine cauſed himſelf to be ſewed up in a mule's belly, which had been ripped up alive. Now I ſhould be glad to know what antidote againſt poiſon there is in the belly of a mule.

It is true, there was a tumult in Rome after the Pope's deceaſe, and the Colonni and Urſini returned thither with an armed force: but this very tumult would have been a proper opportunity for ſolemnly accuſing both the father and the ſon of ſo horrid an attempt. Yet it was not done.

Finally, Pope Julius II. the mortal enemy of this family, and who had the Duke a long time in his power, did not charge him with what he had been accuſed of by the public voice.

But on the other hand, why ſhould Cardinal Bembo, Guicciardine, Jovius, Tomaſi, and ſo many other Cotemporaries agree in this ſtrange accuſation? Whence are ſo many circumſtances derived? How came they to ſpecify the particular kind of poiſon, which was called *Cantarella?* We may anſwer, that it is not difficult for accuſers to invent; and that ſo horrid a charge ſhould have been ſupported by ſome probable arguments.

Alexander VI. left behind him a memory far more odious than that of Nero and Caligula; becauſe a greater degree of guilt was implied in the Sanctity of his Character. And yet it is to him, that Rome is indebted for her temporal grandeur; it was he that enabled his ſucceſſors ſometimes to hold the balance of Italy. His ſon loſt all the fruits of his crimes, which were gathered by the Church. Almoſt all the Towns he had ſeized upon, ſurrendered to others as ſoon as his father died; and Julius II. afterwards obliged him to deliver up the reſt: ſo that he was quickly ſtripped of all his fatal grandeur. Friends, allies, relations, all the world, in ſhort, either abandoned or betrayed him.

circumſtances. Neither of the celebrated Biſhops of Meaux and Nimes, nor the eloquent Author of the Panegyric upon Trajan, nor Boſſuet, nor Flechier, have exerted themſelves with ſo much zeal in their reſpective encomiums upon their Princes, as Machiavel has done in favour of Cæſar Borgia. If his Eulogy had been nothing more than a flight of poetry, or a rhetorical flouriſh, we might have admired the genius and ſubtilty of the Author, whilſt we condemned his choice of a ſubject. But the caſe is far different; it is a Treatiſe of Politics that will deſcend to poſterity: it is a very ſerious work, in which Machiavel is ſo audacious as to laviſh his praiſes upon the moſt abominable Monſter that Hell ever vomited out upon the Earth; and in ſo doing, to expoſe himſelf coolly and deliberately to the hatred and deteſtation of all human kind.

Julius II. ordered him to be ſeized upon at Oſtia, and kept him in priſon till he had given up every thing he was poſſeſſed of: after which, he permitted him to retire to Gonſalvo of Cordova, who had promiſed him protection, but afterwards ſent him priſoner into Spain, where he was confined in the Caſtle of Medina del Campo, in which he continued two years, and then made his eſcape out of a Window by a rope, and fled into Navarre, to his Brother-in-law King John. From thence he deſigned to have gone into France, and there, with the aſſiſtance of King Lewis, to endeavour to reeſtabliſh his fortune: but that Prince refuſed to receive him, and not only confiſcated his Duchy of Valentinois, but withdrew the annual penſion he had from France. So that Borgia, in this diſtreſs, without any revenue or territory, was obliged to depend upon his brother-in-law for a ſubſiſtance; and he being at war with Lewis de Beaumont, one of his Vaſſals, Borgia ſerved as a Volunteer in his army, and fighting under the walls of Viana, was killed, March 12, 1507. His body not being known at firſt, was ſtripped naked, till at laſt, it was diſcovered by his own page, and brought to Pampeluna, and buried in the Church there, of which place he had formerly been Archbiſhop; his death being as obſcure, as his life had been execrably wicked. It may not be amiſs, perhaps, to add, that he had taken for his motto, *Aut Cæſar, aut Nihil*, which gave occaſion to ſeveral Epigrams upon him; of which, take the following.

I.

Aut nihil, aut Cæſar, vult dici Borgia; quid ni?
Cum ſimul & Cæſar poſſit, & eſſe nihil.

II.

Borgia Cæſar erat factis & nomine Cæſar;
Aut nihil, aut Cæſar, dixit, utrumque fuit.

III.

Omnia vincebas, ſperabas omnia, Cæſar;
Omnia deficiunt, incipis eſſe nihil.

Such were the lives and deaths of Alexander VI. and Cæſar Borgia; two of thoſe *illuſtrious Villains* whom Divine Providence is ſometimes pleaſed to raiſe up as whips and ſcourges to a wicked and corrupt age.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of ſuch as have arrived at Dominion by wicked and unjuſtifiable means.

BUT as there are two other methods by which a private man may likewiſe be exalted to dominion, without being altogether obliged either to good fortune or his own Virtue, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of both in this place; though perhaps I may ſpeak more at large concerning one of them when I come to treat of Republics. One of theſe ways is when a man is advanced to Sovereignty by unjuſt and nefarious means; the other, when from a private condition he becomes Prince of his Country by the favour and concurrence of his Fellow-citizens or Subjects.

I ſhall ſpeak chiefly of the firſt in this chapter, and prove what I ſay by two examples, the one of ancient, the other of modern date, without entering any further into the merits of the cauſe, as I think they will be ſufficient for any man that has occaſion to follow them. Agathocles the Sicilian became King of Syracuſe, not only from a private, but from the loweſt and moſt abject condition; for his father was a common Potter. This man was remarkably diſſolute and wicked in all the different Stations of his life: yet (notwithſtanding his vices) his courage and activity which were very great, inclined him to follow a Military life; and he ſucceeded ſo well in it, that he roſe through the ſeveral gradations of that profeſſion to be Prætor of Syracuſe. When he had thoroughly eſtabliſhed himſelf in this Office, he formed a deſign of making himſelf Prince, and reſolved to maintain that power by force and independently of every one elſe, which he had obtained as a reward of his Services. For this purpoſe, he entered into a correſpondence with Hamilcar, who then commanded the Carthaginian forces in Sicily; and having communicated his Scheme to him, he called the People and Senate of Syracuſe together one morning, as if he had wanted to conſult them in ſome matter of importance to the Common-wealth. But as ſoon as they were aſſembled, his Soldiers, upon a Signal before agreed upon, immediately diſpatched all the Senators and principal Citizens; after whoſe death, he both ſeized upon the Government of that State, and ſupported himſelf in it without any obſtruction or moleſtation. And tho' he was afterwards defeated in two engagements with the Carthaginians and beſieged by them in Syracuſe, he not only found means to defend that City, but leaving one part of his forces for its ſecurity,

invaded Africa with the other: by which ſpirited conduct he preſently raiſed the Siege of Syracuſe, and reduced the Carthaginians to ſuch extremities that they were forced to come to an accommodation with him, and contenting themſelves with their poſſeſſions in Africa, left him to make his beſt of Sicily.

Whoever then conſiders the conduct and actions of Agathocles, will find that he was but little, if any thing at all, obliged to fortune; for he arrived at dominion, as we have already ſhewn, not by the favour of others, but by his own military Virtue, and afterwards maintained what he had thus acquired with infinite pains and hazard, merely by dint of courage and reſolution. But a man cannot properly be called virtuous who maſſacres his Fellow-citizens, betrays his friends, and has no regard either to his word and honour, or to religion and humanity: for though indeed he may arrive at Empire, he can never acquire true glory by thoſe means. When I reflect therefore upon the intrepidity and addreſs of Agathocles, both in encountring and extricating himſelf out of all dangers, as well as his invincible magnanimity in adverſity, I ſee no reaſon why he may not be ranked amongſt the greateſt Captains: but if we conſider the horrid barbarities and innumerable other crimes he was guilty of, he certainly does not deſerve to be numbered with truly virtuous or excellent *men*. We muſt not then attribute to Virtue or good fortune, what he accompliſhed without the aſſiſtance either of one or the other.

The other inſtance happened in our own times and under the Pontificate of Alexander VI. Oliverotto da Fermo being left an Orphan in his Infancy, was educated by Giovanni Fogliani [*b*], his Uncle by the mothers ſide, and ſent when he grew up to ſerve under the banners of Paolo Vitelli, in order to learn the art of war and qualify himſelf for a general. But when Paolo died he bore arms under his brother Vitellozzo; and being an active ſpirited man, ſoon became one of his beſt officers. However, as he thought it below him to be any longer dependant upon others, he conſpired with certain Citizens of Fermo (who choſe rather, it ſeems, to ſee their Country enſlaved than to live in liberty) to ſeize upon that City by the aſſiſtance of Vitelleſco: for which purpoſe, he wrote to his Uncle Fogliani, that having been abſent many years, he was deſirous of paying him a viſit; that ſo he might have an opportunity of ſeeing his old friends again, and of looking a little into his own affairs: and as his time had chiefly

[*b*] Guicciardine calls him *Frangiani*.

been ſpent in endeavouring to acquire reputation, he deſigned to make a handſome entry, attended by an hundred horſemen, conſiſting of his particular friends and followers; that ſo his Fellow-citizens might ſee he had behaved himſelf like a man: upon which account, he hoped he ſhould be received at home with ſome degree of honour and reſpect, as that would not only be a credit to him but to his Uncle likewiſe, who had educated him. Fogliani therefore was not wanting on his part in any thing that might demonſtrate the affection and regard he had for his Nephew; and having ſo ordered matters that he met with a very honourable reception from his Countrymen, he lodged him in his own houſe, where Oliverotto continued ſome days to make neceſſary preparations for the execution of his wicked deſigns. After which, he invited Fogliani and all the principal Citizens of Fermo to a magnificent entertainment; and at the end of it artfully turned the converſation upon the greatneſs of Pope Alexander and the exploits of his Son Cæſar Borgia. But as Fogliani and the other citizens began to talk pretty freely of thoſe matters, Oliverotto ſaid, it would be better for them all to keep their thoughts to themſelves till they got into a more private place; and riſing ſuddenly from the table he withdrew into a retired apartment, whither he was followed by the reſt: but they were hardly ſat down, before ſome Soldiers whom he had concealed there cut all their throats. After he had cauſed them to be murdered in this manner, he mounted his horſe; and having put himſelf at the head of his attendants and partizans he firſt ſcoured the town, and then ſurrounded the Palace of the Magiſtrates, who were ſo terrified that they preſently ſubmitted to his authority and acknowledged him as their Prince. Having proceeded thus far, he cauſed all ſuch as he thought malecontent or had it in their power to diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of his new Government to be put to death, and fortified himſelf with new inſtitutions both civil and military in ſo effectual a manner, that within the ſpace of one year (for he held that Principality no longer) he not only lived with ſecurity in Fermo, but was become formidable to all his neighbours: and he would have found no more difficulty than Agathocles did in thoroughly eſtabliſhing his power, if he had not ſuffered himſelf to be trepanned by Cæſar Borgia at the ſame time that he decoyed the Urſini and Vitelli into his nets at Sinigaglia, where he likewiſe fell into Borgia's hands, about a year after he had perpetrated the murder above related, and was ſtrangled together with Vitellozzo, to whoſe inſtructions he was obliged for his military Virtues, and who alſo had taught him to be a Villain.

It

It may ſeem ſtrange, perhaps, that Agathocles and ſome others of the ſame ſtamp, ſhould be able not only to ſupport their power ſo long at home, but to defend themſelves againſt the attempts of foreign Enemies, and were never in any danger from conſpiracies amongſt their own Citizens, after they had been guilty of ſo many acts of perfidy and violence: whilſt the cruelties of others have been the ſole cauſe that they could not maintain themſelves in their Governments even in peaceable times, much leſs when they were embroiled in wars.

This I take to have happened accordingly as their cruelty was well or ill applied: I ſay *well* applied (if it ever can be allowable to ſpeak well of what is evil in itſelf) and it may be called ſo, when exerciſed but once, and that too only when it is abſolutely neceſſary for ſelf-preſervation; but never repeated afterwards, and even then converted as much as poſſible to the benefit of the Subject. But it is ill applied, when, though practiſed with caution and reſerve at firſt, it increaſes inſtead of diminiſhing with time. The proceedings of the former have ſometimes been ſuffered to proſper both by God and man; of which Agathocles may ſerve as an inſtance: but in the latter caſe, it is impoſſible to ſupport one's ſelf. From whence I conclude, that whoſoever Uſurps the Government of a State, muſt exerciſe what cruelties he ſhall find neceſſary at once: that ſo he may not be obliged to renew them every day, but have it in his power to ingratiate himſelf with the people, after thoſe ſeverities are diſcontinued, and to gain them over to his intereſts by favours and benefactions [*c*]. But if he takes the other courſe, either out of timidity, or from bad advice, he muſt have an Executioner conſtantly at his elbow, and can never depend upon his Subjects; as they will put no confidence in him when they are daily provoked to rebel by freſh injuries. Matters of ſeverity therefore, ſhould be finiſhed at one blow; that ſo they may give the leſs diſtaſte and be the ſooner forgotten: but favours and benefactions, on the contrary, ſhould be frugally diſpenſed, and by little and little at a time, in order to make the remembrance of them continue freſh, and the reliſh more durable.

In the laſt place, a Prince ought to make it his chief care to be upon ſuch a footing with his Subjects, that no change of fortune may oblige him to alter his behaviour towards them: otherwiſe, if he falls into adverſity, he will no longer have it in his power to help

[*c*] As Auguſtus did, "Qui poſito triumviri nomine, militem donis, populum annonâ, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit." *Tacit. Annal.* i. "Et quæ triumviratu geſſerat, abolevit." *Ann.* iii.

himſelf:

himſelf: and any favour that he ſhall ſhew them will then do him but little ſervice; as they will look upon it as extorted by neceſſity, and conſequently not worth their thanks [*d*].

EXAMEN. CHAP. VIII.

IF other proofs were ſtill wanting to convict Machiavel of inculcating pernicious principles, we might have ſufficient from his own mouth. For what heavier charge can be brought against any man than that of laying down *rules for the conduct of thoſe that arrive at dominion by wicked and unjuſtifiable means?* ſuch is the Title of this Chapter.

If he had only profeſſed to read lectures of Villainy to a private combination of traitors and other abandoned wretches, it would not have ſeemed at all wonderful that he ſhould make choice of ſuch Subjects for the inſtruction of his Pupils: but he ſpeaks to the whole World, and addreſſes himſelf in a particular manner to thoſe that ought to be the moſt virtuous of mankind, as they are appointed to govern others. What can be more infamous or horrible than to inſtruct ſuch perſonages in the arts of perfidy and aſſaſſination? It is certainly much to be wiſhed, that, for the good of the World, ſuch examples as thoſe of Agathocles and Oliverotto da Fermo, which Machiavel ſeems to take ſo much pleaſure in citing, had never been recorded in hiſtory. They only ſerve to call out thoſe dangerous qualities into action, that are rooted in the hearts of men naturally inclined to evil, and of which, perhaps, they themſelves were not conſcious before. How many young people have corrupted their underſtandings to ſuch a degree by reading Romances, that they affect to think and act no longer like any one elſe but a Gandalin or a Medor [*e*]? Without

[*d*] Which was the caſe with our King James II. with regard to granting liberty of Conſcience. On the other hand, we ſee in the firſt book of Tacitus's Hiſtory, Otho tells his nephew, that Vitellius could not be ſo wicked and ungrateful either to kill or ſpoil the nephew of an Emperor who had preſerved his whole family, and quitted the Empire to him voluntarily, though he might have ſupported himſelf in it a long time, if he had pleaſed, as his army was eager to engage that of Vitellius. "An Vitellium tam immitis animi fore, ut pro incolumi totâ domo, ne hanc quidem ſibi gratiam redderet. Non enim ultimâ deſperatione, ſed poſcente prælium exercitu remiſſiſſe Reipublicæ ultimum caſum." After he had told his Soldiers, "Quanto plus ſpei oſtenditis, ſi vivere placeret, tanto pulchrior mors erit." The more zeal you ſhew to ſerve me, and lay down your lives for me, the more glorious and honourable it will be for me to die; that ſo I may not expoſe ſo many brave men to any further dangers.

[*e*] The Heroes of ſome Romance, we may ſuppoſe.

doubt there is a ſort of contagious Enthuſiaſm in particular modes both of thinking and acting. Charles XII. of Sweden, that extraordinary man who overſtrained all his Virtues to ſuch a degree that they at laſt degenerated into ſo many vices, carried the Life of Alexander the Great about with him from his childhood: and it has been affirmed by ſeveral perſons who were beſt acquainted with this Alexander of the North, that it was owing to Quintus Curtius that he ravaged Poland and made Staniſlaus a King, as Alexander had done Abdolonymus, and that the battle of Arbella [*f*] was the occaſion of his defeat at Pultowa.

[But I wiſh Machiavel had quoted no worſe examples than that of Alexander. He propoſes Agathocles and Oliverotto da Fermo as models of prudence and ſucceſs; men who ſupported themſelves in the poſſeſſion of their power, according to him, by a proper application of cruelty] [*g*]. Now by *prudence and a proper application of cruelty*, he means the commiſſion of every kind of violence and wickedneſs that may be thought neceſſary for the accompliſhment of one's deſigns: but it muſt be done *all at once and at one ſtroke*, and then there is an end of the matter. Diſpatch every man you ſuſpect, as well as your open enemies; but be quick, and don't do things by halves.

In this manner he recommends ſuch exploits as the Sicilian Veſpers, and the execrable maſſacre at Paris on St. Bartholomew's day; the very remembrance of which is enough to make any other man tremble. But he ſeems to make a joke of ſuch horrible deeds, provided they are executed in ſuch a manner as will only ſtrike a tran-

[*f*] The place where Darius was utterly routed. *Quint. Curt.* lib. iv. *in init.* & cap. 9.

[*g*] Inſtead of what is included betwixt the two crotchets above, the text runs thus in the firſt edition: "Me ſeroit il permis de deſcendre d'un auſſi grand exemple à de moindres? Il me ſemble que lorſqu'il s'agit de l'hiſtoire de l'eſprit humain, que la difference des conditions & des etats diſparoiſſent: les Rois ne ſont que des hommes, & tous les hommes ſont egaux; il ne s'agit que des impreſſions ou des modifications en general, qu' ont produit de certaines cauſes exterieures ſur l'eſprit humain. Toute l'Angleterre ſait ce qui arriva a Londres il y a quelques annees. On y repreſenta une aſſez mediocre comedie ſous le titre des *Voleurs & des tours de Gueux*, ou, *The Beggar's Opera*. Le ſujet de cette piece etoit l'imitation de quelques tours de ſoupleſſe & de filouteries de voleurs. Il ſe trouve que beaucoup de perſonnes s'apperçurent, au ſortir de ces repreſentations, de la perte de leurs bagues, de leurs tabatieres, & de leurs montres, & l'auteur ſe fit ſi promptement des diſciples, qu'ils pratiquoient ſes leçons dans le Parterre même. Ceci prouve aſſez, ce me ſemble, combien il eſt pernicieux de citer de mauvais exemples. La premiere reflexion de Machiavel ſur Agatocles & ſur Oliverotto da Fermo roule ſur les raiſons qui les ſoutinrent dans leurs petits etats, malgre leurs cruautez. L'auteur l'attribue a ce qu'ils avoient commis ces cruautez a propos, &c.

ſent terror into the people; and ſays the odium of them will ſoon vaniſh, if it is not kept up by a continued ſucceſſion of other cruelties; as if the murder of a thouſand men in one day was not ſo atrocious a crime, as diſpatching them at different intervals.

But it is not ſufficient merely to refute theſe principles horrid as they are; it is likewiſe in ſome meaſure neceſſary to ſhew how little regard Machiavel has had to truth in ſome particulars of the examples upon which he founds his maxims; and how unfair a uſe he makes of them. It is falſe, in the firſt place, that Agathocles enjoyed the fruits of his crimes in peace. He was almoſt continually at war with the Carthaginians: he was forced to fly out of Africa by his own Soldiers who had mutinied there and cut the throats of his Sons when he was gone: and after all, was poiſoned by his own grandſon. [Oliverotto da Fermo was perfidiouſly put to death by Cæſar Borgia, about a year after he had made himſelf Prince of that City. Thus one Villain was puniſhed by another, and eſcaped the ſcourge which the public was preparing for him by falling a Victim to private malice] [*b*].

But ſuppoſing a Tyrant could commit the moſt flagrant crimes with ſecurity; ſuppoſing him to be under no apprehenſions of a tragical death: he muſt ſtill be miſerable in ſeeing himſelf deteſted and abhorred by all mankind: he never would be able to ſtifle the evidence of his conſcience, that domeſtic witneſs, which would be continually accuſing him: he would have no reſpite from thoſe inſupportable torments which he muſt perpetually carry in his breaſt: no arts can ever ſilence that piercing voice that makes itſelf heard even by Kings upon their thrones: nor could he by any means elude thoſe horrors that would haunt his imagination day and night like ſo many furies [*i*].

[*b*] Here the firſt Edition runs thus: "Oliverotto da Fermo perit par la perfidie de Borgia, digne ſalaire de ſes crimes: & comme ce fut une annee apres ſon uſurpation, ſa chute paroit ſi acceleree qu'elle ſemble avoir prevenue par ſa punition ce que lui preparoit la haine publique. L'exemple d'Oliverotto ne devoit donc point etre cite par l'auteur, puiſqu' il ne prouve rien. Machiavel voudroit ne prouve rien. Machiavel voudroit que le crime fut heureux, & il ſe flatte par-la d'avoir quelque bonne raiſon de l'accrediter, ou du moins un argument paſſable a produire. Mais ſuppoſons que le crime puiſſe ſe commettre avec ſecurite, & qu'un tiran puiſſe exercer impunement la ſcelerateſſe, &c."

[*i*] Furiarum maxima juxta
Accubat———
Exurgitque facem attollens, atque intonat ore.—
Eneid. vi. 605.

Wretched certainly muſt be the condition of Tyrants, "poſſunt enim (ſays Tully de Offic. lib. iii. c. 21.) cuiquam eſſe utiles angores, ſollicitudines, diurni & nocturni metus, vita inſidiarum periculorumque pleniſſima? . . . . Hunc tu quas conſcientiæ

It is impoſſible in the nature of things that ſuch a wretch ſhould ever enjoy a moment of eaſe. Let any one read the Lives of Dionyſius [*k*], Tiberius, Nero, Lewis XI. of France, John Baſilowitz [*l*], &c. and he will ſee that all thoſe monſters ended their days in the moſt miſerable manner.

Cruelty proceeds from an atrabilaire and malevolent diſpoſition, which, if not timely corrected, often turns to furious madneſs. If then there was no ſuch thing as Juſtice upon Earth, or an Almighty power in Heaven, it would ſtill be the true intereſt of every one to be virtuous and humane; as ſuch diſpoſitions unite mankind in bonds of amity, and are abſolutely neceſſary for their happineſs and preſervation: whilſt vice and tyranny never fail to plunge them into miſery and deſtruction.

labes in animo cenſes habuiſſe? quæ vulnera? Cujus autem vita ipſi poteſt utilis eſſe, cùm ejus vitæ ea conditio ſit, ut qui illam eripuerit in maximâ & gratiâ futurus ſit & gloriâ.

What a picture of diſtraction does Tacitus give us in the Character of Tiberius, *Annal.* vi. *cap.* vi. Here follows that Tyrant's Letter to the Senate. "Quid ſcribam vobis P. C. aut quomodo ſcribam, aut quid omnino non ſcribam hoc tempore, Dii me Deæque pejus perdant quam perire quotidie me ſentio, ſi ſcio." Upon which, the Hiſtorian makes this remark. "Adeo facinora atque flagitia ipſi quoque in ſupplicium verterant. Neque fruſtra præſtantiſſimus ſapientiæ adfirmare ſolitus eſt, ſi recludantur tyrannorum mentes, poſſe aſpici laniatus & ictus; quando ut corpora verberibus, ita ſævitiâ, libidine, malis conſultis, animus dilaceretur: quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non ſolitudines protegebant, quin tormenta pectoris ſuaſque ipſe pœnas fateretur." Which Mr. Gordon tranſlates in this manner. "What to write to you, Conſcript Fathers, or in what manner to write, or what at all not to write at this inſtant, if I can determine, may all the Deities, Gods and Goddeſſes, doom me to ſtill more cruel agonies than thoſe under which I feel myſelf periſhing daily."

So cloſely did the horror of his cruelties and infamy haunt this man of blood, and became his torturers! Nor was it at random what the wiſeſt of men was wont to affirm, that if the hearts of tyrants were diſplayed, they would be ſeen full of deadly wounds and gorings, ſince what the ſeverity of Stripes is to the body, the ſame to the ſoul is the bitter anguiſh of cruelty, luſt, and execrable purſuits. To Tiberius, not his Imperial fortune, not his gloomy and inacceſſible ſolitudes, could enſure tranquillity, nor exempt him from feeling and even avowing the rack in his breaſt, and the avenging furies that purſued him."

Suetonius ſpeaking of this letter in the Life of Tiberius, ſays, "Poſtremo ſemet ipſe pertæſus, tali epiſtolæ principio tantum non ſummam ſuorum malorum profeſſus eſt."

[*k*] A Tyrant of Syracuſe, of whom Tully ſays, "Vitâ ejus nihil tetrius, miſerius, deteſtabilius."

[*l*] Baſilius Suiſki, Great Duke of Moſcovy. He mounted the throne in the year 1606, after Demetrius was murdered by the rebels; but was rivaled by another Demetrius, ſupported by the Poles, who defeated his army at Kovelſko, in 1607, routed him the next year at Bolchow, and at laſt dethroned him in 1610, and ſhut him up in the fort of Goſtin, where he ended his life miſerably. *Butenfels.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of civil Principality.

I ſhall now ſay ſomething of the other way of aſcending to dominion from a private condition; that is, when a principal Citizen is advanced to Sovereignty over his own Countrymen, not by wicked and violent means, but by their favour and co-operation; which may be called *a civil Principality*, and is not to be acquired either by virtue or fortune alone, but by a lucky ſort of craft. Such a perſon, I ſay, is lifted up to Sovereign power either by the favour of the Commonalty, or the Nobility: for in every State there is a contrariety of diſpoſition in the conſtituents, the people being always jealous of their liberty, and afraid of being oppreſſed by the Grandees; and the Grandees ambitious to rule and domineer over the people [*m*]. This diverſity of inclinations is the occaſion of conteſts, which muſt always end either in a Principality, or a free Government, or in downright licentiouſneſs [*n*]. A Principality is introduced either by the people or the Grandees, according as either one or the other of them have an opportunity and find their account in it: for when the Grandees perceive themſelves too weak to cope with the people, they ſometimes confer their whole authority upon one perſon, and make him their Prince, in order to gratify their animoſity more effectually under the ſhelter of his power [*o*]. The people likewiſe do the ſame thing, but from different motives: when they can no longer make head againſt the oppreſſion of the Grandees, they throw all their power into the hands of one perſon alone, and appoint him their Prince to defend and protect them. But a Prince who is raiſed by the favour

[*m*] Rapacity and violence being vices that are commonly incident to the great and powerful. "Avaritiam & arrogantiam præcipua validiorum vitia." *Tacit. Hiſt.* i. "Naturalem nobilitatis ſuperbiam." *Paterc. Hiſt.* ii.

[*n*] "Poſtquam exuti æqualitas, & pro modeſtiâ ac pudore ambitio & vis incedebat, provenere dominationes." Here behold the riſe of Principality. "Poſtquam regum pertæſum, leges maluerunt." *Annal.* iii. Here we ſee the origin of Liberty, or free Government. "Tribunis reddita licentia quoquo vellent agitandi." . . . . Exin continua per viginti annos diſcordia, non mos, non jus, deterrima quæque impune." Here ſprung up licentiouſneſs, which always produces confuſion. "Inter Patres plebemque certamina exarſere; modo turbulenti Tribuni, modo Conſules prævalidi." *Hiſt.* ii.

[*o*] As the Heracleans did, who to revenge themſelves upon the Commonalty, which was too ſtrong for them, recalled Clearchus from baniſhment, and made him their Prince in ſpite of them. *See Machiavel's Political Diſcourſes.* Book i. Chap. xvi.

of the Grandees will find more difficulty in ſupporting himſelf, than one who is advanced by the people: becauſe he muſt of neceſſity have many of that rank near his perſon, who ſtill will be tempted to look upon themſelves in a manner as his equals, and think it hard to be governed and controuled as he pleaſes [p]. On the other hand, a Prince that is exalted by the people, ſtands alone, and has nobody or very few about him but ſuch as are ready to obey his commands [q]. Beſides, the Grandees are unreaſonable in their demands, and not to be ſatisfied without prejudice to others: but the people are ſoon contented, as their deſires are but moderate and juſt, and much more commendable than thoſe of the Grandees; one ſide aſpiring to nothing further than protection and ſecurity, the other thirſting after tyranny and oppreſſion. It might be added, that when the people are diſaffected to a Prince, he never can gain them all on account of their numbers: but he may ſecure the Grandees, becauſe they are few. The worſt however that he has to apprehend from the people in ſuch circumſtances, is, that they will deſert him: but if the Grandees are diſcontented, he may expect that they will not only deſert, but conſpire and rebel againſt him: for as they have generally more penetration and ſee further than the common people, they will take care to ſecure themſelves in time, and go over to ſome other competitor from whom they have better hopes.

In ſhort, the bulk of the people muſt of neceſſity and always will be the ſame, and cannot be altered: but a Prince has no occaſion to continue the ſame ſett of Grandees; he daily has it in his power to degrade ſome and create others, and to increaſe or diminiſh their authority as he pleaſes.

For a further illuſtration of this matter, it muſt be obſerved which of the Grandees devote themſelves wholly to the intereſt and fortune of their Prince, and which of them do not. Thoſe that do, and are not rapacious or oppreſſive, ought to be honoured and eſteemed by

[p] This obliged Clearchus to cruſh them all, to deliver himſelf from their inſolence, and in ſome meaſure to ſatisfy the Commonalty, in revenging them upon thoſe that had deprived them of their liberty. *Machiavel, Ibid.* Where he concludes, that in what manner ſoever one becomes a Prince, he will always find it neceſſary, ſooner or later, to gain the affections of the people; without which, he can never effectually ſecure himſelf from danger: for the more rigorouſly he behaves himſelf towards them, the weaker he will become every day.

[q] Coſimo de' Medici got the better of the Florentine Nobility, ſays Nardi, in the firſt Book of his Hiſtory, becauſe the Nobles being all equal, were continually divided amongſt themſelves: whereas Coſimo's partizans, who were dazzled with the ſplendour and reputation of his family, thought it no diſparagement to be his dependants, and to obey him.

him;

him; thoſe that do not, perhaps, have no other motive for their coolneſs than a natural timidity and want of Spirit: in which caſe however, he may employ them, and to good purpoſe too, if they are able in council: for then, they will honour him in proſperity, and in adverſity they will do him no injury. But when that backwardneſs proceeds from ambition or ſome other latent cauſe, it is a ſign that they have a greater regard for their own welfare and intereſt than that of their Prince: and therefore he ought to guard againſt them as profeſſed enemies, and take it for granted, that, if he ſhould fall into diſtreſs, they will certainly join with his enemies to ruin him if they can [r].

A Prince therefore who owes his exaltation to the favour of the people, ought to be very careful to preſerve their affection: which is eaſily effected, as they require nothing more from him, than to defend them from oppreſſion. But one who is advanced by the Grandees, contrary to the inclination of the people, muſt above all things endeavour to gain them afterwards: and that may be done without any difficulty, merely by taking them under his protection. And as it is but natural when we receive favours from a perſon from whom we expected nothing but injuries, to think ourſelves ſo much the more obliged to ſuch a benefactor; he will become more acceptable to the people than if he had been raiſed at firſt entirely by themſelves. But ſince there are many ways of gaining them, which muſt be varied according to the times and circumſtances of things, it is impoſſible to lay down any certain rule here for that purpoſe, and therefore I ſhall leave that to the diſcretion of others, and only ſay once more in general, that they muſt be gained at all events: for a Prince that does not take care of this, will find neither refuge nor remedy in adverſity. Nabis Prince of Sparta, who was attacked by all Greece, and a victorious Roman army at the ſame time, defended his Government and Country againſt their whole power: and this he was enabled to do merely by ſecuring the affections of a few, when he ſaw the danger approaching: whereas, if he had been hated by the people he muſt have been utterly ruined. Let no one therefore quote the old proverb againſt me, that, *Whoſoever builds upon the people, builds upon ſand:* for though it may be true that a private Citizen who depends upon the multitude to ſkreen him from the power of the Magiſtrates, or the oppreſſion of particular Enemies, will often find himſelf de-

[r] Valerius Flaccus, who courted Vitellius in all his Letters, at the ſame time ſent Veſpaſian an exact account of all his motions, endeavouring to trim betwixt them both, and always to keep well with him that was uppermoſt; by which means he juſtly became ſuſpected by them both, and ſecured the favour of neither.

ceived,

ceived, as it happened to the Gracchi [s] at Rome, and Georgio Scali [t] at Florence; yet when a Prince puts his confidence in the people, who is a man of courage himſelf and knows how to command others, not dejected in adverſity, nor deficient in other neceſſary preparations, but careful to keep up their Spirits by his own valour and conduct, he will never be deſerted by them, nor have any occaſion to repent that he has laid the foundation of his ſecurity upon the affections of his people.

But a Prince runs a great riſque who endeavours to change a civil Principality into abſolute dominion: becauſe he muſt either govern the State entirely himſelf, or by the aſſiſtance of Magiſtrates. In the latter caſe, his government muſt be very weak and precarious becauſe he muſt depend altogether upon the will of thoſe that are in the Magiſtracy; who eſpecially in times of danger and diſtreſs, will have it in their power to ruin him, either by immediately rebelling, or refuſing to execute his commands. In ſuch junctures he will find it impoſſible to exert abſolute authority: for the people having been uſed to obey their reſpective Magiſtrates, and to receive laws and ordinances directly from them, will have no regard to his Edicts and Proclamations in troubleſome and doubtful times: nor will he then find many friends that he can fully confide in. He muſt not build upon the behaviour and profeſſions of his Subjects in peaceable times when they have occaſion for his favour and protection: for then every one runs to his beck, every one promiſes and vows to lay down his life for him whilſt there is no proſpect of danger or death: but when Storms begin to ariſe, and he has occaſion for their aſſiſtance, not a man of them is to be ſeen [u]: and this experiment is the more carefully to be avoided, as it is impoſſible to try it any more than once. A wiſe Prince therefore ought to behave in ſuch a manner to his Subjects as to make both himſelf and his government neceſſary for their well-being and happineſs: and then they will prove firm and faithful to him upon all occaſions.

[s] Tiberius Gracchus was aſſaulted and killed by the people, merely upon Scipio Naſica's ſaying, "Qui ſalvam vellent Rempublicam ſe ſequerentur." *i. e.* Let all thoſe that wiſh well to the Common-wealth follow me." *Paterc. Hiſt.* ii.

[t] He was beheaded in the midſt of a people who but juſt before were ready to adore him. *Mach. Hiſt. Flor,* book iii. From whence came the Florentine proverb, *Fondarſi come Meſſer Giorgio Scali*; to build *like Scali.* The affections of the people, adds he, are as eaſily loſt as gained.

[u] "Proſperis Vitellii rebus certaturi ad obſequium; adverſam ejus fortunam ex æquo detrectabant." *Tacit. Hiſt.* ii. "Languentibus omnium ſtudiis qui primo alacres fidem atque animum oſtentaverant." *Hiſt.* i.

EXAMEN.

EXAMEN. CHAP. IX.

THERE is no deſire more generally implanted in our nature, than that of Liberty; it is common to barbarians, as well as the moſt polite nations: for as we are born free, we think we have a right to continue ſo. To this unconquerable Spirit of independency, the world is obliged for ſo many great men: this firſt gave birth to Republican Governments, which conſtitute a ſort of equality amongſt mankind, and re-eſtabliſh them in their native freedom.

Machiavel in this Chapter lays down very good and commendable rules for the conduct of ſuch as are advanced to Sovereign power by the free conſent of the principal Citizens in a Common-wealth: and indeed it is almoſt the only caſe in which he will allow a man to act with common honeſty. But unfortunately, it is a caſe that very ſeldom or never happens. The Republican Spirit ever jealous to exceſs of its liberty, preſently takes alarm at the leaſt circumſtance that ſeems to threaten it with chains, and will not bear to admit even ſo much as the very idea of a Maſter. Many States in Europe have ſhaken off the yoke of Tyrants for the ſake of independency, as might eaſily be ſhewn: but it would be a difficult matter to produce an example of any one that has been free and afterwards voluntarily ſubmitted to Slavery. Many Republics, it is true, in courſe of time, have relapſed into Deſpotiſm; and it ſeems to be a misfortune that at laſt muſt inevitably happen to all. For how is it poſſible that any Republic ſhould be able to ſupport itſelf for ever againſt ſo many enemies as are perpetually undermining its liberties? How can it reſtrain the ambition of powerful and aſpiring men whom it foſters in its boſom? How guard againſt the ſeductions and ſecret practices of its neighbours, as well as the corruption of its own members, whilſt private intereſt is ſo predominant in the World? Can it expect always to come off with Victory and ſucceſs in the wars which it muſt of neceſſity be engaged in? or to prevent thoſe conjunctures ſo fatal to liberty, thoſe critical and hazardous moments which ſometimes prove ſo favourable to wicked and bold men? If its troops are commanded by perfidious or cowardly Generals, it muſt fall a prey to its Enemies: and if it has brave and enterprizing Officers at the head of them, they will become dangerous in times of peace, after they have been accuſtomed to war.

Almoſt all Republics raiſed themſelves out of an abyſs of ſervitude to the higheſt pitch of Liberty; and almoſt all of them have tumbled

down from that point into Slavery again. The ſame Athenians, who in the time of Demoſthenes, lifted up their creſts in ſo haughty a manner againſt Philip of Macedon, crouched with the moſt abject ſervility to Alexander his Son. The ſame Romans who abhorred the very name of Royalty after the expulſion of Kings, patiently ſubmitted, after the revolution of ſome ages, to the ſcourge of Emperors: and the Engliſh who put Charles I. to death, becauſe he had uſurped ſome trifling prerogatives, bowed down their ſtiff necks under the rigour and tyranny of a haughty and artful *Protector* [v]. It cannot be ſaid then that theſe States voluntarily choſe a Maſter themſelves; but that other daring and ambitious men, who took the advantage of favourable times and circumſtances, made them ſubmit to one whether they would or not. As mankind are born to live for a while, and then die either of diſeaſes or old age; ſo Republics are formed, and flouriſh perhaps for ſome ages, till at laſt they are totally ruined either by the ambition of ſome Citizen of their own, or the arms of their Enemies. Every thing has its period; the greateſt Monarchies have but a limited duration, and Republics being well apprized that they muſt ſometime or other be diſſolved, make it their chief care to guard againſt the grandeur of any overgrown family in their State; whoſe power they look upon as the beginning of a diſtemper that will otherwiſe prove mortal in the end.

It is impoſſible therefore to perſuade ſuch Republicans as are in full poſſeſſion of their liberties, ever to chuſe a Maſter to rule over them, even the beſt: they will always inſiſt that it is better to depend upon Laws, than the caprice of any one man. "The laws, they will ſay, are juſt; but every man is partial: they are our remedy upon all occaſions: but ſuch a remedy as may eaſily be converted into mortal poiſon, whenever the perſon is ſo inclined, that has a power to controul them. In ſhort, liberty is a bleſſing that is our birthright: why then ſhould we deprive ourſelves of it? If it is a crime to rebel againſt a lawful Sovereign; is it not equally ſo to be inſtruments in enſlaving a Common-wealth?"

[v] The text in the firſt Edition runs thus, "Et ces mêmes Anglois qui mirent a mort Charles I. parce qu'il empietoit ſur leurs droits, plierent la roideur de leur courage ſur la puiſſance altiere de leur Protecteur." But in the other, in this manner. "Parce qu'avoit uſurpe quelques faibles droits, plierent la roideur de leur courage ſous la tyrannie fiere & adroite de leur Protecteur."

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

In what Manner the ſtrength of all Principalities is to be computed.

IN examining the nature of all Principalities, another circumſtance is alſo to be conſidered; and that is, whether a prince is ſtrong enough upon occaſion to ſtand upon his own bottom; or whether he depends for his ſupport upon the aſſiſtance of others. For the clearer diſcuſſion of this matter, I ſay, that in my opinion, a Prince may very well ſupport himſelf who has either men or money enough to raiſe an army ſufficient to oppoſe any one that ſhall venture to invade him: and on the other hand, I think ſuch Princes as are not able to keep the field againſt an Enemy, but obliged to retire into ſtrong places and defend themſelves there as well as they can, muſt always be dependent upon others. Of the former we have already ſpoken, and ſhall ſtill ſay ſomething further as occaſion occurs. As to the ſecond, it is ſufficient only to adviſe Princes in ſuch circumſtances to fortify the place of their reſidence in the moſt effectual manner they can, and not to trouble themſelves about the reſt of the Country. For whoever does this, and has taken care to be upon ſuch terms with his Subjects, as we have already recommended, and ſhall ſay ſomething more of hereafter, will always find his Enemies very ſhy of attacking him [*w*]; as men are naturally cautious of engaging in difficult enterprizes [*x*]: and certainly it cannot be judged a very eaſy one to reduce a town that is in a good poſture of defence, and where the Prince and the people are united.

Many of the towns in Germany are abſolutely free: and though their territories are ſmall, they pay no further obedience to the Emperor than juſt what they think fit, neither do they ſtand in the leaſt awe either of him or of any other powerful neighbour. But then they are ſo well fortified, that every one muſt be ſenſible it muſt be an exceeding tedious and difficult piece of work to reduce them: for they are all ſurrounded with deep ditches and ſtrong walls with plenty of cannon, and have always proviſions of every ſort laid up in their pub-

[*w*] Tacitus therefore blames Bardanes for embarraſſing himſelf with the ſiege of a ſtrong town, well furniſhed with all manner of proviſions and ammunition, being governed rather by paſſion and revenge, than by common prudence. "Solis ſeleucienſibus dominationem ejus abnuentibus, in quos, ut patris ſui quoque defectores, ira magis, quam ex uſu præſenti, accenſus, implicatur obſidione urbis validæ, muroque & commeatibus firmatæ." *Annal.* ii.

[*x*] "Omnes qui magnarum rerum conſilia ſuſcipiunt æſtimare debent an quod inchoatur promptum effectu, aut certe non arduum ſit." *Hiſt.* ii.

lic Magazines ſufficient to maintain them for twelve months. Beſides which, they have work-houſes to maintain their poor in ſuch a manner that they ſhall be no burden to the public; where they may be employed if they pleaſe, from one end of the year to the other, in ſuch manufactures as are the chief ſupport of thoſe Cities, and ſuſtain themſelves by their labour. Military diſcipline and exerciſe are likewiſe in much requeſt there; for the regulation of which they have many good laws and inſtitutions.

A Prince then who has well fortified his Capital and is reſpected by his people, will hardly be attacked by any one; or if he is, the Enemy will be ſure to come off with loſs and diſgrace: for the affairs of this World are ſo ſubject to change, that it is almoſt impoſſible for any army to lie a whole year before a town without interruption. If it be objected that the people who have houſes and poſſeſſions in the Country will not have patience to ſee them plundered and burnt; and that ſelf-intereſt added to the miſeries of a long Siege will at laſt make them forget their duty to their Prince: I anſwer, that a prudent and ſpirited Prince, who ſometimes artfully buoys up his Subjects with hopes that their ſufferings will ſoon be over; ſometimes ſtrikes a terror into them by magnifying the cruelty and bloodthirſtineſs of the Enemy; and takes other proper means to quiet ſuch of them as are moſt clamorous, will always overcome theſe difficulties at laſt. We may add to this, that it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed the Enemy, as uſual, will lay waſte the Country with fire and Sword at their firſt arrival; whilſt the people are yet in good Spirits and determined to defend themſelves: in which caſe a Prince has ſtill the leſs to apprehend, becauſe all the miſchief will be done, and the loſs irretrievable, before their ardour has begun to cool; and then they will unite themſelves ſo much the more cloſely with their Prince, as they will look upon him to be the more obliged to them for having ſacrificed their houſes and poſſeſſions in his defence: for ſuch is the nature of mankind that they generally attach themſelves to thoſe whom they have once benefited, with as much zeal and fidelity as if they had received a favour from them. So that when all theſe things are thoroughly conſidered, it will appear no difficult matter for a Prince both to gain and keep the affections of the people in ſuch a manner, as to engage them to ſtand firm to him in a long Siege, if he be wiſe and provident, and takes care that they are well ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for their Suſtenance and defence [*y*].

[*y*] Agricola, therefore, reinforced the garriſons, and laid up freſh quantities of ammunition and proviſions every year in all the towns under his command; that ſo they might be always in a condition to ſuſtain a long ſiege upon occaſion. *Tacit. in vit. Agricolæ.*

EXAMEN.

EXAMEN. CHAP. X.

THE World is ſo changed ſince Machiavel wrote his *Prince*, that moſt things in it ſeem to wear a very different face from what they did at that time. If one of the moſt able Generals that lived in the days of Lewis XII. of France ſhould riſe out of his grave, how would he be aſtoniſhed and diſconcerted when he ſaw ſuch numerous armies brought into the field, and kept on foot not only in time of war but in the moſt profound peace? Whereas in his day, a handful of men was ſufficient to ſtrike the boldeſt ſtroke and execute the greateſt deſigns; who likewiſe were diſbanded as ſoon as there was no further occaſion for their Service. Inſtead of cuiraſſes and heavy armour; inſtead of pikes and harquebuſſes with match-locks, he would now ſee liveries and uniforms, muſkets with bayonnets fixed at their muzzle, new methods of encamping, carrying on Sieges, drawing up armies, and above all, of providing ſubſiſtance for them; a piece of generalſhip as neceſſary to be Maſter of as of knowing how to lead them on to battle.

But what would Machiavel himſelf ſay, if he was to ſee the new Syſtem of Politics which now prevails in Europe, and the many great Princes that at preſent make ſuch a figure in the world, who in his time were made but very ſmall account of? How would he be ſurprized to ſee the power of *Kings* now ſettled upon a ſolid foundation; the decorum obſerved in negotiations betwixt different Sovereigns, and the balance of power eſtabliſhed by an alliance amongſt ſome great Potentates, only with a view to curb the ambition of others, and to maintain peace and tranquility in the World?

Theſe things have occaſioned ſo general and, in fact, ſo univerſal a change, that moſt of Machiavel's rules are altogether incompatible with our Modern Politics, as may be ſhewn from this Chapter in particular: of which I will give ſome inſtances.

He ſuppoſes that a Prince who has *a large extent of territory* [z], his Coffers full of money, and can raiſe a powerful army, will always be able to ſupport himſelf againſt his enemies without the aſſiſtance of any Ally.

But I will take upon me to affirm the contrary, and aſſert that no Prince, how redoubtable ſoever he may be, can ſtand alone againſt a League of powerful enemies, and that he will find it abſolutely neceſ-

[z] It muſt be obſerved, that Machiavel does not ſay *a large extent of territory*, his words are *tanto ſtato*.

ſary.

ſary to have ſome allies likewiſe on his ſide. If Lewis XIV of France, the moſt puiſſant and formidable Prince in Europe of his time, was reduced to the very brink of ruin by a war in which he had engaged, to ſecure the ſucceſſion to the crown of Spain to his family, and could no longer make head againſt ſo many other powers as had united againſt him, becauſe he was not ſupported by any confederate; much leſs can any inferior Prince hope to ſtand upon his own legs, or to oppoſe others without extreme danger, except he has good alliances to depend upon. It is often ſaid, but inconſiderately indeed, that Treaties of alliance are of no uſe; as the articles are ſeldom obſerved, and that there is no more regard paid to them in our times than in any other. But in anſwer to this, though it muſt be allowed that there are ſeveral examples of Princes in ancient as well as in modern times, who have not been exactly punctual in the performance of their engagements, yet there is great advantage to be reaped from ſuch Treaties. The allies with whom you contract would otherwiſe perhaps be ſo many enemies; and if they will give you no aſſiſtance, they are obliged at leaſt to obſerve a neutrality for a certain time.

Machiavel, as may be obſerved in the next place, ſpeaks of little Princes, Sovereigns in miniature, whoſe territories are ſo ſmall that they cannot bring an army into the field: and in this caſe, he lays great ſtreſs upon fortifying their Capital, and ſhutting up themſelves and their troops there in time of war. Such Princes are but a ſort of Hermaphrodites, partly Sovereigns, and partly private men; [their ſphere of Royalty is very contracted: and if they are ſurrounded by neighbours no ſtronger than themſelves, they are in the right of it to fortify their little inſignificant towns: two Baſtions and two hundred Soldiers will defend them againſt their neighbours as effectually, as a number of ſtrong fortreſſes and an hundred thouſand men would ſecure one of the greateſt Monarchs. But if theſe Lords are in the ſame circumſtances that the Barons of France and England formerly were, I ſhould think that troops and fortified towns would only ſerve to ruin inſtead of aggrandizing them. The pomp and oſtentation of Sovereignty is a dangerous thing, when power is wanting to ſupport it: many a petty Lord [*a*] has ruined himſelf and his family by too fond an affectation of grandeur. To keep a body of troops on foot like an army, when one ought to have no more than a ſlender guard; to keep a guard, when one ought to be content with domeſtic Servants only, cannot be called the effect of ambition, but of downright va-

[*a*] The original ſays, "*Plus d'un Prince apanage*;" for which we have no word in our language. The ſubſtantive *apanage* ſignifies the portion of a Sovereign's younger children.

nity;

nity; and of ſuch a kind of vanity too as will ſoon bring a man to poverty. What occaſion have they for fortified places [b]? they are in no danger of being beſieged by neighbours that are as weak as themſelves; for others that are more powerful will preſently interfere in the quarrel and offer their mediation which they cannot refuſe: a ſtroke or two of the pen will put an end to their little frays and prevent any effuſion of blood. Of what uſe then will fortreſſes be to them? If they could ſupport a Siege as long as that of Troy againſt ſuch feeble enemies, they would not be able to hold out any longer than Jericho did, againſt the armies of a powerful Prince. Beſides, if it ſhould happen that there ſhould be wars of any importance betwixt other greater powers in their neighbourhood, they could not ſtand neuter without being utterly ruined; and if they ſhould ſide with either of the Princes at war, their Capital muſt inevitably become a place of arms to the Commander in chief of his army.

The State of the free towns in Germany was formerly very different, according to Machiavel, from what it is at preſent: for at this time a ſingle petard or even a Mandate from the Emperor is ſufficient to make any of them open their gates. They are all very poorly fortified; moſt of them with old tottering walls, flanked in ſome places

[b] What is included betwixt the two crotchets runs thus in the firſt Edition. "Ils ne jouent le role de grands Seigneurs qu' avec leurs domeſtiques. Ce qu'on pourroit leur conſeiller de meilleur, ſeroit, ce me ſemble, de diminuer en quelque choſe l'opinion infinie qu'ils ont de leur grandeur, de la venaration extreme qu'ils ont pour leur ancienne & illuſtre race, & du zele inviolable qu'ils ont pour leurs Armoiries. Les perſonnes ſenſees diſent, qu'ils feroient mieux de ne figurer dans le monde que comme des Seigneurs qui ſont bien à leur aiſe, de quitter une bonne fois les echaſſes ſur les quels leur orgueil les monte, de n'entretenir tout au plus qu'une garde ſuffiſante pour chaſſer les voleurs de leur Chateau, en cas qu'il y en eut d'aſſez affamez pour y chercher ſubſiſtanee, & de raſer les remparts, les murailles, & tout ce qui peut donner l'air d'une place forte a leur reſidence.

En voici les raiſons: la plupart des petits Princes, & nommement ceux d'Allemagne ſe ruinent par la depenſe exceſſive, a proportion de leurs revenus, que leur fait faire l'yvreſſe de leur vaine grandeur: ils s'abiment pour ſoutenir l'honneur de leur maiſon, & ils prennent par vanitè le chemin de la miſere & de l'hopital; il n'y a pas juſqu' au Cadet du Cadet d'une ligne apanagee, qui ne s'imagine d'etre quelque choſe ſemblable a Louis XIV. il batit ſon Verſailles, il a ſes maitreſſes, il entretient ſes armees.

Il y a actuallement un certain Prince apanage d'une grande Maiſon, qui par une rafinement de grandeur, entretient exactement a ſon ſervice tous les corps de troupes qui compoſent la maiſon d'un grand Roi, & cela ſi fort en diminutif, qu'il faut un microſcope pour appercevoir chacun de ces corps en particulier; ſon armee ſeroit peut-etre aſſez fort pour repreſenter une battaille ſur le Theatre de Verone.

J'ai dit en ſecond lieu, que les petits Princes faiſoient mal de fortifier leur reſidence, & la raiſon en eſt toute ſimple, &c.

with great towers, and ſurrounded with ditches now almoſt filled up with earth that has mouldered down into them. They have but few troops, and thoſe badly diſciplined; their Officers being, for the moſt part, old men and worn out in the Service. Some of theſe towns indeed are pretty well provided with artillery: but this is not ſufficient to oppoſe the Emperor, who often treats them in ſuch a manner as makes them thoroughly ſenſible of their weakneſs. In ſhort, to make war, to fight battles, to attack or defend fortreſſes, only belongs to great Princes: and thoſe that imitate them in theſe reſpects, without power to ſupport themſelves in it, are like him who thought himſelf Jupiter becauſe he mimicked his thunder [c].

CHAP. XI.

Of Eccleſiaſtical Principalities.

IT now remains only to ſay ſomething concerning the nature of Eccleſiaſtical Principalities; which, when once acquired, are eaſily preſerved afterwards. For though the perſons that are raiſed to ſuch dignities are indebted either to their virtue or good fortune for their exaltation; yet they may maintain themſelves in the poſſeſſion of them without either one or the other; as they are fortified by religious conſtitutions of ancient and venerable authority, which have ſuch an influence upon the minds of men, that they will always ſupport an Eccleſiaſtical Prince let his conduct and manner of life be what it will. Theſe are the only Princes who have dominions and

[c] Salmoneus, a King of Elis, who built a great bridge of braſs in that City, over which he uſed to drive his chariot, to imitate the noiſe of thunder, carrying lighted torches in his hand, which he darted down upon the people by way of lightening: thoſe upon whom they fell, were immediately knocked on the head by a parcel of Ruffians, whom he had ready ſtationed for that purpoſe. Virgil numbers him amongſt the damned, in the following paſſage.

Vidi & crudeles dantem Salmonea pœnas,
Dum flammas Jovis & ſonitus imitatur Olympi,
Quatuor hic invectus equis & lampada quaſſans
Per Graium populos mediæque per Elidis urbem
Ibat ovans, Divumque ſibi poſcebat honorem.
Demens, qui nimbos & non imitabile fulmen,
Ære & cornipedum curſu ſimularat equorum!
At pater Omnipotens denſa inter nubila telum
Contorſit (non ille faces nec fumea tædis
Lumina) præcipitemque immani turbine adegit.

Æneid. vi. 585.

take

take little or no care to defend them; Subjects, and give themſelves no trouble about the government of them: and yet they are never ſtripped of their dominions, nor forfeit the affections of their Subjects; who, notwithſtanding theſe failures, neither can, nor deſire to transfer them to any other power. So that ſuch Princes are the happieſt and moſt ſecure in the World. But as they are under the immediate ſuperintendance and direction of an Almighty Being, who both raiſed and ſupports them, and whoſe operations are far above the comprehenſion of our weak underſtanding, it would be raſh and preſumptuous in any mortal man that ſhould pretend to account for theſe things: and therefore I may very well be excuſed from entering into any Solution of that kind [*d*]. Nevertheleſs, as it may ſeem won-

[*d*] Some people find nothing wonderful in the riſe, progreſs, and eſtabliſhment of the papal Power, which Machiavel muſt mean here: on the contrary, they think it more ſurpriſing, that it has not been greater, than that it has been ſo great. "To ſpeak humanly (ſays the author of *L'Eſprit des Cours de l'Europe*, for Nov. 1699. p. 665.) I do not find any thing ſo very ſtrange in the exaltation of the Roman Pontifs. By the help of ſome paſſages in the ſcripture, they have perſuaded mankind of their Divinity: but is this a new thing? Do not men run the moſt extravagant lengths in matters of Religion? Above all, they are fond of deifying their fellow-creatures, as is manifeſt from the heathen Syſtem. Now, if it be once admitted, that the Roman Pontifs could eaſily eſtabliſh the divine privileges of their office, was it not natural that men ſhould declare in their favour againſt all other powers? As for myſelf, ſo far from being ſurprized at their exaltation, I wonder how it was poſſible for them to fail of univerſal Monarchy. When I conſider how many Princes have ſhook off the Papal Yoke, I am quite confounded: when I enquire into the reaſons of it, I can aſcribe it to nothing but the two following general and known cauſes, *viz.* That men do not always act agreeably to their principles; and that the preſent life makes a ſtronger impreſſion upon their minds than that to come."

Others, on the contrary, look upon this matter as the greateſt of all prodigies. "Armies, books, ſermons, libels, and prophecies, ſays Mr. Bayle, have all been employed againſt the Popes: in ſhort, every engine has been ſet at work to put a ſtop to their conqueſts; but all to no purpoſe. The reaſon of this is, becauſe they have uſed all manner of poſſible arts and means to ſucceed in their deſigns. The thunder of their Anathemas has been enforced by arms, councils, cruſades, and the tribunal of the inquiſition; whilſt craft, violence, courage, and artifice, have conſpired to protect them. Their acquiſitions have coſt the lives of as many men as thoſe of the Roman Commonwealth, and many writers apply to new Rome what Virgil ſays of the old.

> Multa quoque & bello paſſus, dum conderet urbem
> Inferretque Deos Latio.
>
> *Æn.* i. 5.
>
> Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem.
>
> *Ibid.* 33.

Zipporah ſaid to Moſes, Exod. iv. 25. "Surely a bloody huſband art thou to me:" but if the Church were the wife of Jeſus Chriſt, her huſband might ſay to her with more reaſon, "ſurely a bloody wife art thou to me." The exalted power therefore, to which the Popes raiſed themſelves, ſtill ſeems one of the greateſt wonders in

derful to ſome how the Church hath acquired ſo great a degree of temporal power, as to be able at preſent not only to curb the King of France, but to drive him out of Italy, and ruin the Venetians; whereas before the time of Alexander VI. every State in Italy, and indeed every petty Lord and inſignificant Baron made a Joke of its ſecular authority, it may not be altogether unneceſſary to give a brief account of that matter here by way of recapitulation only, as it has been in ſome meaſure already diſcuſſed.

Before Charles VIII. of France came into Italy, that Province was under the dominion of the Pope, the Venetians, the King of Naples, the Duke of Milan, and the Florentines; all whom it nearly concerned to take particular care in the firſt place, that no foreign power ſhould get footing there; and in the next, that they ſhould not encroach upon one another. Thoſe of whom the reſt had moſt reaſon to be jealous, were the Pope and the Venetians. In order to reſtrain the power of the latter, all the others entered into a confederacy againſt them, whenever they endeavoured to extend their dominion; as they did in particular, for the defence of Ferrara: and to keep down the Popes, they availed themſelves of the Roman Barons: who being divided into the two factions of Urſini and Colonni, and always ready armed to ſupport the quarrels which daily happened betwixt them at Rome, were ſuch a conſtant check upon the Popes, that they were prevented from uudertaking any great matters. And though indeed it ſometimes happened that the See was filled by a ſpirited and enterprizing Pontif, as in the time of Sixtus IV; yet neither their Spirit, nor addreſs, nor good fortune, could ever free them from thoſe incumbrances. For their Pontificates were ſo ſhort (as they did not reign above ten years one with another) that they hardly had time to humble either of the factions: and notwithſtanding one Pontif had almoſt ruined the Colonni, he was ſucceeded by another that raiſed them up again out of hatred to the Urſini, whom he en-

human hiſtory, and a thing that cannot happen twice. Were it to be attempted again, it would be found impoſſible. Future ages could never afford a point of time ſo favourable to ſuch an enterprize, as the paſt have done: and were this great Edifice once deſtroyed, it would be out of the power of man ever to rear it again. All that the Court of Rome can now do, though filled with the ableſt Politicians in the World, is barely to ſupport itſelf. Its acquiſitions are now at an end. It dares not excommunicate a crowned head, and is often obliged to diſſemble its reſentment againſt that Catholic party which diſputes the Pope's infallibility and ſupremacy. Was there now an Antipapacy or Schiſm in that Church, like thoſe which have been ſo frequent, and created ſo much confuſion in former times, when Pope ſet up againſt Pope, and Council againſt Council, it would be ſo far from coming off with honour, that it would be utterly diſconcerted, and at its wits end: ſuch a ſtruggle in an age like ours, would be the total deſtruction of it. *See Bayle's Dictionary in voc. Greg.* VII.

deavoured to depreſs likewiſe in their turn, but to no purpoſe. To theſe cauſes it was owing that the Popes had then ſo little temporal power in Italy.

But afterwards, when Alexander VI. ſucceeded to the Pontificate, he exerted himſelf in ſuch a manner as none of his Predeceſſors had ever done, and ſhewed the World what a Pope was capable of doing when he had money and troops at command: for an account of which, and in what manner he availed himſelf of ſuch a Miniſter as Duke Valentine and the French forces whilſt they were in Italy, I muſt refer the Reader to what I have ſaid before concerning the conduct and actions of that Duke. And though his intention was not ſo much to aggrandize the Church as his Son, yet what he did for one turned to the advantage of the other: for after he was dead and the Duke deprived of that ſupport, the fruits of their labours were ſeized upon by the Church.

After him came Julius II. [*e*] who found the Church in a flouriſhing condition. Romagna was wholly in its poſſeſſion, the Barons of Rome greatly depreſſed, and the factions almoſt extinguiſhed by the rigour of his Predeceſſor. Beſides which, he found a way opened and means already invented to raiſe money in ſuch a manner as had never been practiſed nor thought of before the Pontificate of Alexander: which advantages he ſtill improved, and reſolved not only to make himſelf Maſter of Bologna, but to pull down the power of the Venetians, and drive the French entirely out of Italy: and ſucceeding in all theſe enterprizes, he gained ſo much the more reputation, as he laboured ſolely to advance the intereſts of the Church, and not for the aggrandizement of his own family or friends. He left the factions of the Colonni and Urſini in the ſame condition that he found them: and if they had been inclinable to raiſe freſh diſturbances, yet there were two circumſtances that would have prevented it. In the firſt place the Church was grown ſo powerful, that they began to ſtand in great awe of it: and in the next, there were then no Cardinals in the Conſiſtory of each family [*f*]. For all the quarrels that had happened betwixt them were originally excited by ſuch Cardinals: and whenever they have any again, their animoſities will certainly break out afreſh; as they never fail to promote party and faction

[*e*] Julius II. was not his immediate Succeſſor. Pius III. was the next Pope to Alexander VI. but he reigned only a few days.

[*f*] The factions of the Urſini and the Colonni were ſtill further depreſſed in the time of Sixtus V. by the creation of ſeveral Dukes and Princes, who, becoming their equals by theſe new Titles, likewiſe ſoon became their enemies, and quarrelled with them about precedence.

both within the walls of Rome and without. In theſe feuds the reſt of the Nobility are obliged to take either one ſide or the other: ſo that all the diſcords and commotions that riſe amongſt the Barons are occaſioned by the ambition of the Prelates.

His preſent Holineſs Pope Leo X is exalted to the Pontificate at a time when the Church is exceeding powerful: and there is the greateſt reaſon to hope, that as his Predeceſſors augmented its grandeur by their arms, he will make it ſtill more auguſt and reſpectable by his Virtue and the many excellent qualities he is poſſeſſed of.

EXAMEN. CHAP. XI.

WE meet with few inſtances in ancient times of Prieſts that have become Sovereigns. I think the Jews were the only people that we know any thing of, who had a ſucceſſion of deſpotic High Prieſts: in all other nations, it ſeems as if their Prieſts did not concern themſelves in any thing but their own functions. They offered up the ſacrifices, they had eſtabliſhed penſions, and ſome particular privileges: but they ſeldom took upon themſelves to inſtruct, and never to govern the people: and the reaſon why there were no Religious wars amongſt the ancients, I take to be this, that their Prieſts were neither ſuffered to inculcate any particular doctrines of their own that might divide the people into Sects, nor had any authority which they could abuſe. In the decline of the Roman Empire, all Europe fell into a ſtate of anarchy and barbariſm, and at laſt became divided into a thouſand petty Sovereignties. Many Prelates ſet up for Princes, after the example of the Biſhop of Rome; and it might have been expected, I ſhould think, that people would live happily under ſuch Governors: for elective Princes, whoſe dominions are very ſmall (as thoſe of Eccleſiaſtics generally are) ſeem to lye under a neceſſity of treating their Subjects in a gentle and tender manner, if not from Religious, at leaſt from political motives. It is certain however, that no other States in the World have ſuch ſwarms of beggars. There you have at one view a picture of all the miſeries that are incident to mankind: there one may ſee numbers of poor creatures; not only ſuch as are drawn thither by the charity or liberality of the Sovereign; not only of retainers and other ſuch reptiles as haunt the houſes of great men and creep after the train of Opulence; [but of half ſtarved wretches utterly deſtitute of the neceſſaries of life and of all means of procuring them. One would be apt to think that the people in theſe

theſe Countries were governed by the ſame law that the Spartans were of old, which forbad them the uſe of Silver and Gold; for very few there, except the Sovereign, ſeem to tranſgreſs that law.

The chief cauſe of this is, that ſuch Princes are far advanced in life before they come to the government, and as they have but few years to enjoy it, and many relations to provide for, they ſeldom are inclined, and never have time to execute any great deſigns. They have it not in their power to eſtabliſh commerce, or to bring any other undertaking to perfection that requires much labour and length of time; and therefore look upon themſelves only as lodgers or paſſengers in an Inn. Their exaltation to Sovereignty is but an accidental thing; the crown was not handed down to them as a patrimony from their anceſtors, nor can they tranſmit it to their poſterity. They do not think like Kings, or Fathers of families who labour for their children, nor like true Republicans who ſacrifice every thing to the good of their Country: and if here and there one of them is inclined to act like a Father of his people, he generally dies before he can poſſibly fertilize a Country which his Predeceſſors have left over-run with weeds and brambles. Theſe things have long ago raiſed a diſguſt, and occaſioned people to murmur at the proceedings of certain Eccleſiaſtical Sovereigns, who pamper their miſtreſſes, their nephews, or their baſtards, with the ſpoils and marrow of their Subjects. One would expect to find nothing but examples of Virtue in the Lives of the Heads of the Church. On the contrary we there ſee how abominably wicked and corrupt ſeveral of thoſe were, whoſe characters ought to have been moſt pure and undefiled.

Many thinking men have been ſurprized to ſee people bear the oppreſſions of this ſort of Sovereigns with ſo much patience, and ſubmit to be trampled upon in ſuch a manner by a Prieſt, as would provoke them to rebel againſt the moſt powerful temporal Prince.

Machiavel would aſcribe this ſubmiſſive diſpoſition in the people to the great abilities and prudent conduct of their maſters, who were wiſe though wicked men: but for my own part, I cannot help being of opinion that their wonderful patience under ſuch a yoke is chiefly owing to the influence of Religion. A bad Pope has often been hated himſelf, but his function has ſtill been revered; the reverence attached to the Character of Pontif ſecures his perſon. The modern Romans have frequently been inclined to change their maſter; but his Spiritual arms have always deterred them: and if they have ſometimes deſerted him, it yet may be truly affirmed, that there has not been the hundreth part of the revolutions in Rome ſince it ſubmitted to the Tiara,

Tiara, that there were whilſt it was in a State of Paganiſm. So changeable are the manners of men] [g]!

The aggrandizement of the Church is principally attributed by Machiavel to the conduct and abilities of Alexander VI. a Pontif who carried ambition and cruelty to the higheſt pitch, and meaſured juſtice by no other rule than that of his own intereſt. Now if it be true that Papal power owes its eſtabliſhment chiefly to one of the moſt wicked men that ever wore the Tiara, what a conſequence may naturally be drawn from ſuch premiſes?

He concludes this Chapter with an Eulogy upon Leo X. who had great talents indeed and was the reſtorer of arts and learning; but whether he had any Virtues, is not ſo certain: his debaucheries, his irreligion, his inſincerity, his caprices, are ſufficiently known to every one. Machiavel, it is true, does not expreſsly commend him for theſe qualities, but he pays his court to him; and ſuch Princes deſerve ſuch Courtiers: he laviſhes the praiſes upon Leo X. which he might better have beſtowed upon Lewis XII. of France, who was the Father of his people.

[g] The paſſage included betwixt the two Crotchets above, runs thus in the firſt Edition. " Mais de ces guex fameliques que la charite de leur Soverain prive du neceſſaire pour prevenir la corruption & les abus que le peuple a contume de faire de la ſuperfluite. Ce ſont ſans doute les Loix de Sparte, ou l'argent etoit defendu, ſur les quelles ſe fondent les principes de la plupart de ces Gouvernements Eccleſiaſtiques; a la difference pres que les Prelats ſe reſervent l'uſage des biens dont les ſujets ſont privez. Heureux! diſent ils, ſont les pauvres car ils heriteront le Royaume de Cieux; & comme ils veulent que tout le monde ſe ſauve, ils ont ſoin de rendre tout le monde indigent.

Rien ne devroit etre plus edifiant que l'hiſtoire des Chefs de l'Egliſe & des Vicaires de Jeſus Chriſt: on ſe perſuade d'y trouver des exemples de mœurs irreprochables & ſaintes: cependant c'eſt tout le contraire; ce ne ſont que des obſcenitez, des abominations, & des ſources de ſcandale; & l'on ne ſauroit lire la vie des Papes ſans deteſter plus d'une fois leurs cruautez & leurs perfidies. On y voit leur ambition appliquee a augmenter leur puiſſance temporelle & ſpirituelle, leur avarice occupee a faire paſſer la ſubſtance des peuples dans leurs familles pour enricher leurs neveux, leurs maitreſſes, ou leurs bâtards. Ceux qui reflechiſſent peu trouvent ſingulier, que les peuples ſouffrent avec tant de docilite & de patience l'oppreſſion de cette eſpece de ſouverains, qu'ils n'ouvrent point les yeux ſur les vices, & ſur les exces des Eccleſiaſtiques, & qu'ils endurent d'un front tondu ce qu'ils ne ſuffriroient point d'un front couronne de lauriers. Ce Phenomene parait moins etrange a ceux qui connaiſſent le pouvour de la ſuperſtition ſur les idiots, & du phanatiſme ſur l'eſprit humain: ils ſavent que la Religion eſt une ancienne machine qui ne s'uſera jamais, dont on s'eſt ſervi de tout tems pour s'aſſurer de la fidelite des peuples, & pour mettre un frein a l'indocilite de la raiſon humaine; ils ſavent que l'erreur peut aveugler les hommes les plus penetrans, & qu'il n'a rien de plus triomphant que la Politique de ceux qui mettent le Ciel & l'Enfer, Dieu & les Damnez en œuvre pour parvenir a leurs deſſeins: tant il eſt vray que la Religion même, cette ſource la plus pure de tous nos biens, devient ſouvent, par un deplorable abus, l'origine & le principe de nos maux.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

How many ſorts of Soldiery there are; and concerning Mercenaries.

HAVING ſpoken particularly of the ſeveral ſorts of Principalities, as I propoſed in the beginning; and not only ſhewn the methods which many have taken both to acquire and maintain them, but in ſome meaſure conſidered the cauſes that chiefly contributed either to their grandeur or decay, I ſhall now proceed to treat in a general manner of the offenſive and defenſive means which they are to make uſe of upon occaſion.

We have already ſaid, that if a Prince does not lay a good foundation to build upon, he will certainly be ruined at laſt. Now the beſt foundations of all States, whether new, old, or mixed, are good Laws and a proper military force to ſupport them [*b*]: but ſince good Laws cannot have any effect without a proper force, and ſuch a force will always give due weight to ſuch Laws; I ſhall here ſay nothing more of Laws, but confine myſelf to what regards the forces and military eſtabliſhment of Princes.

I ſay then, that the forces with which any Prince muſt defend his dominions, are either his own or mercenary, or auxiliary, or mixed. Mercenaries and auxiliaries are both unſerviceable and dangerous; and the Prince that truſts only to mercenaries will never ſit firm or ſecure upon his throne: for they are always diſunited amongſt themſelves, ambitious, perfidious, inſolent to their friends, abject to their enemies, without any fear of God, or good faith towards men; ſo that the perſon who confides in them is ſure to be ruined whenever he is attacked: they will prey upon him themſelves in time of peace, and when a war breaks out they will ſacrifice him to the enemy. The reaſon of this is, becauſe they neither have any affection for him, nor principle of honour, nor any other motive to keep them firmly attached to his Service, except their pay; which is not a conſideration of ſufficient weight to prevail upon them to die for him. They are ready enough to receive their pay whilſt there is nothing to be done for it: but if they hear of an engagement they will either deſert beforehand, or run away in the day of battle. It would be a very eaſy matter to prove this, as Italy itſelf is now ruined by truſting ſo many years to mercenary troops; which at firſt indeed ſeemed very brave and

[*b*] "Imperatoriam Majeſtatem (ſays Juſtinian in the preface to his Inſtitutes) non ſolum armis decoratam, ſed etiam legibus oportet eſſe armatam, ut utrumque tempus, & bellorum & pacis, recte poſſit gubernari".

did

did ſome Service to the Italian States that employed them againſt each other: but as ſoon as a foreign enemy appeared, they preſently diſcovered themſelves in their true colours [*i*]. From hence it came to paſs that Charles XII. of France made himſelf Maſter of Italy, as it were with *a Snap of his fingers* [*k*]; ſo that thoſe who ſay theſe misfortunes were owing to our own faults, ſay true: but yet not to ſuch faults as it was commonly thought they were, but to ſuch as I have before recited [*l*]: and as they were committed chiefly by Princes, they fell heavieſt upon themſelves [*m*].

But I ſhall enter into a fuller diſcuſſion of this matter, and ſhew more particularly the fatal conſequences of employing Mercenaries. The Commanders of ſuch forces are either men of conduct and abilities, or they are not; if they are, they cannot be truſted, becauſe they will always endeavour to make their own fortune, either by ſupplanting their Maſter, or oppreſſing others contrary to his intention: but if they are not, his affairs muſt naturally go to ruin. If it be ſaid that any other General will do the ſame, whether a Mercenary or not; I would anſwer, that every war is carried on either by a Prince or a Republic. A Prince ought to conduct it himſelf, and perform the office of a General in perſon: a Republic ſhould give that command to one of its own Citizens, who may be ſuperſeded if he does not anſwer the expectations conceived of him; or continued in his poſt if he behaves well, but under ſuch reſtrictions in his Commiſſion, that he ſhall not have it in his power to defeat the deſigns of his Maſ-

[*i*] See Book i. Chap xliii. of the *Political Diſcourſes upon Livy*.

[*k*] Alexander VI. uſed to compare him to a Quarter-maſter General: his progreſs was ſo quick, that he ſtaid no longer in a place than juſt to mark out a camp, and then was preſently gone again.

[*l*] See Chap. iii.

[*m*] Guicciardine ſays, in the firſt book of his hiſtory, that Pietro de' Medici told Lewis Sforza, Duke of Milan, commonly called *the Moor*, "that he had been out to meet him, but to no purpoſe, as Lewis had loſt his way;" to which the Duke made anſwer, "it's true, one of us has loſt his way, but perhaps it may be you," obliquely reproaching him with having ſo imprudently engaged in the intereſts of France. But the event (adds Guicciardine) plainly ſhewed, that both of them had *loſt their way*; but eſpecially the Duke, who piqued himſelf ſo much upon his prudence and abilities, and upon being Counſellor and guide to all others, that he was not aſhamed to ſwallow the flattery of his Courtiers, who uſed to ſay, "there was only Jeſus Chriſt in Heaven, and Lewis the Moor upon earth, that knew when there would be an end of the war with France." *See Nardi's Hiſtory of Florence*, l. iii. That Hiſtorian adds, that the Duke joking one day with a Florentine Gentleman, and ſhewing him a picture or map of Italy, in which a Moor was repreſented with a broom in his hand, driving a parcel of cocks, and other poultry, *(gallos, cocks* or *Frenchmen)* out of it, aſked him, "what he thought of the Device?" "I think, anſwered the Florentine, that the Moor will make himſelf very dirty at laſt, inſtead of cleanſing Italy:" foretelling very truly what ſoon after came to paſs.

ters,

ters, if he ſhould be ſo diſpoſed. Experience has ſufficiently ſhewn that either Princes or Republics are capable of doing very great things when ſupported by their own Subjects alone; and that Mercenaries have always been prejudicial to them: beſides, it is a much more difficult matter for any private Citizen to enſlave a Republic that depends upon its own arms, than one that is forced to truſt to foreigners for its defence. Rome and Sparta continued free during the courſe of many ages, whilſt they relied upon themſelves only: and the Swiſs at this day, who ſtand upon no other bottom, are in full enjoyment of their liberties.

To give further inſtances both ancient and modern of the dangerous conſequences of employing mercenary Soldiers, I ſhall cite the example of the Carthaginians, who at the end of their firſt war with the Romans, were very near being ruined by ſuch troops, though commanded by their own Citizens. When Epaminondas was dead, the Thebans made Philip of Macedon their general, who conquered their enemies indeed, but deprived them of their liberties. Old Sforza, who had been employed by Giovanna Queen of Naples, as Commander in chief of her forces, ſuddenly deſerted her Service, and left her in a manner diſarmed: which diſtreſſed her to ſuch a degree, that ſhe was forced to throw herſelf into the arms of the King of Arragon [*n*], in order to ſave her Kingdom. The Milaneſe, after the death of Duke Philip, took Franciſco Sforza his Son into their pay, to conduct their wars againſt the Venetians: but as ſoon as he had defeated the Venetians at the battle of Caravaggio, he joined with them againſt thoſe very Milaneſe whoſe bread he had eat. But if it be objected that both the Venetians and Florentines have heretofore increaſed their dominions by employing ſuch forces, and that their Generals have not made themſelves Lords over them, but, on the contrary, have effectually defended their intereſts; I anſwer, that the Florentines were particularly favoured by fortune in this caſe: for ſome of their beſt Generals, and ſuch as they had moſt reaſon to be jealous of, were not victorious; ſome met with many obſtructions in their way; and others turned their ambition upon different objects. Amongſt thoſe that were not favoured with Victory in their enterprizes, was Sir John Hawkwood [*o*], of whoſe fidelity therefore nothing can be ſaid with any certainty, becauſe he had no opportunity of violating it:

[*n*] Alphonſo, whom ſhe adopted as her heir, but afterwards diſcarded, and adopted Lewis, Duke of Anjou. *See Machiavel's Hiſt. of Florence, Book* i. *towards the end.*

[*o*] An Engliſh Officer, who commanded a body of troops of that nation, in the ſervice of the Ghibelines, in Tuſcany. *See Machiavel's Hiſt. of Florence,* Book i.

but if he had been ſucceſsful, every body muſt allow, that the Florentines would have lain at his mercy. Sforza the elder had the Braccesſcan party to deal with; and thoſe two factions were a continual check upon each other. Franciſco turned his arms chiefly upon Lombardy [p], Braccio da Montone, againſt the territories of the Church [q] and the Kingdom of Naples [r].

But let us deſcend to occurrences that are ſtill more recent, and freſh upon every one's memory. The Florentines appointed Paolo Vitelli their Commander in chief; a very able Soldier who had raiſed himſelf from a private condition to the higheſt degree of reputation. If he had ſucceeded in the reduction of Piſa, in which enterprize they employed him, the Florentines muſt inevitably have been obliged to ſubmit to him upon any terms as their Sovereign: for had he gone over to the enemy, they would have been utterly ruined; and if they had continued him in their pay, he would certainly have made himſelf Lord over them. As to the Venetians, if we conſider their progreſs, we ſhall find that they did wonderful things whilſt they conducted their wars and fought their battles themſelves; that is, whilſt they confined themſelves to the Sea, where their forces behaved with great bravery: but when they turned their arms upon the Continent they ſoon loſt their vigour, and degenerated into the puſillanimous cuſtoms of their neighbours. Indeed, as their acquiſitions at land were inconſiderable at firſt, and their reputation very great, they had not much to apprehend from their Generals in the beginning, becauſe they had little to loſe there: but when they afterwards began to extend their conqueſts, and their forces under the Command of Carmignuola had beat thoſe of the Duke of Milan, they were aware of their error; for they perceived that (though he was a very able Commander) he grew cool in the proſecution of the war, and therefore that they muſt expect no great matters from him for the future: for which reaſons, as they neither durſt nor could diſcharge him from their Service, they were obliged to put him to death in order to ſecure themſelves and what they had already acquired [s]. They afterwards entruſted the Command of their armies ſucceſſively to Bartolomeo Coglione of Bergamo, Roberto da San Severino, the Count of Pitigliano, and others of the ſame Stamp, from whoſe conduct they could not

[p] And became Duke of Milan.

[q] Where he had made himſelf Maſter of Perugia and Montone.

[r] Againſt Queen Giovanna, or Joan, or Jane II. for ſo ſhe is called by different authors.

[s] *See Machiavel's Hiſt. of Florence, Book* iv.

reaſonably

reaſonably hope to reap any advantage, but might rather expect to ſuſtain much damage, as indeed they afterwards did at the battle of Vaila [*t*], where they loſt in one day all that they had gained during the courſe of eight hundred years with infinite pains and difficulty: for the progreſs that is made by ſuch Commanders is ſlow and feeble, but their loſſes rapid and ſurprizing. Theſe examples being wholly deduced from the practice of Italian States, which have employed mercenary forces for a great number of years, it may not be amiſs to trace the matter a little higher and look into the origin and progreſs of this kind of Soldiery there, that ſo we may be the better able to form a right judgment of it.

When the power of the Emperors was upon the decline in Italy, and the Popes began to aſſume more authority in temporal affairs, that Province became divided into ſeveral States. Moſt of the conſiderable Cities took up arms againſt their Nobility, who had availed themſelves of the Emperor's favour to oppreſs them: whilſt the Popes, on the contrary, took them into their protection, in order to gain more temporal power themſelves. Many others fell into the hands of their own Citizens, who made themſelves Lords over them: ſo that Italy becoming wholly ſubject in a manner to the Pope and ſome few Common-wealths, the Pontifs and Citizens of thoſe Republics being ſtrangers to the exerciſe of arms themſelves, began to take other forces into their pay. The firſt that brought this ſort of Soldiery into any reputation, was Alberigo da Conio, a Romagneſe [*u*], under whom, amongſt ſeveral others, Braccio da Montone and Franciſco Sforza were educated, who in their day, were the Arbiters of Italy. To theſe ſucceeded ſeveral others, who conducted the Italian arms till our times: and to whoſe virtues and diſcipline it is owing that we have ſeen our Country invaded by Charles VIII. over-run by Lewis XII. and inſulted by the Swiſs. The method they obſerved was in the firſt place to bring the Infantry into diſcredit, in order to heighten the reputation of their own forces: for as they were Soldiers of fortune and had no dominions of their own, a handful of foot could neither give them any great weight or authority, nor entitle them to any conſiderable ſtipend; and many they could not afford to maintain. It anſwered their purpoſes better therefore, to keep up a tolerable body of horſe, which ſupported them with reputation:

[*t*] A Town in the Territory of Ghiarradadda.

[*u*] He is called *Ludovico da Conio*, towards the end of Machiavel's firſt Book of the Hiſtory of Florence.

ſo that things were reduced to ſuch a paſs, that in an army of twenty thouſand Soldiers there were ſeldom above two thouſand foot. Beſides this, the ſeveral Commanders of theſe forces found means to ſecure both themſelves and their men from all manner of fatigue and apprehenſion of danger, by introducing the cuſtom of not killing any one in battle, but only of taking priſoners, and afterwards releaſing them without ranſom. When they laid Siege to a town they never aſſaulted it in the night, nor did the townſmen make any Sallies upon them in that ſeaſon: they never fortified their camp with ditches or any other kind of works, nor ever kept the field in the Winter: a Diſcipline invented and agreed upon amongſt thoſe Commanders, as I ſaid before, to avoid danger and trouble; and which has brought Italy into Slavery and contempt.

EXAMEN. CHAP. XII.

EVERY thing in this world is changed from what it was: the very temperament of mankind is altered: and nature ſeems to have eſtabliſhed the ſame tendency to variation in the temperament of nations, if I may be allowed that expreſſion. By the *temperament* of a nation, I mean in general, its ſituation, its extent, the number and genius of the people, its commerce, cuſtoms, and laws, its ſtrength and weakneſs, its riches and reſources. This difference in governments is ſufficiently manifeſt, and indeed would appear infinite if we were to enter into a detail of particulars. But as Phyſicians have no Noſtrum that will agree with every conſtitution and cure all diſtempers; ſo Politicians cannot preſcribe general rules that will ſuit every form of government. This reflexion leads me to conſider what Machiavel ſays concerning foreign troops and mercenaries. He abſolutely condemns the perſons that employ them upon any account whatſoever; and argues from examples, in which he pretends that they have been much more dangerous and prejudicial than ſerviceable to ſuch States as have taken them into their pay. It is certain indeed, and experience has fully evinced, that the beſt forces a State can employ are national troops: and this might be proved beyond all poſſibility of contradiction by the noble ſtand which Leonidas made at the Straits of Thermopylæ [*w*]; but above all, from the ſurprizing progreſs of the Roman and Arabian arms [*x*].

[*w*] With three hundred men only, againſt Xerxes's whole army, which conſiſted of a million. They all died fighting to the laſt man, and had the following Epitaph made upon them.

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As this maxim then may ſuit all Countries that are populous enough to raiſe a ſufficient army of their own, I will agree with Machiavel that [a State is generally ill ſerved by Mercenaries, and that national forces are doubly animated to fight by the mutual connections which ſubſiſt betwixt them and their countrymen] [*y*]: but it will be very dangerous to let its own troops languiſh and grow effeminate by inaction, eſpecially at a time when its neighbours are kept in continual exerciſe and diſcipline by frequent engagements, and ſuffering the other uſual fatigues and hardſhips of war. It has often been obſerved that States which have lately been embroiled in Civil wars, are much ſuperior to other enemies: for ſuch wars make every Subject a Soldier: [a man's genius has then an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing itſelf without the favour of his Superiors; and any one who has abilities may advance himſelf if he pleaſes. Great men of all ſorts emerge in thoſe times, and ſuch perſons give life and vigour to a nation: an undeſireable diſcipline indeed, but ſuch as never fails to make good Soldiers. A wiſe Prince may find other methods to keep up a warlike Spirit amongſt his troops; ſometimes by ſending them to the aſſiſtance of his allies; ſometimes by exerciſing them in long marches, encampments, and frequent reviews.

A State then ought never to take foreign troops into its Service, except it is threatened with imminent danger, or in a manner depopulated: and even then expedients may be found to prevent them

> Ω ξειν' αγγειλον Λακεδαιμονιοις, οτι τηδε
> Κειμεθα, τοις κεινων ρηθομενοι νομιμοις.
>
> O hoſpes, nuncia Lacedæmoniis, quod hic
> Jacemus, illorum morigeri inſtitutis.

Tully ſpeaking of this Tranſaction, in the firſt book of his Tuſculan Diſputations, chap. xlii. ſays, " Sed quid duces aut principes nominem, cum legiones ſcribat Cato, ſæpe alacres in eum locum profectas, unde redituras ſe non arbitrarentur? Pari animo Lacedæmonii in Thermopylis occiderunt, in quo Simonides,

> Dic hoſpes Spartæ, nos te hic vidiſſe jacentes,
> Dum ſanctis patriæ legibus obſequimur.

Quid ille Dux Leonidas dicit? Pergite animo forti, Lacedæmonii: hodie apud inferos fortaſſe cœnabimus."

" March on, my brave Lacedæmonians; to night, perhaps, we ſhall ſup in the Elyzian Fields."

[*x*] The latter under Mahomet.

[*y*] Inſtead of what is included betwixt the two Crotchets, the text runs thus in the firſt Edition, " Je ſuis perſuade, comme l'Auteur, que l'Etat eſt mal ſervi par des mercenaires, & que la fidelite & le courage de Soldats poſſeſſionez dans le pays les ſurpaſſe de beaucoup."

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from doing any miſchief. Inſtead of ſuffering them to continue all together in one body, they ſhould be ſeparated and properly incorporated with the national forces, by which they would become accuſtomed to the ſame ſort of diſcipline, and by degrees inſpired with the ſame fidelity: but above all, great care muſt be taken that their number does not equal that of the Nationals] [z]. There is a certain King in the North, whoſe army is compoſed of theſe mixed forces; and yet he is as powerful and reſpectable as his neighbours. Indeed moſt of the troops in Europe conſiſt of Nationals and Mercenaries: for ſuch as cultivate the Earth and inhabit the towns are exempted from ſerving in time of war, in conſideration of a tax which they pay for the ſubſiſtance of the forces that are raiſed to protect and defend them in their poſſeſſions. Armies in general are now compoſed of the vileſt ſort of the people; of idle fellows that will not work, of debauchees who expect to find licence and impunity for their exceſſes in a military life, of ſuch as are diſobedient to their parents, and of giddy young men who liſt out of mere levity and wantonneſs [a]; and ſurely ſuch Soldiers as theſe cannot be ſuppoſed to have any greater affection or attachment to their Maſters than even Mercenaries themſelves. How different from thoſe with which the Romans conquered the World! Deſertion which is now become ſo frequent in every army, was a crime unknown amongſt them: Soldiers who fought for their wives and children and every thing that was dear to them in the World,

[z] Here the firſt Edition runs in this manner. "Que le merite s'y diſtingue independamment de la faveur, que tous les talents s'y developent, & que les hommes y prennent l'habitude de deployer ce qu'ils ont d'art & de courage. Cependant il y a des cas qui ſemblant demander exemption de cette regle, ſi des Royaumes ou des Empires ne produiſent pas une auſſi grande multitude d' hommes, qu'en faut pour les armees & qu'en conſume la guerre, la neceſſite oblige de recourir aux mercenaires, comme unique moien de ſupleer aux defauts de l'Etat. On trouve alors des expedients que levent la plupart les difficultez, & ce que Machiavel trouve de vicieux dans cette eſpece de milice; on mêle ſoigneuſement les etrangers avec les nationaux, pour les empecher de faire bande a part, & pour les façonner a la meme diſcipline, & a la meme fidelite; & l'on porte ſa principale attention ſur ce que le nombre d'etrangers n'excede point le nombre des nationaux."

[a] The *Canaille*, as the French call them. What his Majeſty here ſays, is but too true, in theſe times, of the common Soldiers at leaſt: and indeed we read of forces in very antient times, that were not much better. Thus when David had eſcaped from Achiſh, "every one that was in debt, and every one that was diſcontented *(or bitter of Soul)* gathered themſelves unto him, and he became Captain over them." 1 *Sam.* xxii. 2. Oliver Cromwell was ſo ſenſible of the inſufficiency of ſuch raſcality, from ſeveral defeats and miſcarriages, that he new modelled his army, and filled it with the ſons of ſubſtantial farmers, &c. who had a Stake of their own to fight for: after which he ſucceeded better.

never

never thought of betraying ſo many intereſts at once by a baſe deſertion.

What greatly contributes to the ſecurity of the European Princes, is, that their troops are almoſt all alike, and therefore have no advantage over one another; excepting thoſe of the Swedes, who are citizens, peaſants, and Soldiers at the ſame time. But when they go to war there is hardly any body left at home to till the Earth: ſo that they cannot continue it for any length of time, without injuring themſelves more than their enemies. So much for Mercenaries.

As to the manner in which a great Prince ought to conduct his wars, I am entirely of Machiavel's opinion. For without doubt ſuch a Prince ſhould take the Command of his troops upon himſelf and be always with his army. It is his proper place of reſidence; his intereſt, his duty, his glory, all require it: as he is the Head of diſtributive juſtice, he is likewiſe the Defender of his people: it is one of the moſt important objects of his adminiſtration; the care of which he ought therefore upon no account to entruſt with any body elſe. His preſence puts an end to all miſunderſtandings betwixt other Commanders, which are often ſo fatal to armies, and ſo prejudicial to the intereſts of their Maſters: it occaſions better order to be obſerved in the regulations that relate to Magazines, Ammunition and Proviſions, without which, ſuch a General as Julius Cæſar himſelf at the head of an hundred thouſand men, would not be able to effect any thing worth notice. As it is the Prince himſelf that gives orders for the attack, he ought certainly to be there himſelf to direct the execution, to inſpire his troops with confidence and valour by his preſence, and to animate them by his own example. But it may be objected perhaps, that every one is not born to be a Soldier, and that many Princes have neither the conduct, nor experience, nor courage, that is neceſſary to command an army. All this is true, I confeſs: but are there not always other able Generals to be found in an army, by whoſe inſtructions the Prince may be directed when there is occaſion? even in that caſe there will always be a greater probability of Succeſs, than when a General is to be tutored by a Miniſter, who not being upon the Spot, cannot be capable of forming a true judgment of things, and often puts it out of the beſt General's power to give any material proof of his abilities.

I cannot conclude this Chapter without taking notice of a ſtrange expreſſion that Machiavel has made uſe of.

He ſays, that the Venetians ſuſpecting the conduct of the Duke of Carmignuola who commanded their troops, *were obliged to have him ſent*

ſent out of the World. I own I don't underſtand the meaning of being *obliged to have a man ſent out of the World,* except it be to get him poiſoned or aſſaſſinated.

But ſuch are the artifices which this wicked Politician is obliged to fly to; and in this manner he endeavours to palliate the moſt atrocious crimes by ſoftening the terms. The Greeks uſed to have recourſe to circumlocution when they had occaſion to ſpeak of death, in order to abate the ſecret horror that attends the Idea of dying: and thus Machiavel, whoſe heart ſeems here to revolt againſt his head, is forced to vary the common forms of ſpeech in cooking up his abominable maxims, which he himſelf, it ſeems, could not ſwallow without mincing [*f*].

[*f*] His illuſtrious Majeſty of Pruſſia, (with great deference it is ſpoken) ſeems to have been miſled in this paſſage, by reading Houſſaye's French tranſlation of the *Prince*, inſtead of the original, which indeed runs, "ainſi, pour s'en aſſurer, ils furent contraints de le faire ſortir de ce monde." But Machiavel's own words are, "onde che furono neceſſitati, per aſſicurarſi di ammazzarlo." Now *ammazzare* ſignifies to *kill*, or, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word, *to knock out's brains out*, from *Mazza*, a club. So that Machiavel is not guilty of *mincing* the matter here, as he is charged. Beſides, he does not inculcate what he ſays upon this occaſion, as a maxim to be practiſed, but relates it only as an hiſtorical fact.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Auxiliaries, mixed, and national forces.

THE other ſort of unſerviceable troops are Auxiliaries; that is, ſuch as you call upon ſome powerful ally to ſend to your aſſiſtance and defence; as Pope Julius II. did ſome years ago, who having experienced the conſequences of employing Mercenaries in the attempt which he made upon Ferrara, reſolved for the future to make uſe of Auxiliaries, and for that purpoſe entered into an alliance with Ferdinand King of Spain; in conſequence of which, that Prince was to aſſiſt him with his arms. Such forces, indeed, may do good ſervice to the State that ſends them, but they are always prejudicial to him that employs them [*g*]. For if they are defeated, he is certainly undone; and if they gain any advantage, he lies at their mercy [*b*]. And though ancient Hiſtory abounds with examples of this kind, yet I ſhall inſiſt more particularly upon that of Julius II. (as ſtill freſh upon every one's memory) who could not have been guilty of a greater piece of indiſcretion, than of throwing himſelf into the arms of a foreigner, in order to accompliſh his deſigns upon Ferrara. But luckily for him, an accident happened, which prevented the conſequences that might have been apprehended from ſo inconſiderate a ſtep: for his Auxiliaries being routed at Ravenna, the Swiſs ſuddenly fell upon the Conquerors, and drove them out of the Country; which was a piece of good fortune that neither he, nor any one elſe, could poſſibly have expected: ſo that he eſcaped falling into the hands of his Enemies, who were defeated in their turn; and did not become a prey to his Auxiliaries, becauſe he did not gain the victory by their aſſiſtance, but by the arms of others [*i*].

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[*g*] "Ambiguus auxiliorum animus" ſays Tacitus. *Hiſt.* 4. and afterwards calls them "Militia ſine affectu."

[*b*] "Et acciti auxilio Germani," ſays Tacitus in the ſame place, "ſociis pariter atque hoſtibus Servitutem impoſuerunt." "The Germans, being called in as Auxiliaries, equally oppreſſed both friends and foes."

[*i*] "This Pontiff beheld his Country groaning under the yoke of France with indignation, and would have been glad to drive all foreign powers over the Alps again: but he firſt wanted the Venetians to join him, and to reſtore ſeveral towns that were claimed by the Holy See; which they refuſing, he made the French ſubſervient to his deſigns againſt Venice, though he had ſollicited the Venetians but a little while before, to arm againſt France. But he was not ſatisfied with having France alone on his ſide; he engaged all the Princes of Europe to join againſt them in the famous League of Cambray. After he had thus fulfilled his firſt deſign of aggrandizing Rome, by humbling

The Florentines having then few or no troops of their own, employed ten thouſand French in their attempt upon Piſa; by which they run themſelves into greater danger than ever they had been in before in all their diſtreſſes. The Emperor of Conſtantinople ſent for ten thouſand Turks into Greece, to aſſiſt him againſt his neighbours there: but when the war was over, they refuſed to quit the Country [k]; which proved the occaſion of all Greece being at laſt reduced into Slavery by the Infidels. —— Whoſoever therefore avails himſelf of ſuch troops, is always ſure to ſuffer by them; for they are much more dangerous than Mercenaries, and do their buſineſs ſooner; becauſe they are united, and under obedience to ſome one Head of their own. Whereas it will be much longer, and proper opportunities muſt offer, before Mercenaries can effectually miſchieve him, even if they have gain'd a victory; as they are divided into ſeparate corps, and receive their pay only from his hands: ſo that it muſt be ſome time before the perſon, whom he appoints to command thoſe troops, can acquire ſuch an influence and authority over them all, as will put it in his power to do him any material prejudice. —— In ſhort, what he has chiefly

Venice, he thought of executing the ſecond; which was to drive the barbarians out of Italy. With this view, he entered into a League with that very Republic, and againſt thoſe ſame French, whom he had employed to diſtreſs her. He wanted to deſtroy all the foreign forces in Italy, by making them cut one another's throats, and to form a powerful body, of which the Pope was to be the head. In this deſign he ſpared neither negotiations, nor money, nor labour. He headed his troops himſelf, he mounted the trenches, and often looked death itſelf in the face. The French Hiſtorians cenſure his ambition and obſtinacy; but they ſhould alſo have done juſtice to his courage, and the grandeur of his deſigns.——After he had ſecured the Venetians, and drawn over the Swiſs and ſeveral other powers to his ſide, he began the war in the neighbourhood of Bologna and Ferrara, and laid ſiege to Mirandola in perſon: and though his Holineſs was then ſeventy years old, he was ſeen to mount the trenches with his helmet on, to viſit the works, to preſs the Engineers, and at laſt victoriouſly to enter the breach. And notwithſtanding the loſs of the battle of Ravenna, within three months after that event, all the Germans were recalled out of Italy, and the French totally expelled by the aſſiſtance of the Swiſs." *See Voltaire's Gen. Hiſt.* Vol. II. part 3. chap. xxii.——But not being able to bring the Emperor and the Venetians to an accommodation, as he paſſionately deſired, he fell into a lingering fever, of which he died in 1513, after he had reigned above nine years, and turned the world almoſt upſide down. His turbulent and warlike diſpoſition gave occaſion to the following Epigram, made upon him by our Countryman Buchanan.

Stare diu haud poterant munduſque & Julius unà,
Omnia perdendi tam ferus ardor erat.
Ergo ne ante diem mundi ſtructura periret,
Ad Styga deceſſit Julius ante diem.

[k] Andronicus Palæologus was obliged to give up Trebiſond to the Turks, whom he had called in to defend Conſtantinople.——And John Palæologus was forced to cede all Thrace to Sultan Amurath I. who inſiſted upon it as a recompence for the ſuccours with which he had furniſhed him againſt the Serviaas.

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to apprehend from ſuch forces, is cowardice and deſertion in Mercenaries; but courage and ambition, on the contrary, in Auxiliaries.

A wiſe Prince therefore, will never have recourſe to either of them, but truſt entirely to his own Subjects, and rather chuſe to loſe a battle at the head of the latter, than be obliged for a victory to the former: ſince that cannot be looked upon as a real victory, which has been obtained by the arms of others. I ſhall make no ſcruple of propoſing the conduct of Cæſar Borgia again, as an example upon this and other occaſions. That Duke invaded Romagna with an army, conſiſting wholly of French Auxiliaries, and made himſelf maſter of Imola and Furli with their aſſiſtance only. But afterwards, when he found that he could not ſecurely depend upon thoſe forces, he reſolved to employ Mercenaries, as the leſs dangerous of the two, and took the Urſini and Vitelli into his pay. Theſe likewiſe proving irreſolute, perfidious, and ripe for miſchief, he cut off the chiefs of them, and diſmiſſing the reſt, no longer truſted to any forces but his own.——From hence, we may plainly ſee the difference betwixt theſe two ſorts of Soldiery, if we conſider the difference in the Duke's reputation when he was dependent upon the French, the Urſini, and Vitelli, and when he employed none but his own troops: for though little account was made of him before; yet when people ſaw that he then ſtood upon his own bottom, and had an army entirely at command, his power and reputation daily increaſed.

I did not deſign to have gone out of Italy, or to have had recourſe to Antiquity for further examples: however, I cannot omit that of Hiero the Syracuſan, whom I have had occaſion to mention before.—— After his countrymen had made him commander in chief of their army, he preſently began to be aware that their Mercenary troops were good for nothing; (their Leaders behaving themſelves in the ſame manner that others of the ſame kind uſed to do not long ago in Italy) but as he was ſenſible that he could neither keep them in his ſervice any longer, nor diſband them without great danger, he cauſed them all to be cut to pieces; and in the wars which he afterwards made, relied ſolely upon his own Soldiery. I might here cite a paſſage to this purpoſe, by way of compariſon, out of the Old Teſtament.—— When David preſented himſelf before Saul, and offered to go and fight Goliath the Philiſtine Champion, Saul to encourage him, lent him his own armour: but after David had put it on, and found it rather an incumbrance than otherwiſe, he refuſed it, and choſe to meet the enemy with his Sling and Staff only [*l*]. In ſhort, it ſeldom or never

[*l*] Machiavel ſays, "con la ſua fromba, & con il ſuo *coltello*." Which laſt word ſignifies a *knife*, or a *dagger*, or a *ſword*. The Scripture however, makes no mention of

never happens that the arms or armour of one man will perfectly ſuit another; they are either too unwieldy, or too wide, or too ſtrait, or ſome other way troubleſome and inconvenient.

Charles VII. after he had reſcued France out of the hands of the Engliſh by his valour and good fortune, finding it abſolutely neceſſary to have an army of his own, raiſed ſeveral regiments both of horſe and foot. But Lewis XI. his Son, afterwards broke the foot, and took Swiſs infantry into his Service in their room; an error, which being purſued by his Succeſſors, has been the occaſion of all thoſe dangers to which that kingdom is viſibly expoſed at this day: for by giving that preference to the Swiſs, they have diſcredited and daunted their own Soldiery; having entirely broken their infantry, and made their cavalry ſo dependent upon others, by accuſtoming them to fight always in conjunction with the Swiſs, that they are now poſſeſſed with an opinion that they can do nothing without them. From hence it comes to paſs, that the French are no match for the Swiſs; and without their aſſiſtance they make no figure in the field againſt any other forces. So that the French armies are at preſent compoſed of mixed troops, partly Mercenary and partly national; which however are much better in the main than either Mercenaries or Auxiliaries alone; but ſtill much inferior to national forces only, as I have already ſufficiently ſhewn. For without doubt the kingdom of France would be invincible, if the inſtitutions eſtabliſhed by Charles VII. were revived and improved: but ſo ſhort is the foreſight of mankind in general, that they eagerly catch at expedients that ſeem to promiſe a little preſent advantage, not diſcerning the danger, which (as I ſaid before of Hectic fevers) is concealed under a flattering appearance. The Prince therefore who does not foreſee evils till they fall upon his head, cannot truly be called a wiſe man; which yet is a bleſſing that is beſtowed on few.

To give but one inſtance more.——If we reflect upon the ruin of the Roman Empire, we ſhall find that it may be dated from the time when the Emperors called in the Goths to their aſſiſtance: for by ſo doing, they enervated themſelves, and by relaxing their own native

of that weapon, but ſays that David made uſe of Goliath's own ſword to cut off his head. "And Saul armed David with his armour, and he put an helmet of braſs upon his head; alſo he armed him with a coat of mail. And David girded his Sword upon his armour, and aſſaied to go, for he had not proved it: and David ſaid unto Saul, I cannot go with theſe, for I have not proved them. And David put them off him, and took his Staff in his hand, and choſe him five ſmooth ſtones out of the brook, and put them into a Shepherd's bag which he had, even in a ſcrip, and his Sling was in his hand, and he drew near to the Philiſtine. . . . . *But there was no Sword in the hand of David.* Therefore he ran and ſtood upon the Philiſtine, and took his Sword, and drew it out of the ſheath thereof, and ſlew him and cut off his head therewith." 1. *Sam.* xvii. 38. 39. 40. 50. 51.

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courage and diſcipline, ſtill added to the ſtrength and vigour of others. —— I conclude then, that no Prince can be ſecure without forces of his own; but muſt lie wholly at the mercy of fortune, as he has no ſtable foundation to rely upon in time of need: and it has always been the opinion of wiſe men, that nothing is ſo fleeting and precarious as the reputation of power, when it does not ſtand upon its own bottom [*m*]. Now a Prince may be ſaid to ſtand upon his own bottom, when he has an army compoſed of his natural Subjects, and ſuch as immediately depend upon him; all others are either Mercenaries or Auxiliaries: and as to the method of raiſing and diſciplining his own forces, *that* may eaſily be learnt from what I have ſaid elſewhere [*n*], but more particularly by obſerving the conduct and inſtitutions of Philip, the Father of Alexander the Great, and of many other Princes and Republics in ſuch matters; to which I wholly refer him.

EXAMEN. CHAP. XIII.

MACHIAVAL carries the matter a great deal too far, in aſſerting, that a wiſe Prince would rather chuſe to *periſh* with his own troops, than to conquer with the aſſiſtance of foreigners [*o*]. I fancy a man that was drowning, would not pay much regard to any ſtander-by, that told him it would be mean and pitiful to owe his life to another perſon, and that he ought rather to ſink than make uſe of a rope, if any body ſhould throw one to ſave him.——[If this maxim was to be thoroughly examined, it would appear, perhaps, that it is only a diſguiſed ſort of jealouſy which he endeavours to inſpire into Princes: for he will not allow them to put any confidence in their Subjects, much leſs in their Generals and Auxiliaries. But this miſtruſt

[*m*] "Nihil rerum mortalium tam inſtabile ac fluxum eſt, quàm fama potentiæ, non ſuâ vi nixa."

[*n*] In his *Art of War*, at the end of the Second Volume.

[*o*] Machiavel does not ſay ſo: his words are, "Un Principe pertanto ſavio ſempre hà fuggito queſte armi, e voltoſi alle proprie, e voluto piu toſto *perdere* con le ſue che vincere con l'altrui, giudicando non vera vittoria quella che con le armi d'altri s'acquiſtaſſe." —— i. e. "A wiſe Prince therefore will never have recourſe to either of them (Mercenaries or Auxiliaries) but truſt entirely to his own Subjects, and rather chuſe to *loſe a battle* at the head of the latter, than be obliged for a victory to the former: ſince that cannot be looked upon as a real victory, which has been obtained by the arms of others." ——And thus the French tranſlator renders it, "C'eſt pourquoi un Prince ſage ſe paſſera toujours des uns & des autres, aimant mieux etre vaincu en combattant avec ſes propres armes, que de vaincre par celles d'autrui; & autant plus, que ce ne'eſt pas une vraie victoire que celle qu' on gagne par d'autres armes que les ſiennes."——The ſenſe of the author is therefore here manifeſtly miſtaken, (I will not preſume to ſay perverted) by changing the Italian word *perdere* into the French *perir*.

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has often been of fatal conſequence, and many a battle has been loſt, merely becauſe a Prince would not ſuffer his allies to ſhare in the glory of a Victory.] [*p*] It is certain, that a Prince ought not to depend upon Auxiliaries alone in his wars: but it is his duty to be an Auxiliary to others, and to put himſelf upon ſuch a footing, that he may be able to ſend as effectual ſuccours to his friends, as he has at any time received from them. It is but common prudence to fortify himſelf in ſuch a manner, that he may have no occaſion to fear either his enemies, or any body elſe: but if he enters into an alliance with others, he ought punctually to fulfil the terms of it. Whilſt the Emperor of Germany, the Engliſh, and the Dutch, acted in concert againſt Lewis XIV. of France; whilſt Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough continued firmly united together, they conquered all before them: but when England abandoned its Allies, the French King preſently retrieved his loſſes.

Such powers as can do without either mixed or Auxiliary troops, act prudently in excluding both out of their armies: but as few States in Europe are in ſuch circumſtances, I think they run no riſque in employing Auxiliaries, as long as the number of their national forces is ſuperior to them. Machiavel lays down rules for the uſe of *petty* Princes only; and indeed all his notions ſeem to be *petty* and contracted: he does not reaſon like an honeſt man, and therefore we cannot expect to find any thing that is either great or ſolid in his arguments. —— He that cannot ſupport a war without the aſſiſtance of Subſidiary troops, will be forced to proceed in a very feeble manner; but he that acts in conjunction with allies, may do great things. The Expedition (for inſtance) in which three northern powers [*q*] deprived Charles XII. of Sweden of ſome part of his German dominions, was carried on by the forces of different crowns united in alliance: and the war which the French began in the year 1734, under a pretext of ſupporting the rights of the unfortunate Staniſlaus, was jointly ſup-

[*p*] Inſtead of what is included in the two crotchets above, the firſt Edition runs thus, " L'experience nous fait voir que le premier ſoin des hommes eſt celui de leur bien etre; ce que detruit entierement le paralogiſme emphatique de l'Auteur. —— En aprofondiſſant cette Maxime de Machiavel, on trouvera peut-etre que ce n'eſt qu' une jalouſie extreme qu'il ſuffira d'inſpirer aux Princes: c'eſt cependant la jalouſie de ces mêmes Princes envers leurs Generaux, ou envers des auxiliaires, qu' ils ne vouloient pas attendre, crainte de partager leur gloire, qui de tout tems fut tres prejudiciable à leurs interêts. Une infinité de battailles ont eté perdues par cette raiſon, & des petites jalouſies ont ſouvent plus fait de tort aux Princes que le nombre ſuperieur & les advantages de leurs ennemis."

[*q*] The Poles, Danes, Ruſſians, and Brandenburghers, were at that time (i. e. in the year 1700) confederated againſt Charles XII. of Sweden; but none of them reaped any great harveſt of laurels from that League, as is here ſuggeſted; Auguſtus King of Poland, in particular, was defeated in ſeveral battles by the Swedes, who depoſed him, and advanced Staniſlaus to the throne of Poland in the year 1704.

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ported by that nation, the Spaniards, and Savoyards.——Are not theſe examples ſufficient to refute Machiavel? and what avails his compariſon betwixt the uſe of foreign troops, and Saul's armour, which David refuſed when he went to fight Goliath, becauſe it was an incumbrance to him? [A compariſon is no proof] [r]. It muſt be owned, that Auxiliaries are ſometimes very troubleſome to Princes: but do not Princes likewiſe voluntarily trouble themſelves, when they make new conqueſts of Cities and Provinces by their aſſiſtance?

[In treating of the bad conſequences of employing Auxiliaries [ſ], Machiavel alledges the example of the Swiſs in the French Service: but it is paſt doubt, that the French have gained ſeveral battles by their aſſiſtance; and if they were to diſmiſs the Swiſs and Germans that ſerve in their infantry, their armies would be very much weakened] [t].

But ſo much for his errors in judgment. Let us now examine his morals.——The examples which he propoſes for the imitation of Princes, are ſo very bad, that ſound morality and politics muſt proteſt againſt them. "Hiero the Syracuſan, ſays he, conſidering that he could neither diſband his Mercenary troops, nor retain them any longer without great danger, had them all cut to pieces."

[For my part, I will not take upon me to anſwer for the veracity of ancient hiſtory in all points: but ſuppoſing what is here related of Hiero's conduct in this matter to be true, I would not adviſe any one to imitate it. It is pretended that in a battle which he fought againſt the Mamertines, he divided his army into two parts, one conſiſting of Auxiliaries, the other of national troops; and that he ſuffer'd the former to be cut to pieces, that he might gain the victory only with the latter. Suppoſe the Emperor of Germany had ſacrificed the Engliſh in the ſame manner, in the war which happened in the year 1701: would that have been a certain way of conquering the French? To cut off the left arm in order to fight the better with the right, ſeems to me to be a cruel and dangerous ſort of folly, or rather of extreme madneſs] [u].

CHAP.

[r] Here the firſt Edition ſays, "Ce n'eſt que de la crême fouettee."——"This is mere whipped Sillabub."

[ſ] Or Mercenaries rather.

[t] The paſſage included betwixt the two crotchets, runs thus in the firſt edition, "Au ſujet de ces auxiliaires, il cherche a jetter ſon venin ſur les Suiſſes qui ſont au ſervice de France. Il dois dire un petit mot ſur le ſujet de ces braves troupes; car il eſt indubitable que les François ont gagnez plus d'une battaille par leurs ſecours, qu'ils ont rendus des ſervices ſignalez a cet Empire, & que ſi la France congredioit les Suiſſes & les Allemands qui ſervent dans ſon infanterie, ſes armees ſeroient beaucoup moins redoubtables qu'elles ne le ſont à preſent."

[u] Inſtead of the paſſage included betwixt the two crotchets above, the text runs thus in the firſt edition. "Des faits pareils revoltent lorſqu' on [illegible]

CHAP XIV.

The Duty of a Prince in relation to Military affairs.

A Prince ought to turn all his thoughts, and care, and application, to the art of War: that, and the ſeveral ſorts of diſcipline and inſtitutions relating to it, ſhould be his only ſtudy, the only profeſſion he ſhould follow, and the object he ought always to have in view. [*x*]. For indeed, that is the only profeſſion worthy of a Prince; and is of ſo great importance, that it not only ſupports thoſe in their States who are born Princes, but often advances men from a private condition to that dignity [*y*]. On the contrary, it has frequently happened, that ſuch Princes as have led a ſoft and delicate courſe of life, inſtead of inuring themſelves to arms, have been entirely ſtripped of their dominions. And as a contempt of the Military Science is the principal cauſe of ſuch loſſes, ſo the culture and profeſſion of it chiefly contribute to a man's ſucceſs and exaltation. Franciſco Sforza, from a private man, raiſed himſelf to be Duke of Milan, merely by dint of arms: and his poſterity, by ſeeking to avoid the troubles that attend a Military life, were reduced from the State of Dukes, to the condition of private men. For amongſt other evils and inconveniencies that muſt happen to a Prince who is ignorant in the art of war, and conſequently in a manner unarmed, he will certainly become contemptible; which is a

mais on ſe ſent indignè de les voir rapportez dans un livre qui doit etre fait pour l'inſtruction des Princes. La cruautè & la barbarie ſont ſouvent fatales aux particuliers, ainſi ils en ont horreur pour la plupart; mais les Princes que la Providence a placez ſi loin des deſtinees vulgaires, en ont d'autant moins d'averſion, qu'ils ne les ont pas a craindre: ce ſeroit donc a tous ceux qui doivent gouverner les hommes, que l'on devroit inculquer le plus d'Eloignement pour tous les abus qu'ils peuvent faire d'une puiſſance illimitee."

[*x*] A King of Thrace uſed to ſay there was no difference betwixt him and one of his Grooms when he was not at war. When Nero began his reign, he ſaid he would employ himſelf wholly and ſolely in the command of his armies. *Tacit. Annal.* 13. Domitian could not endure Agricola becauſe he was a better General than himſelf, being vexed to be excelled in Military glory by a Subject, which he thought no one had a right to but Princes. "Id ſibi maxime formidoloſum, ſi militarem gloriam alius occuparet; cætera ut cunque facilius diſſimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem eſſe." *In Vit. Agric.*" "What Princes are they, except warriors, ſays Gratian, whoſe names are recorded in the annals of fame? The name of *great* belongs properly to them alone. Hiſtory is full of their exploits; the world reſounds with their praiſes: ſo much more noble are the arts of war, than thoſe of peace." Chap. viii. *of his Hero.*

[*y*] Tiridates king of Armenia uſed to ſay, that a Prince muſt not think to ſupport himſelf in his dominions by the arts of peace alone; that it was ſufficient for a private man if he could maintain his own property; but the glory of Princes was to conquer the States of others. *Tacit. Annal.* 15.

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circumſtance, that above all others, he ought moſt carefully to guard againſt, for reaſons which I ſhall mention hereafter [z]. Beſides, there is no ſort of match or equality betwixt one that is armed, and one that is not; and it would be prepoſterous to imagine, that he that is armed, will ever obey or ſubmit to him that is unarmed, or that the latter can be ſecure againſt the attempts of thoſe that are in ſubjection to him when they have arms in their hands [a]: for as there muſt naturally be a ſort of diſdain on one ſide, and ſuſpicion on the other, it is impoſſible they ſhould long continue upon good terms together: and conſequently a Prince, who is no Soldier himſelf (beſides the other misfortunes that he muſt be expoſed to) will neither be eſteemed by his own forces, nor can he ever put any confidence in them.

It is neceſſary therefore, that he ſhould give himſelf wholly up to warlike occupations, and ſtill more aſſiduouſly in times of peace than in war [b]: and this may be done two ways, the one by employing his bodily, the other his intellectual faculties. As to the former, beſides keeping his troops in continual breath and diſcipline, he ought frequently to exerciſe himſelf in hunting [c], in order to inure his body

[z] Tacitus gives us two examples of this in the perſon of Tiberius: one of a Governor of a Province, who had the impudence to write that Emperor word, that he would certainly rebel againſt him, if he ſent any one elſe to ſuperſede him in his Government: becauſe, ſays the Hiſtorian, "res Tiberii magis famâ quam vi ſtabant." *Annal.* 6. The other is, of a King of the Parthians, who ſent Ambaſſadors to make ſome inſolent demands, and to threaten him with war if he did not comply with them: and the reaſon which Tacitus gives for this behaviour, is, that the King deſpiſed Tiberius becauſe he was grown old, and led ſo voluptuous a life, that he was incapable of conducting a war. "Senectutem Tiberii ut inermem deſpiciens." *ibid.*

[a] "Inter impotentes & validos falſo quieſcas." *Tacit. de Mor. Germ.* cap. 36. See the notes upon this paſſage in the Edition publiſhed by Gronovius, and printed at Amſterdam, 1672. —— Thoſe that are the ſtrongeſt, are always the moſt reſpected. Paterculus ſays, that Marobodus, King of the Marcomans, having formed a deſign of making himſelf an abſolute Prince, and entirely independent on the Romans, kept his troops in breath by conſtant exerciſe, and made them ſo good Soldiers by the continual wars he was engaged in with his neighbours, that he became formidable to the Roman Empire. "Certum imperium vimque regiam complexus animo . . . . . imperium perpetuis exercitiis brevi in eminens, & noſtro quoque imperio timendum, perduxit faſtigium . . . . . exercitumque aſſiduis adverſus finitimos bellis exercendo majori operi præparabat." *Hiſt.* 8.

[b] As Caſſius Governor of Syria did, who, even in times of profound peace, was continually exerciſing and diſciplining his legions, with as much care and diligence, as if it had been a time of war. "Quantum ſine bello debatur revocare priſcum morem, exercitare legiones curâ, proviſu, perinde agere ac ſi hoſtis ingrueret." *Tacit. Annal.* 22. ——Seneca ſays, that the Soldiery, in times of peace, uſed often to march in Battalia, to work at trenches, and to fatigue themſelves with exerciſe, that they might be inured to theſe things, and expert in them when there was occaſion. *Ep.* 18.

[c] As the Romans did,

Romanis ſolenne viris opus, utile famæ
Vitæque & membris.

body to hardſhips and fatigue, and at the ſame time to inform himſelf of the particular circumſtances and conveniences of different countries through which he rides; as the aſcent and elevation of mountains, the avenues of vallies, the extent of plains, the courſe of rivers, and the nature of fens and moraſſes [*d*]; in all which he ſhould be extremely curious and exact, as he will reap two conſiderable advantages from it. In the firſt place, he will thus become well acquainted with his own Country, and conſequently be better able to provide for its defence; and in the next, by frequent practice, he will more eaſily comprehend the nature of other ſuch ſituations, when he has occaſion to reconnoitre them: for there is a certain reſemblance and ſimilitude betwixt the hills, the vallies, the plains, the rivers and marſhes of Tuſcany (for inſtance) and thoſe of other Provinces; ſo that the perfect knowledge of one, will enable him to form a pretty good judgment of the other. The Prince that is deficient in this point, wants the firſt qualification of a General: for by knowing the Country, he will have an opportunity of chuſing his camp, of marching his army, of drawing it up, of engaging an enemy, and of laying ſiege to a town, with great advantage [*e*]. Hiſtorians relate it as praiſe-worthy in Philopœmenes, Prince of the Achaians, that in times of peace he did not ceaſe to think of military affairs, and that when he was travelling upon the road with his friends, he would often ſtop and aſk them ſuch queſtions as theſe. *Suppoſe the enemy was upon that hill, and our army where we are now; which would have the advantage of ground? in what order ſhould we march towards them, if we deſigned to make an attack? If we intended to retreat, which would be the ſafeſt way? and if they drew off, in what manner could we purſue them with the moſt ſecurity?* Thus, as they went along, he would propoſe all the different caſes and accidents that could happen to an army; and when he had heard their ſeveral opinions, he gave his own, and his reaſons for it: ſo that by continual attention to theſe matters, he acquired ſuch a degree of experience and preſence of mind, that in any exigence or inconvenience that occurred in time of war, he preſently found a remedy for it [*f*].

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Vonomius was deſpiſed by the Parthians, who were a very warlike people, becauſe he did not love hunting. "Accendebat de dignantes & ipſe, diverſus a majorum inſtitutis, raro venatu." *Tacit. Annal.* 2.

[*d*] See Machiavel's *Political Diſcourſes*, Book III. Chap. xxxix.

[*e*] All theſe parts of Generalſhip, Tacitus aſcribes to his Father-in-law Agricola. "Loca caſtris ipſe capere, æſtuaria ac ſilvas ipſe prætentare, disjectos coercere:" and in the next page, "Ad notabant periti, ſays he, non alium ducem opportunitates locorum ſapientius legiſſe." *In Vit. Agric.*

[*f*] The author of the *Eſtimate of the manners and principles of the times*, makes the following remark upon this paſſage, "Land officers in the capital are occupied in Dreſs, Cards,

As to the exercise of the mind, a Prince ought to read History [*g*], to consider maturely the actions of great men, to observe how they conducted their wars, to enquire into the causes of their victories and defeats; that so he may be able to avoid the one, and succeed in the other: but above all, he should take some illustrious and renowned General for his model, whose exploits he ought perpetually to have in his eye; as it is said that Alexander the Great took Achilles, that Julius Cæsar took Alexander, and that Scipio took Cyrus for their respective patterns [*h*]. And indeed, whoever reads the Life of Cyrus, written by Xenophon, will afterwards see in the Life of Scipio, how nearly the latter copied the modesty, affability, humanity, liberality, and other virtues with which Xenophon adorns that Prince, and what glory he acquired by that imitation [*i*].——A wise Prince ought diligently to observe these rules, and never to be idle in time of peace; that so he may avail himself of his labours upon occasion, and set fortune at defiance, if ever she should chance to frown upon him.

Cards, and Tea; and in country towns divide their time betwixt the Milliners shops and Taverns. This abuse of leisure in time of peace, hath been one of the leading causes of that disgrace, into which the Armies of Great Britain are fallen. On this Subject, as being beyond my Sphere, I will not presume to instruct the Military Gentlemen of my Country: at least, if I do, it shall be on the authority, and in the words of a great Writer, who speaking of the proper employment of a Soldier in time of peace, wisely expresseth himself as follows."——Here he quotes the passage, Vol. II. p. 165.——But this reproach, stinging as it is, has been happily removed by the late gallant and ever memorable behaviour of our brave Countrymen in the plains of Minden, and before the walls of Quebec, &c.

[*g*] The last mentioned author observes, that Machiavel is a little incorrect here in the division of his Subject; as a great part of what he has said above is, strictly speaking, an exercise of the mind, no less than the Study of History, *ibid.* p. 169.

[*h*] The same Author here observes, "that this principle was just, whilst offensive and defensive arms continued the same. But the invention of Gunpowder hath wrought such a total change in arms, discipline, and the methods of attack and defence, that an adherence to the practice of any ancient Leader, would be in danger of misguiding, rather than instructing, any modern Warrior in the particulars of execution. But in the general principles of conducting war and armies, this rule may still be applied with success." *Ibid.* p. 170.

[*i*] Scipio himself in his turn, is a pattern worthy of being imitated by all Princes. Paterculus says he divided his whole life betwixt the arts of peace and war; that he was constantly employed either in military exercises, or in his Study and amongst his books, exposing his body to all manner of dangers and fatigues, and giving up his mind chiefly to the cultivation of Arts and Sciences. "Neque quisquam hoc Scipione elægantius intervalla negotiorum otio dispunxit, semperque aut belli aut pacis serviit artibus: semper inter arma ac studia versatus, aut corpus periculis, aut animum disciplinis exercuit."

EXAMEN. CHAP. XIV.

[k] A Prince who applies himſelf to Military affairs only, does but one half of his duty: it is evidently falſe that he has no occaſion to be any thing elſe but a Soldier; and ſo it will appear, if we recur to what I have ſaid concerning the origin of Government, in the firſt Chapter of this work. Machiavel's Prince is like Homer's Gods, who are repreſented as ſtrong and powerful, but ſeldom or never as juſt or equitable. Ludovico Sforza had great reaſon to attend principally to the profeſſion of arms, becauſe he was an uſurper [l].

[Machiavel, who generally carries things too far in other matters, ſeems to fall ſhort in this point.——To what purpoſe does he ſo earneſtly recommend hunting to Princes?] [m]

Is it only becauſe he takes it into his head, that they may ther by come to be thoroughly acquainted with the nature and ſituation of the different places and paſſes in their territories? If a King of France, or an Emperor of Germany, could not come at a competent knowledge of their reſpective dominions, till they had acquired it by hunting, they might hunt, and in vain too, all the days of their lives.

But let us enter a little further into a diſcuſſion of this matter, by way of a digreſſion upon hunting; as it is a pleaſure ſo eagerly purſued, not only by many Noblemen and great Lords, but even by crowned heads, eſpecially in Germany.——Hunting is a recreation, which indeed gives ſtrong exerciſe to the body, but affords little improvement to the mind.——[But Hunters will immediately tell me, that it is one of the nobleſt and moſt ancient diverſions in the world.——It may be ſo; I do not condemn it, except when it is carried to exceſs. What was

[k] The beginning of this Chapter runs thus in the firſt Edition, "Il y a une eſpece de pedanteri commune a tous les metiers, qui ne vient que de l'avarice & de l'intemperance de ceux qui les pratiquent. Un Soldat eſt pedant lorſqu' il s' attache trop a la minutie, ou lorſqu' il eſt fanfaron & qu' il donne dans le Donquicſotiſme. L' Enthouſiaſme de Machiavel expoſe ici ſon Prince a etre ridicule: il exaggere ſi fort la matiere, qu' il veut que ſon Prince ne ſoit uniquement que Soldat; il en fait un Don Quichotte complet, qui n' a l' imagination remplie que de champs de bataille, de retranchements, de la maniere d'inveſtir des places, de faire des lignes & des attaques. Mais un Prince, &c."——But this is cut off in the ſecond Edition.

[l] Machiavel ſays nothing at all of Ludovico Sforza in this Chapter: he mentions Franciſco indeed, but as an example to his purpoſe of one that had acquired a Principality by dint of his own arms and experience in war.

[m] Inſtead of what is included betwixt the two Crotchets above, the text runs thus in the firſt Edition. "Cet auteur ignore juſqu' au Catechiſme de la Juſtice: il ne connait que l'interet & la violence. L'auteur ne reprefente jamais que de petites idees: ſon genie redreſſee n'embraſſe que des ſujets propres pour la politique des petits Princes: rien de plus faible que les raiſons dont il ſe ſert pour reccommander la Chaſſe aux Princes, &c."

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the ſerious occupation of a man's whole life in ruder ages, ought now to be only the amuſement of a few leiſure hours] [*n*]. Our Anceſtors did not know how to employ themſelves any better. They carried their diſquietudes and cares [*o*] with them into the field, in hopes of loſing them in the chace. They ſquandered away thoſe hours in foreſts and the purſuit of wild beaſts, which they neither deſired nor knew how to ſpend in the company of rational creatures.

I ſhould then be glad to know, whether theſe are examples worthy of imitation: are we to to copy after ſo rough a draught? or ought we to follow the practice and example of more polite and enlightened times [*p*]? It is the uſe of reaſon, without doubt, that gives us the ſuperiority over the beaſts we chaſe; but thoſe that make hunting their chief occupation, ſeldom think of any thing elſe but horſes, dogs, and other kinds of animals. There is generally a ſort of ferocity and ſavageneſs in their manners, and it is well if they do not accuſtom themſelves by degrees, to behave with the ſame inhumanity to man-

[*n*] Here the firſt Edition runs in this manner, "La chaſſe eſt un de ces plaiſirs ſenſuels qui agitent beaucoup le corps, & qui ne diſent rien a l'eſprit; c'eſt un deſir ardent de purſuivre quelque bête, & une ſatisfaction cruelle de la tuer; c'eſt un amuſement, qui rend le corps robuſte & diſpos, & qui laiſſe l'eſprit en friche & ſans culture. Les chaſſeurs me reprocheront, ſans doute, que je prends les choſes ſur un ton trop ſerieux, que je fais le critique ſevere, & que je ſuis dans le cas des Pretres, qui aiant le privilege de parler ſeuls dans les chaires, ont la facilité de prenoncer tout ce que bon leur ſemble, ſans apprender d'oppoſition. Je ne me prevaudrai point de cet avantage; J' alleguerai de bonne foiles raiſons ſpecieuſes qu' alleguent les amateurs de chaſſe. Ils me diront d' abord que la chaſſe eſt la plaiſir le plus noble & le plus ancien des hommes; que les Patriarches & même beaucoup de grands hommes ont eté Chaſſeurs; & qu' en chaſſant les hommes continuent à exercer ce même droit ſur les bêtes que Dieu daigna lui-même donner a Adam. Mais ce qui eſt vieux n'en eſt pas meilleur, ſur tout grand il eſt outré. Des grands hommes ont eté paſſiones pour la chaſſe, il avoue: ils ont eu leurs defauts comme leurs faibleſſes; imitons ce qu'ils ont eu de grand, & ne copions point leurs minuties. Les Patriarches ont chaſſé, c'eſt une verité; J'avoue encore qu'ils ont epouſé leurs ſœurs, que la poligamie etoit en uſage de leur tems: mais ces bons Patriarches en chaſſant ainſi ſe reſſentirent des ſiecles barbares dans leſquels ils vivoient; ils etoient tres groſſiers & tres ignorants; c'etoient des gens oiſifs, qui ne ſachant point s'occuper, & pour tuer le tems qui leur paraiſſoit toujours trop long, promenoient leurs ennuis a la chaſſe." —— Theſe various readings of the different Editions perhaps may appear troubleſome and embarraſſing to the Reader: but let it be conſidered that they muſt have been much more ſo to the Editor, in collating them for the ſatisfaction of the Public: and yet he confeſſes he has omitted ſeveral that did not appear very material, both for his own ſake, and that of others, and leſt he ſhould ſeem too minute *in re non neceſſariâ.*

[*o*] The French ſays *leurs ennui*, which more properly ſignifies *weariſomeneſſes*, (if ſuch a word may be uſed) than either *cares* or *diſquietudes*. But we have no term I think in our language, that will fully expreſs the meaning of the French word *Ennui*.

[*p*] The following paſſage which is in the firſt Edition, is here ſtruck out. "Qu' Adam ait reçu l'empire ſur les bêtes, ou non, c'eſt ce que je ne recherche pas: mais je ſçai bien, que nous ſommes plus cruels & plus rapaces que les bêtes mêmes, & que nous uſons tres tyranniquement de ce prentendu empire."

kind, as they do to brutes: the cruelties they daily exerciſe with indifference upon one, will harden them in ſuch a manner at laſt, as to make them look without compaſſion at leaſt upon the ſufferings of the other. Is this the noble pleaſure then that is ſo much extolled? Is this the occupation ſo worthy of a rational Being?——It may be ſaid perhaps, that hunting is a wholeſome exerciſe, and neceſſary for one's health; that it contributes to long life; that it is an innocent recreation, and ſuch as becomes great men; as it ſerves to make a diſplay of their magnificence, to diſſipate their chagrins, and is a ſort of a warlike ſcene, even in times of peace.——I am very far from condemning moderate exercice: but let it be obſerved, that nobody but ſuch as are guilty of exceſs and intemperance in other things, have occaſion for ſuch exerciſe as this. Few Princes have lived longer than Cardinal Fleury [q], Cardinal Ximenes [r], and the preſent Pope [ſ], and yet none of the three were Hunters [t]. Beſides, where is the advantage of ſpinning out life to the laſt ebb of old age, if a man ſpends his days in doing nothing, or what is next to nothing? If he cultivates his mind, he may ſufficiently diſtinguiſh himſelf before that period, by great and good actions: and by that rule alone, the length of a man's life ought to be meaſured. Hunting indeed carries an air of magnificence along with it, which is neceſſary to Princes, but there are many other, and much more uſeful ways of diſplaying their grandeur: and if the beaſts of the field are ſo numerous as to ſpoil the labours of the peaſant, Hunters ought to be employ'd and paid on purpoſe to deſtroy them. Princes ſhould exerciſe themſelves wholly in gaining knowledge, and learning to govern well: it is their buſineſs to think juſtly and to act accordingly.

I muſt add, that it is not at all neceſſary (though Machiavel ſays it is) to be a great Hunter, in order to be a great Soldier. Every one, I ſuppoſe, will readily allow that Guſtavus Adolphus, Marſhal Turenne, the Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Eugene, were illuſtrious men, and great Generals; and yet they were not Hunters: nor do we read that Julius Cæſar, Alexander, or Scipio were ſo. A man may take a

[q] Prime Miniſter of France under Lewis XV.

[r] Cardinal of Toledo and Prime Miniſter of Spain, under Ferdinand V. Iſabel, Jean, Philip, and Charles, for the ſpace of twenty-two years. He was poiſoned by reading a Letter he received from Flanders, and afterwards by a potion which put an end to his life in 1517, at the eightieth year of his age. *See his Life written by E. Flechier, Biſhop of Nimes, printed at Paris and Amſterdam, in* 1693.

[ſ] This was written in the year 1737, when Clement XII. was Pope.

[t] The following paſſage, which runs thus in the firſt Edition, is here ſtruck out. "Faut-il d'ailleurs choiſir la profeſſion qui n'a de merite que celui de promettre une longue vie? Les moines vivent d'ordinaire plus long tems que les autres hommes: faut il pour cela ſe faire Moine?"

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more exact and judicious ſurvey of the nature and ſituation of places, as far as it is neceſſary for a Soldier, when he rides gently and leiſurely through a country, than when he is hurried away headlong after a ſtag and a pack of hounds, and his attention diverted in the eagerneſs of the chace. A certain great Prince, in the ſecond campaign he made in Hungary, having loſt his way whilſt he was hunting, narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner by the Turks [u]: hunting, therefore, ought not to be ſuffered in any army, as it often occaſions great diſorder in their marches and at other times. Upon the whole, however, it may be excuſable in a Prince to indulge himſelf in it ſometimes, provided he does it but ſeldom, and only to relax himſelf after his cares, and the diſagreeable offices which he is occaſionally obliged to perform. I would not be thought to reſtrain him from any lawful and innocent pleaſure: but that of well governing, of making his kingdom flouriſh, of protecting his Subjects, of encouraging Arts and Sciences, is without doubt by far the greateſt of all others; and unhappy muſt he be whom this will not ſuffice.

CHAP. XV.

Of ſuch things as advance or diminiſh the reputation of a Prince.

IT now remains to ſhew, in what manner a Prince ſhould behave to his Subjects and friends: but as many have written upon this head already, it may ſeem arrogant in me, perhaps, to offer any thing further, eſpecially as I ſhall differ widely in my opinion from that of others. However, ſince I write only for the inſtruction of ſuch, as I would have thoroughly acquainted with the nature of things, I thought it better to repreſent them as they really are in fact, than to amuſe the imagination with viſionary models of Republics and Principalities (as ſeveral have done) which never did nor can exiſt [x]: for the manner

[u] It is ſuppoſed, that either his Majeſty's Father or Grandfather is here meant.—See the Memoires of the Houſe of Brandenburgh.

[x] "Cunctas nationes & urbes populus, aut primores, aut ſinguli regunt. Delecta ex his & contituta Reipublicæ forma laudari facilius, quam evenire, vel ſi evenit, haud diutuma eſſe poteſt." *Tacit. Annal.* 4.——"The author of this book, *viz. the Prince*, (ſays one of his traſlators) only pretends to teach Princes to get what they can, and keep what they get, making light of the rules laid down by others, that have written before him, for the inſtitution of a Prince; who have talked of I know not what ſort of perfection, which it is impoſſible for mortal men to attain to, conſidering the frailty of human nature. Our Author, on the contrary, endeavours to accommodate his precepts to ordinary experience, and the common method of acting obſerved by wiſe Princes; looking upon it as abſurd to point out a road that is impaſſable, and to forſake one that is travelled by all the reſt of the world."—*Gaſpar d'Auvergne, in his ſecond dedication to his tranſlation of the Prince.*

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and wiſe: for then, wicked men will both fear and reſpect you. Men in general, and Princes as well as others, are neither wholly good, nor altogether bad: but the good, the bad, and the indifferent, will all agree in ſhewing great reverence to a powerful, juſt, and wiſe Prince. For certainly any one would much ſooner chuſe to make war upon a Tyrant than a good King, upon a Lewis XI. rather than a Lewis XII. upon a Domitian rather than a Trajan: for a good King will always be well and faithfully ſerved; but the Subjects of a Tyrant will naturally deſert him and go over to the enemy. If one was to march into Italy, againſt ſuch a Pontiff as Alexander VI. with no more than ten thouſand men, one half of the nation would preſently declare for the Invader: but if he was to enter it with an army of forty thouſand, againſt ſuch a one as Innocent XI. all Italy would riſe in arms againſt him. No good and wiſe Prince could ever be dethroned in England, even by the moſt powerful armies that could be raiſed for that purpoſe; but almoſt all their bad ones have been depoſed by competitors, who had not above three or four thouſand regular forces to oppoſe them.—It is not the intereſt of a Prince, therefore, to be wicked becauſe other men are ſo; but to ſhew himſelf virtuous and intrepid upon all occaſions: for by ſo doing he will make is own Subjects like himſelf, his neighbours will ſoon begin to follow his example, and bad men will ſtand in awe of him.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Liberality, and Parſimony.

TO begin then with the firſt of the above mentioned qualities, I ſay, that it is for the intereſt of a Prince to be accounted liberal. Nevertheleſs, if his Liberality is not exerciſed in ſuch a manner as to make him reſpectable, it will rather be of prejudice to him than otherwiſe: for if he is liberal only to ſuch a degree as he ought not to exceed, that is, with prudence and diſcretion, his bounty will be ſo little known to the public, that it will not be ſufficient to ſecure him from the imputation of the vice that is its oppoſite. But in order to gain the reputation of being liberal, every ſort of expence and munificence is required; ſo that a Prince of ſuch a diſpoſition, may ſquander away his whole revenue in thoſe extravagancies, and at laſt muſt be neceſſitated (if he ſtill reſolves to keep up the name of Liberality) to oppreſs his people in an extraordinary manner, and to have recourſe to confiſcations, and many other grievous means of extorting money from them [*c*]; which,

[*c*] "If we exhauſt the public Treaſury to gratify our ambition, ſaid Tiberius, we muſt have recourſe to unjuſt means to fill it again." "Si ærarium ambitione exhauſerimus, per ſcelera ſupplendum erit." *Tacit. Annal.* 2.

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in a while, will make him become odious to his own Subjects, and deſpiſed by every one elſe, when they ſee he is reduced to poverty and diſtreſs: and as he has injured many, and benefitted but few by his Liberality, he muſt be expoſed to great inconveniences, and in danger of being ruined by the firſt reverſe of fortune [*d*]. But what is ſtill worſe, when he begins to be ſenſible of his error, and endeavours to correct it, he is thought guilty of the other extreme, and reproached with avarice.

A Prince, therefore, who cannot ſhew his Liberality, without prejudicing his ſtate, ought not, if he be wiſe, to trouble himſelf about the imputation of being covetous: for he will come to be eſteem'd liberal in time, when people ſee that he has improved his revenue in ſuch a manner by parſimony, that he is not only able to defend himſelf againſt any one that ſhall dare to attack him, but even to invade others, without diſtreſſing his own Subjects; ſince all thoſe in fact will think him liberal from whom he has taken nothing [*e*], who are many; and thoſe only will look upon him as covetous, to whom he has not given ſo much as they expected, who will be but few in number in compariſon of the others. We have ſeen no great things performed in our times, except by ſuch as have been accounted frugal: all others have failed in their attempts, and been undone. Pope Julius II. having availed himſelf of a ſhew of Liberality to get into the Papal chair, preſently dropped it after he had ſucceeded in that deſign, that he might be the better able to make war upon the King of France: his long and continual parſimony, furniſhed him with ſuch reſources, that he ſupported ſeveral expenſive wars, without laying any extraordinary tax, or impoſition, upon his Subjects. The preſent King of Spain [*f*] could never have ſucceeded in ſo many great enterprizes, if he had affected to be thought liberal.

[*d*] Tully ſays, that a liberal Prince loſes more hearts than he gains, and that the reſentment of thoſe that he takes away from, is much ſtronger than the gratitude of ſuch as he gives to. "Nec tanta ſtudia aſſequuntur eorum, quibus ademerunt, quanta odia eorum, quibus dederunt." *De offic. lib.* 2. "A Prince will be excuſed who gives nothing to his Subjects, provided he takes nothing away from them." "Nihil largiatur Princeps, dum nihil auferat." *Plin. Jun. in Panegyr.* Tacitus, ſpeaking of Otho, ſays, "perdere iſte ſciet, donare neſciet." He knew how to diſſipate and ſquander away, but not to give." *Hiſt.* 1. and adds "falluntur quibus luxuria ſpecie liberalitatis imponit." "They are deceived that take luxury and prodigality for liberality." Pliny the younger will not allow thoſe to be called liberal, that take away from one to give to another; and ſays, that inſtead of liberality, it is downright avarice, "Qui quod hunc dabant, auferunt illi, famam liberalitatis avaritiâ petunt." *Ep.* 30. *lib.* IX.

[*e*] "Thou art my God, ſays David, my goods are nothing unto thee." "Dominus meus eſt tu, quoniam bonorum meorum non eges." *Pſalm*, xvi. 2. Moſt Subjects are of the ſame mind with regard to Princes, who let them enjoy their properties in peace. "They will always be well affected towards them, ſays Mezeray, in his *life of Charles* VI. whilſt they are well treated;" that is, whilſt they are not plundered of their goods and eſtates.

[*f*] Ferdinand V. King of Arragon and Caſtile.

A Prince then who would avoid poverty and contempt, and be in a condition to defend himſelf and his dominions, without being forced to plunder and oppreſs his people, ſhould make little account of being called covetous; becauſe it is one of thoſe vices that principally contribute to eſtabliſh him in his throne. If it be ſaid, that Julius Cæſar made his way to Empire by Liberality, and that many others have arrived at the higheſt honours by the ſame means; I anſwer, that you are either already in poſſeſſion of dominion, or you are not. In the firſt caſe, Liberality would be prejudicial to you [*g*]; in the ſecond, the reputation of it is very ſerviceable and neceſſary. Now Julius Cæſar endeavoured to appear liberal whilſt he aſpir'd to the empire of Rome; but if he had lived much longer, and continued his extravagant expences after he was Emperor, he would certainly either have ruined or loſt that empire. If any one ſhould object, that many who have actually been Princes, have had great ſucceſs in their wars, though they have been reckoned very liberal, I would reply, that a Prince muſt either ſpend his own riches, and the property of his ſubjects, upon ſuch occaſions, or that of other people. In the firſt caſe, he ought to be extremely frugal [*h*]; in the ſecond, he may be as profuſe as he pleaſes, and not limit himſelf to any degree of Liberality: for a Prince, at the head of an army, that is to be ſupported upon free quarter, plunder, and contributions from other people, in order to ſpare his own Subjects, muſt be very liberal, indeed, in indulging his Soldiers in thoſe points, if he expects them to follow his banners any longer: and ſurely he may be as magnificent as he thinks fit, in giving away what neither hurts himſelf nor his people, as Cyrus, Julius Cæſar, and Alexander the Great uſed to do; for that will not diminiſh his reputation, but rather add to it. Nothing can hurt him in point of Liberality, but ſpending the treaſure of his own king-

[*g*] "Liberalitas, ni adſit modus, vertitur in exitium." Says Tacitus, *Hiſt.* 3. On the contrary, frugality in a Prince anſwers the end of a plentiful revenue, and will furniſh him with ſufficient reſources upon all occaſions. "Tantas vires habet frugalitas Principis, ſays Pliny in his Panegyric, ut tot impendiis, tot erogationibus ſola ſufficiat."—What Machiavel ſays, about being liberal in order to attain to Sovereignty, and acting otherwiſe, when that end is once obtained, is agreeable to what Tacitus ſays of Otho, who whilſt he was but a private man, lived at an expence that would have been burdenſome even to a Prince, "luxuria etiam Principi oneroſa." *Hiſt.* 1. giving money away whenever Galba dined with him, to every Soldier that was upon guard, to buy them a dinner. But after he became a Prince, he grew ſo ſparing, that the largeſſes which he gave away to his domeſtics at his death, were not like thoſe of a man that was going to die, but of one that had a long time to live. "Eo progreſſus eſt, ut per ſpeciem convivii, quoties Galba apud Othonem epularetur, cohorti excubias agenti viritim centenos nummos divideret." *Hiſt.* 1. But this was whilſt he aſpired to the Empire; when he was in poſſeſſion of it, "pecunias diſtribuit parcè nec ut periturus." *Hiſt.* 2.

[*h*] Tacitus praiſes Galba for being ſparing of his own money, but covetous of the public." "Pecuniæ ſuæ parcus, publicæ avarus." *Hiſt.* 1. Henry the Great, of France, was of this turn.

dom;

dom; and that will not only put it out of his power to continue liberal [*i*], but ſoon make him either poor and contemptible in the eyes of others, or rapacious, and conſequently hateful to his own Subjects, in order to prevent his falling into that poverty and contempt [*k*]. Now there is nothing that a Prince ought to take ſo much care to avoid, as becoming odious and deſpicable: both which will inevitably be occaſioned by Liberality. It is wiſer, therefore, to ſubmit to the imputation of covetouſneſs, which is rather ſcandalous than odious, than to reduce one's ſelf, by an oſtentation of Liberality, to the neceſſity of being a tyrant, which will create both infamy and hatred too [*l*].

EXAMEN.

[*i*] "Liberalitas enim nimiâ profuſione inareſcit." *Plin. Epiſt.* 4. *lib.* 2.

[*k*] Like Nero, who diſſipated the treaſures of the Empire, by his luxury, to ſuch a degree, that the public became extremely poor: which made him ſo much the more ridiculous to the whole world, as his Flatterers were all the while extolling the felicity of his reign. "Novâ ubertate provenire terras, & obvias opes deferre Deos confidens..... Gliſcebat interea Luxuria ſpe inani, conſumebanturque veteres opes, quaſi oblatis, quas multos per annos prodigeret. Quin & inde jam largiebatur, & divitiarum expectatio inter cauſas paupertatis publicæ erat." *Tacit. Annal.* 16.

[*l*] A French Civilian aſſerts, that "thoſe are in a great error who univerſally applaud and adore the goodneſs of a gentle, gracious, courteous, and ſimple Prince; for ſuch a ſimplicity, unaccompanied with prudence, is very dangerous and pernicious in a King, and productive of much worſe conſequences, than the cruelty of a ſevere, rough, covetous, and inacceſſible Prince. And in my opinion, our forefathers did not uſe the following proverb without reaſon, *a bad man makes a good King*; a ſentence, indeed, that may ſeem ſtrange to delicate ears, and ſuch as have not been uſed to weigh the reaſons on both ſides of a queſtion. By the indulgence and ſimplicity of too good natured a Prince, it comes to paſs that flatterers, paraſites, and the moſt wicked men obtain all offices, employments, benefices, and grants, exhauſting the treaſures of a kingdom; and by theſe means the miſerable people are preyed upon to their very bones, and cruelly enſlaved by the great; ſo that inſtead of one tyrant, there are ten thouſand, &c."—Deſirous afterwards to confirm this poſition by examples, he goes on as follows. "This kingdom was as great, rich, and flouriſhing in arms as in laws, towards the cloſe of the reign of Francis I. when he grew peeviſh and inacceſſible, and no one dared to approach him to ſue for the leaſt favour or honour, and penſions were ſo retrenched, that there was found in his treaſury, when he died, a million of gold, beſides ſeven hundred thouſand crowns, and the March-quarter to receive, and nothing owing, except a very ſmall matter to the Lords of the Griſons, and to the bank of Lyons, which it was judged not proper to pay, in order to keep them to their duty. Peace was eſtabliſhed with all the Potentates in Europe; the frontiers extended as far as the gates of Milan; the Kingdom abounding at the ſame time with great Captains, and the moſt learned men in the World. It was afterwards ſeen during the twelve years reign of Henry II. whoſe goodneſs was ſo great as not to be paralelled by any Prince of his age, that the Government was very near changed; for being gentle, gracious, and good natured, he could not deny any thing to any perſon: by which means, his father's treaſure being exhauſted in a few months, places of truſt were more expoſed to ſale than ever; benefices beſtowed without the leaſt regard to merit; civil offices ſold to the beſt bidder, and conſequently to the moſt unworthy: Taxes were higher than ever they had been before; and yet when he died, his Exchequer was found in debt forty two millions, after having loſt Piedmont, Savoy, the Iſland of Corſica, and the frontiers of the Netherlands; although theſe loſſes were inconſiderable, in compariſon of that of his fame and honour. Had the gentleneſs of this great King been accompanied with ſeverity, his goodneſs mixed with rigour, and his eaſineſs with

EXAMEN. CHAP. XVI.

PHIDIAS and Alcamenes, two celebrated Statuaries, made each a Statue of Minerva for the Athenians; the moſt approved of which was to be placed upon the top of a lofty pillar. When they were both preſented to the public, that of Alcamenes had the preference. The other, they ſaid, was too large and heavy. But Phidias, not regarding the judgment of the vulgar, deſired that, as the Statue was deſign'd to be placed on the top of a pillar, they might both be elevated to the deſtined height: which being complied with, that of Phidias carried the prize.—Phidias owed his ſucceſs to the ſtudy of Optics and Proportion. The rules of Proportion ought likewiſe to be obſerved in Politics; different places and circumſtances require different maxims; for it is impoſſible that the ſame ſhould equally ſuit all: what would be of admirable uſe in a great kingdom, might prove the ruin of a ſmall State: Luxury, for inſtance, which is the offspring of plenty, and cauſes riches to circulate through all the veins of a State, makes a great kingdom flouriſh; it is the mother of induſtry, it multiplies the occaſions of the rich, and eſtabliſhes a connection betwixt them and the poor [*m*]. If ſome ill adviſed Politician ſhould take it into his head to baniſh it out of a great Empire, that Empire would ſoon begin to languiſh and fall to decay. Whereas, on the contrary, luxury would be the deſtruction of a little State: money muſt be ſent out of it in greater quantities than it could come in; which would ſoon bring ſo delicate a conſtitution into a remedileſs conſumption.—It ought, therefore, to be an indiſpenſable rule with a Politician, not to confound little States with great ones; and in this point, Machiavel is guilty of a capital error.

My firſt objection is, that he uſes the word *Liberality* in too vague a ſenſe: he does not properly diſtinguiſh betwixt that and Prodigality. "A Prince, ſays he, that has any great deſigns to accompliſh, ſhould by all means endeavour to gain the *reputation* of Liberality; but in fact he ought to be covetous."—Now I aſſert on the contrary, that he ought

with auſterity, all things would not have been ſo eaſily extorted from him." *Bodin de Repub. lib.* II. *cap.* iv. *towards the end. See alſo lib.* VI. *cap.* ii. It muſt be obſerved, when he ſays *a bad man makes a good King*, that he does not take the word *bad* in its full extent, but only means *auſtere* and *rigorous* by it.—This learned man's opinion, therefore, which at firſt ſeems a paradox, will be found to be juſtly grounded when it is cloſely examined.

[*m*] It is needleſs to ſay any thing here of the public advantages or diſadvantages that attend Luxury; as that Subject has been already touched upon in the Notes upon Book 7. of the Hiſtory of Florence towards the end.—Whoever deſires to ſee this matter more fully diſcuſſed, with the arguments *pro & con*, may conſult Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees*, and the anſwer to it, by a Country Clergyman. See alſo the Article *Mandeville* in the General Dictionary.

not

not only to be accounted liberal, but to be ſo in reality. Was there ever any inſtance of a hero that was not liberal? For my part, I know of none. To be covetous, is to ſay in a few words, "if you ſerve me, do not expect any reward for it; if you do, you will be diſappointed:" it is extinguiſhing the ardour with which every Subject is naturally inſpired to ſerve his Prince. It muſt be owned indeed, that in order to be liberal, a Prince ought to be an œconomiſt; for a man who does not take proper care of his own affairs, can never have it in his power to do good to others. Let the example of Francis I. King of France, ſuffice at preſent, whoſe exceſſive expences were in a great meaſure the cauſe of all his misfortunes. That Prince could not juſtly be ſaid to be liberal, but profuſe; and yet towards the latter end of his life he began to grow covetous: inſtead of being a good œconomiſt, and diſtributing his revenue in a proper manner, he filled his coffers with it. But riches, without due circulation, are of little ſervice; a ſufficient and well managed revenue is the point to be attended to. A private man, or a Prince, whoſe knowledge extends no further than how to amaſs treaſure, and then to bury it, is ſhort of the mark; he ought to make it circulate in order to be truly rich. The Medici were wholly indebted for the Sovereignty of Florence to the prudence and Liberality of the Great Coſimo, who, though but a plain Merchant, was the Father of his Country.—Avarice is the effect of a narrow circumſcribed genius, and I think Cardinal de Retz was in the right, when he ſaid, *that no expence was to be ſpar'd in the execution of great deſigns.*

A Prince, then, ought to make it his buſineſs to furniſh himſelf with ſufficient funds and reſources, by encouraging commerce and induſtry amongſt his ſubjects; that ſo he may have it in his power to be liberal and magnificent upon proper occaſions; and that will make him beloved and eſteemed, though Machiavel ſays, it will bring him to poverty and contempt. One might, indeed, have expected ſuch a leſſon from a common Uſurer; but are theſe inſtructions fit for a man to give who pretends to tutor Princes?—A Sovereign ought to be an emblem of Heaven, which daily diſpenſes its dews and ſhowers, and yet has always an inexhauſtible ſource of bleſſings left to refreſh and fertilize the earth.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Cruelty and Clemency, and whether it is better for a Prince to be feared or beloved.

TO proceed in due order to the other qualities abovementioned, I ſay, that a Prince ſhould deſire to be eſteemed merciful. Nevertheleſs he ought to take great care how he exerciſes his clemency. Cæſar Borgia was accounted cruel; but his cruelty not only thoroughly reformed and united Romagna, but ſettled it in peace, and kept it firm in allegiance to him. Which being duly conſidered, he will appear much more merciful than the Florentines, who, to avoid the reproach of cruelty, ſuffered Piſtoia to be deſtroyed [*n*].—A Prince therefore ſhould not regard the imputation of cruelty, provided it is neceſſary to keep his ſubjects united and in obedience: ſince by making a few examples, he will prove himſelf more merciful in the end, than he who, by too much indulgence, ſuffers ſuch diſorders to ariſe, as commonly terminate in murder and rapine [*o*]: for theſe enormities injure and diſturb the peace of a whole community; whereas legal executions extend only to particular perſons. But for a new Prince it is almoſt impoſſible to avoid the charge of cruelty, as he muſt naturally be ſurrounded with dangers on every ſide [*p*]. Hence Virgil, in the firſt book of

[*n*] By not exterminating the two families of Panciatichi and Cancellieri, who divided that City into two factions, and threw every thing into diſorder and confuſion by their quarrels. See Machiavel's *Political Diſcourſes*, *Book* III. *Chap.* 27.

[*o*] Thus Tacitus ſays of Corbulo, that his ſeverity was of great ſervice, by reſtoring military diſcipline to its ancient vigour; as the indulgence of former Generals had almoſt ruined their armies by pardoning deſerters, &c. "Quia duritatem cæli militiæque multi abnuebant, deſerebantque, remedium ſeveritate quæſitum eſt . . . . . idque uſu ſalubre, & miſericordiâ melius apparuit; quippe pauciores illa caſtra deſeruêre, quam ea, in quibus ignoſcebantur." *Annal.* 13.

[*p*] Every new Prince, ſays Tacitus, ſtands upon a tottering foundation, and is expoſed to a thouſand accidents and dangers, "novum & nutantem Principem." *Annal.* 1. "ad omnes principatûs novi eventus caſuſque." *Hiſt.* 5. He adds, that people often riſe againſt a new Prince, even when he gives them no occaſion ſo to do; only becauſe the change of a Prince furniſhes them with an opportunity of throwing things into confuſion, and tempts men of turbulent Spirits to hope they ſhall ſucceed better, and mend their fortunes in civil wars. "Seditio inceſſit nullis novis cauſis, niſi quod mutatus Princeps licentiam turbarum & ex civili bello ſpem præmiorum oſtendebat. *Annal.* 1. Lewis XI. of France therefore uſed to ſay, "that if he had not acted with rigour in the beginning of his reign, he ſhould have been numbered amongſt the *unfortunate Princes* ſpoken of by Boccace." Another thing which makes it a very difficult matter for new Princes to refrain from ſevere meaſures, is, that their Subjects commonly take too great freedoms with them, knowing that they ſit but looſe upon their thrones at firſt, and

of his Æneid, makes Dido excuſe the inhoſpitality of her Subjects from the newneſs of her Government.

Res dura, & regni novitas metalia cogunt
Moliri, & latè fines cuſtode tueri

—— my cruel fate,
And doubts attending an unſettled State,
Forced me to guard my Coaſt.—— DRYDEN.

However he ought to be ſlow in giving credit to reports, not over haſty in his proceedings, and to beware of frighting himſelf with phantoms of his own raiſing; tempering his mercy with prudence in ſuch a manner, that too much confidence may not put him off his guard, nor cauſeleſs jealouſies make him inſupportable.

From hence ariſes a Query, viz. *whether it is better to be loved or feared:* to which I would anſwer, that one would wiſh to be both. But ſince that is a very hard matter to accompliſh, it is ſafer to be feared than beloved, if one ſide or other of the queſtion muſt neceſſarily be taken. For it may be truly affirmed of mankind in general, that they are ungrateful, inconſtant, hypocritical, ſelf-intereſted, and ready to fly from any appearance of danger: whilſt you are ſecure, and in a capacity of doing them any good, their lives and fortunes, and Children (if you believe them) are all at your Service: but if fortune turns her back upon you, they will ſoon follow her example, as I ſaid before [q]. The Prince then who has no other foundation to rely upon but their profeſſions, will certainly be ruined: for though indeed he may think he has reaſon to depend upon the affection of thoſe who follow him (if not from motives of generoſity and diſintereſtedneſs, or regard to his perſonal merit) at leaſt from a ſenſe of the favours and

and are not able to ſtem any powerful oppoſition. "Uſurpatâ ſtatim libertate, licentius, ut erga principem novum." *Hiſt.* 1. Duke Valentine uſed to ſay, "that the maxim *oderint dum metuant*, muſt of neceſſity be followed by ſuch as have raiſed themſelves to Sovereignty from a private condition;" quoting the inſtance of Julius Cæſar, who enjoyed the Empire but five months, becauſe he ſlighted the counſel that was given him by Hirtius and Panſa, who adviſed him to ſupport his power by the ſame method that he had acquired it. "Laudandum, ſays Paterculus, experientiâ conſilium eſt Panſæ atque Hirtii, qui ſemper prædixerant Cæſari ut principatum armis quæſitum, armis teneret. Ille dictitans mori ſe quam timeri malle; dum clementiam, quam præſtiterat, expectat, incautus ab ingratis occupatus eſt." *Hiſt.* 2. One muſt conclude therefore with Salluſt, that the beſt means to preſerve power, are thoſe that were made uſe of to obtain it. "Imperium eiſdom artibus retinetur, quibus partum eſt."

[q] "Proſperis Vitellii rebus certaturi, adverſam ejus fortunam ex æquo detrectabant." *Tacit. Hiſt.* 2. "languentibus omnium Studiis, qui primo alacres fidem atque animum oſtentaverant." *Hiſt.* 1. "cæteris aliena pericula deſerentibus." *Annal.* 13.

benefactions they have received; yet he will find himſelf deceived when he has occaſion for their aſſiſtance [r]. Beſides, people are apt to be leſs cautious of offending thoſe who take pains to make themſelves beloved, than thoſe who endeavour to make themſelves feared [ſ], as love of that ſort generally proceeds from obligations, which mankind, out of the depravity and corruption of their hearts, uſually take the firſt opportunity of breaking whenever ſelf-intereſt interferes [t]: but fear being cauſed by an apprehenſion of puniſhment and ſufferings, is ſeldom or never to be ſhaken off.

A prince however, ought to make himſelf feared in ſuch a manner, that if he cannot gain the love, he may at leaſt avoid the hatred of his Subjects: and that is far from being impoſſible, eſpecially if he does not make too free with their properties, their wives, or daughters.—As to the matter of executions, he ſhould never put a man to death, but when there is a manifeſt reaſon for it, and the neceſſity of the thing will fairly juſtify him in it: but above all, he muſt take particular care not to touch their eſtates; for a man will ſooner excuſe the death of a father, or brother, than the loſs of his patrimony. Beſides, as pretences for confiſcations are never wanting, when a man once begins to indulge himſelf in rapine of that kind, he ſeldom deſiſts: but in caſes of blood, the occaſions being rare, the remembrance of them will ſoon be blown over [u].

But when a Prince is at the head of a numerous army, he muſt make little account of being thought cruel [x]: for if he has not that character amongſt his Soldiers, they will never be kept in due order and diſcipline, nor fit to be led on to any enterprize. It is related of Hannibal, amongſt the reſt of his great qualifications, that though he had almoſt a numberleſs army to command, compoſed of many different nations, and in a hoſtile country too, there never happened any diſſention amongſt the Soldiers themſelves, nor did they ever mutiny againſt their General, either in the ebb or flow of his fortune [y]: and

[r] "Amicitias, dum magnitudine munerum, non conſtantiâ morum, continere putat, meruit magis quam habuit." *Tacit. Hiſt.* 3. "The friendſhips which intereſt had cemented, intereſt likewiſe diſſolved," ſays another ancient author.

[ſ] "Infirma vincula caritatis." *Tacit. in Vit. Agric.* "Timetur a pluribus, quod plerumque fortius amore eſt." *Plin. Ep.* 5. *Lib.* I.

[t] "Amicos tempore fortunâ, cupidinibus, aliquando imminui, deſinere." *Tacit. Hiſt.* 4.

[u] "That is, when a Prince is not naturally inclined to rapine; (adds Machiavel, *Chap.* xxi. *Book* III. *of his Political Diſcourſes:*) for if he is of a covetous and rapacious turn, he will always find pretences to ſhed blood, for the ſake of confiſcations."

[x] "Eſpecially if his reputation be great; (ſays he, *Chap.* xxi. *Book* III. *of the ſame Diſcourſes*) as that will preſently efface the remembrance of all the faults which his rigour had made him commit."

[y] He ſays the ſame thing in the laſt quoted Chapter of his diſcourſes.

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this can be attributed to nothing elſe but his extreme ſeverity, which, in conjunction with his other admirable qualities, made him both feared and reſpected, and without which, all the reſt could not have produced ſuch an effect. And yet there are ſome writers (but of little judgment indeed) who though they admire his great exploits, make no ſcruple of condemning the cauſes to which they might principally be aſſigned. But in order to ſhew that his other virtues would not have been ſufficient for this purpoſe without ſuch a degree of ſeverity, let us reflect upon the conduct of Scipio, a General of the higheſt reputation, not only in his own times, but in the hiſtory of all others that have ſince paſſed. His forces mutinied againſt him in Spain; a diſaſter that was wholly owing to his lenity, which had encouraged them to ſuch a degree of licentiouſneſs, as was by no means conſiſtent with military diſcipline [z]: upon which account, he was upbraided by Fabius Maximus in full Senate, as *the corrupter of the Roman Soldiery* [a]. Another inſtance of his too great mildneſs in this reſpect was, that when the inhabitants of Locris complained to him of being plundered and abuſed by one of his Lieutenants, they met with no manner of redreſs, nor was that officer in any wiſe either reprimanded or chaſtiſed for his inſolence [b]: to excuſe which, one of the Senators [c] ſaid, "there were ſome men who knew better how to avoid doing ill themſelves, than to puniſh it in others." It is certain, however, that ſo dangerous a manner of proceeding would in time have tarniſhed his glory, if he had been a Prince: but as he lived under a Republican government, it was not only connived at, but added to his reputation.—I conclude then with regard to the queſtion, *whether it is better to be feared or beloved*, that it entirely depends upon the inclinations of the ſubjects themſelves, whether they will love their Prince or not; whereas the Prince has it in his own power to make them fear him; and if he is a wiſe man, he ought to truſt to what depends upon himſelf alone, and not upon the caprice of others, but to remember at the ſame time, to conduct himſelf (as I have ſaid before) in ſuch a manner as to avoid being hated [d].

[z] He was afterwards obliged to uſe more rigour, *ibid.*

[a] "Natum eum ad corrumpendam diſciplinam militarem arguebat." *Tit. Liv. Dec.* 3. *Lib.* II.

[b] Plutarch calls him Pleminius. It was upon theſe complaints that the Romans were for depriving Scipio of the Government of Sicily, and bringing him to a trial.

[c] Quintus Metellus.

[d] Plutarch ſays, in the life of Lycurgus, that Eurytion, King of Sparta, having relaxed the royal authority a little, in order to pleaſe his Subjects, they grew ſo inſolent and licentious after they perceived the reins looſe, that when his Succeſſors endeavoured to reſume a proper degree of authority, they became mortally hated by the people.

EXAMEN. CHAP. XVII.

THE moſt precious depoſit that a Prince can be truſted with, is the life of his Subjects: his office gives him a power either to puniſh or abſolve the guilty [e]. Good Princes look upon this power over the lives of their Subjects as the heavieſt part of their charge: they conſider that others, whom they are appointed to judge, are men as well as themſelves: they know that other calamities and misfortunes may in ſome wiſe be remedied; but that a violent and untimely death is an irreparable loſs: they never proceed to ſeverity but when it is abſolutely neceſſary, to prevent ſome greater evil which muſt otherwiſe happen; [like a man who cuts off a limb that is gangrened to ſave the reſt of his body.] [f] But Machiavel treats things of the greateſt importance as mere trifles: he makes little or no account of human blood: private intereſt is the only thing he conſiders as worth regard, and the only God he worſhips: he prefers cruelty to clemency, and adviſes all Princes, but thoſe eſpecially who are newly advanced to Sovereignty, to deſpiſe the imputation of being cruel. In defence of this, he cites ſome verſes which Virgil puts into the mouth of Dido. But where is the weight of ſuch quotations? Virgil makes Dido ſpeak like Jocaſta in one of our modern Tragedies: for the perſons whom Poets introduce upon the Stage, muſt always expreſs themſelves in terms that are ſuitable to their reſpective characters. The authority of Dido and Jocaſta then is not to be quoted in a Treatiſe of Politics: the example of ſome great and able men upon ſuch an occaſion would have been more to the purpoſe.

He likewiſe recommends extreme rigour to ſuch as command armies, and after a compariſon betwixt the indulgence of Scipio and the Severity of Hannibal, prefers the Carthaginian to the Roman, and concludes that all order and diſcipline are owing to ſuch rigour, and conſequently that nothing is to be expected from an army without it. But his manner of arguing is very unfair and diſingenuous: for he pitches upon Scipio, the mildeſt and gentleſt of all Generals in point of diſcipline, to compare him with Hannibal, in order to palliate the cruelty of his maxims.—It muſt be owned, indeed, that no order can

[e] The ſecond edition ſtrikes out "Ils ſont arbitres ſupremes de la juſtice," which is here added in the firſt.

[f] The firſt edition runs in this manner, "ils ne prennent de ces triſtes reſolutions, que dans des cas deſeſperez & pareils à ceux où un homme ſe ſentant un membre gangrenè, malgrè la tendreſſe qu'il a pour lui-même, ſe reſoudroit a le laiſſer retrancher, pour garantir & pour ſauvir du moins par cette operation douloureuſe le réſte du ſon corps."

be

be maintained in an army without ſeverity. For how would it be poſſible to govern a motley multitude of libertines, debauchees, poltroons, hot-brained young fellows, in ſhort of brutes and raſcals of every kind, if they were not hard reined and kept in obedience by the fear of puniſhment? All that I plead for upon this occaſion is moderation: if a man's tenderneſs inclines him to mercy, his prudence will likewiſe oblige him to uſe ſeverity: but in that caſe he will act like a ſkilful Pilot, and not cut away his maſts and rigging till he is abſolutely forced to it by a Storm. Without doubt there are exigencies when it is neceſſary to be ſevere, but never to be cruel; and I ſhould much rather chuſe to be beloved than feared by my Soldiers in the day of battle.

He further aſſerts that a Prince will find it ſafer to be feared than beloved, becauſe the greateſt part of mankind are ungrateful, inconſtant, &c [*g*]. And every body muſt allow indeed that there are ſuch people in the world; nor do I deny that motives of fear are ſometimes very powerful: but I will venture to affirm that a Prince, whoſe Politics have no other end but to make him feared, will reign only over a parcel of poor abject wretches, from whoſe ſervice nothing great or glorious can be expected; for whatever is done out of fear, will always carry the marks of it: that, on the contrary, a Prince who has gained the love of his Subjects, will reign over their very hearts, as they will find it their intereſt to ſupport him: and that there are numberleſs examples in hiſtory, of great and noble actions that men have performed out of mere affection and fidelity to ſuch Sovereigns. I ſay further, that the faſhion of revolutions ſeems to be pretty well over in theſe times. There is no Kingdom, except England [*h*], where the Prince has any thing to apprehend from his Subjects: and even in England he has nothing to fear, but from a Storm of his own raiſing.

[*g*] This paſſage runs thus at large in the firſt edition, "puiſque la plûpart du monde eſt porté à l'ingratitude, au changement, à la diſſimulation, à la lacheté, & à l'avarice; que l'amour eſt un lien d'obligation, que la malice & la baſſeſſe du genre humain ont rendu tres fragile: au lieu que la crainte du chatiment aſſure bien plus fort du devoir des gens; que les hommes ſont maitres de leur bienveillançe, mais qu'ils ne ſont pas de leur crainte; ainſi qu'un Prince prudent dependra plutot de lui que des autres."

[*h*] This is not the firſt laſh his Pruſſian Majeſty has given the Engliſh in the courſe of this work, as a rebellious ſeditious people. But if they are naturally impatient of Slavery and tyranny under bad Princes, they are as loyal to thoſe that are good. The character of the people in general may well enough be taken from the *great* Duke of Devonſhire's Epitaph,

Wilhelmus Dux Devoniæ,
Bonorum Principum ſubditus fidelis,
Inimicus & inviſus Tyrannis.

If other nations are tame and ſervile enough to bow their necks and crouch under the yoke of Tyrants, may the Britons ever deteſt their example!——Long may they continue happy and free under the auſpicious government of a Proteſtant and Patriot King!

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I conclude then, that a cruel Prince is much more expoſed to treaſon and other dangers, than one that is tender and merciful: for cruelty is inſupportable, and people ſoon grow tired of fear: but goodneſs is always amiable, and ſubjects are never weary of being affectionate.—It is much to be wiſhed, therefore, for the happineſs of mankind, that all Princes were good, without being too indulgent: that ſo their lenity might always be regarded as a virtue, rather than deſpiſed as a weakneſs.

CHAP. XVIII.

How far Princes are obliged to obſerve their Engagements.

HOW honourable and praiſe-worthy it is in a Prince to act with integrity and good faith, rather than to have recourſe to artifice and colluſion, every one muſt be ſenſible. Nevertheleſs, experience has ſhewn us that thoſe Princes of our own times, who have made the leaſt account of their word and honour, have done the greateſt things; and that by dint of craft and circumvention, they have for the moſt part got the better of others, who proceeded with ſincerity and regard to their engagements.—It muſt be obſerved then that there are two ways of deciding any conteſt, the one by Laws, the other by force; the former is proper to men, the latter to beaſts. But as laws are not always ſufficient to end the difference, it becomes neceſſary ſometimes to make uſe of force. A Prince therefore ought to know how to reſemble a beaſt as well as a man, upon occaſion: and this is obſcurely hinted to us by ancient writers, who relate that Achilles, and ſeveral other Princes in former times, were ſent to be educated by Chiron the Centaur; that as their Preceptor was half-man and half-beaſt, they might be taught to imitate both natures, ſince one cannot long ſupport itſelf without the other. Now, becauſe it is ſo neceſſary for a Prince to learn how to act the part of a beaſt ſometimes, he ſhould make the Lion and the Fox his patterns: for the Lion has not cunning enough of himſelf to keep out of Snares and toils; nor the Fox alone ſufficient ſtrength to cope with a Wolf: ſo that he muſt be a Fox to enable him to find out the ſhares, and a Lion in order to terrify the Wolves; and he that copies the Lion *only* is wanting to himſelf.—A wiſe Prince therefore, ought not to regard his word when the keeping it will be to his prejudice, and the cauſes no longer ſubſiſt which obliged him to give it. This is a maxim, indeed, which ſhould not be inculcated, if the generality of mankind were good; but as they are far otherwiſe, and will not perform their engagements to you, you are not obliged

obliged to keep any meaſures with them. A Prince will never want colourable pretences to varniſh the breach of his faith: of which we might bring numberleſs examples of no very ancient date, and ſhew how many treaties, how many ſolemn promiſes, have been perfidiouſly violated by Princes; and that thoſe who have acted the Fox, have always ſucceeded beſt in their affairs.—However, it is highly neceſſary to diſguiſe this craft, and to be a thorough maſter both of ſimulation and diſſimulation [*i*]. For ſome men are ſo ſimple, and others ſo eager to get out of any preſent difficulty, that whoever knows how to act this part will always find dupes to his hypocriſy. Amongſt many other recent examples of this ſort, I cannot forbear quoting that of Pope Alexander VI. whoſe whole life was one continued impoſition upon mankind: he neither did nor thought of any thing elſe but how to deceive others: no man ever made ſtronger proteſtations of ſincerity, or took more ſolemn oaths to confirm them; no man ever ſhewed leſs regard to ſuch engagements [*k*]: yet he was ſo well acquainted with the credulity of the world, that he always found freſh people to work upon, and ſucceeded in all his deſigns.

It is not at all neceſſary therefore, that a Prince ſhould be actually poſſeſſed of all the good qualities abovementioned; but highly ſo, that he ſhould have the appearance of them [*l*]: on the contrary, I will venture to affirm, that to be poſſeſſed of them in reality, and to put them in practice upon all occaſions, will be of prejudice; but that the

[*i*] Salluſt ſays of Catiline that he was, "Callidiſſimus rei Simulator & diſſimulator." "Simulation, according to Mr. Johnſon, is that part of hypocriſy which pretends that to be which is not." "For diſtinction ſake, (ſays Dr. South in one of his Sermons) a deceiving by word, is commonly called a *Lye*; and deceiving by actions, geſtures, or behaviour, is called *Simulation*, or hypocriſy."——The ſame author ſays of diſſimulation, (which is pretending not to be what we are) that it may be taken alſo for a bare concealment of one's mind; in which ſenſe we commonly ſay, *that it is prudent to diſſemble injuries*.——Tully, however, who was no bad Politician, gives us ſome Maxims that are very diffreent from this of Machiavel. "Ex omni vitâ, ſays he, ſimulatio diſſimulatioque tollenda eſt." *De Offic. lib.* III. "Omnium rerum ſimulatio vitioſa eſt, tollit enim judicium veri idque adulterat." *De amicit.*

[*k*] People uſed to ſay of Alexander VI. and his Son Cæſar Borgia, that the one never did what he ſaid, and the other never ſaid what he deſigned to do; and that both laid it down for a fundamental maxim, *to give their word to any body, but to keep it with nobody*: and when any one reproached them with breach of faith, they anſwered, "they had ſworn indeed to do ſuch a thing, but they had never promiſed to keep their oath."

[*l*] According to the maxim of the French Poet,

Il faut ſembler homme de bien,
Et cependant ne valoir rien.——

Charles V. always uſed to ſwear, *a fé de hombre de bien, upon the word of a good man*, and always acted contrary to what he had ſworn: ſo well had he ſtudied Machiavel's *Prince*; a book that he was very fond of, and had it tranſlated for his own uſe. *Heiſſ. hiſtoire de l'Empire, l.* III. *chap.* iv.

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ſhew of them will be of ſervice to him. It is honourable to ſeem merciful, courteous, religious, punctual and ſincere, and indeed to be ſo: but it is neceſſary at the ſame time that he ſhould have his mind ſo modelled, and be ſo much maſter of himſelf, that he may know how to alter his conduct upon occaſion.—I ſay then that a Prince, eſpecially a new one, cannot poſſibly practiſe all thoſe qualities which make men eſteemed good and virtuous: he will often be obliged, for the preſervation of his State, to violate the laws of Charity, Humanity, and Religion: and therefore he ſhould be ready prepared to ſhift his ſails according to the wind that blows; and, as I ſaid before, never to do evil if he can help it; but if he is compelled by downright neceſſity, to make no ſcruple of it [*m*]. He muſt conſtantly be upon his guard, that nothing may ever drop from his mouth but what ſeems to proceed from a heart full of goodneſs, mercy, truth, humanity, and Religion; but particularly of the laſt: for mankind in general form their judgment rather from appearances than realities: all men have eyes, but not many have the gift of penetration: every one ſees your exterior, but few can diſcern what you have in your heart; and thoſe few dare not oppoſe the voice of the multitude, who have the Majeſty of their Prince on their ſide: beſides, the actions of all men, but particularly of Princes (of which no private Judge can properly take cognizance) are generally condemned or approved by the event of them. Let it then be the chief care of a Prince to preſerve himſelf and his State: the means which he uſes for that purpoſe, whatſoever they are, will always be eſteemed honourable, and applauded by every one [*n*]: for the opinion of the Vulgar is always determined by appearances and the iſſue of things; and as the world is chiefly compoſed of ſuch as are called the Vulgar, the voice of the few is ſeldom or never heard or regarded, but when the others have nothing to found their judgment

[*m*] The above cited Gaſpar d'Auvergne ſays upon this paſſage as follows, "although the author may here ſeem to run ſtrange lengths, and not only to deviate from the paths of virtue, but to authorize vice; yet he could not have ſaid leſs in juſtice to his plan, and for the attainment of the ends which he propoſes. For it is a very difficult matter for a Prince to ſupport himſelf amongſt powerful and ambitious neighbours as well as diſloyal and rebellious Subjects, without ſometimes encroaching a little upon the laws of conſcience. Such is the courſe of this World (naturally wicked indeed) that even Princes, in the midſt of their royalty, cannot long maintain their dignity, without the practice of vice upon occaſion: that ſo, when the neceſſity ceaſes, they may immediately return to virtue."—It is hard to ſay, whether the author, or this commentator upon him, is the bolder and wickeder of the two.

[*n*] "Nihil glorioſum, niſi tutum; & omnia retinendæ dominationis honeſta." *Salluſt.* "Viro aut urbi Principi, nihil injuſtum quod fructuoſum," ſays Thucydides. And Tacitus tells us that Agrippina, the mother of Nero, made light of ſacrificing every thing for a crown: "Decus, pudorem, corpus, cuncta regno viliora habere." *Annal.* 12.—Such are the dictates of ambition, and ſuch the conſciences of Princes and Politicians!

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upon, and conſequently cannot tell how to determine.—There is a Prince alive at this time (whoſe name however it may not be proper to mention) who has nothing in his mouth but *Peace and good Faith*: and yet if he had inclined either to one or the other, he would long ago have loſt both his reputation and dominions [*o*].

EXAMEN. CHAP. XVIII.

THIS Preceptor of Tyrants has the aſſurance to aſſert here, that Princes ought to make themſelves perfect maſters of diſſimulation in order to deceive the world.—Now, in the firſt place, every one knows how curious the Public is. It is an animal that ſees every thing, hears every thing, and ſpeaks of every thing: and if this curioſity examines the conduct of private perſons, it is only by way of amuſement in leiſure hours: but when it pries into the actions of Princes, it is becauſe its own intereſts are concerned in them. So that Princes are more liable to be watched in their proceedings than other people. They are like Stars which are obſerved by Aſtronomers: their Courtiers are making continual remarks upon them; the leaſt geſture or glance of the eye lays open their hearts, and the people will form a pretty good gueſs from them. In ſhort, they can no more conceal their vices than the ſun can cover its ſpots. The maſk of diſſimulation may hide the natural deformities of a Prince for a while perhaps; but he cannot wear that maſk continually: it muſt be taken off, or at leaſt lifted up now and then, if it be only to breathe; and one glimpſe is ſufficient to ſatisfy men of penetration [*p*]. Artifice will then be of no further ſervice to that Prince: men will not judge of him by his profeſſions alone, they will naturally lay his actions together, and then compare his deeds with his words. Falſehood and diſſimulation cannot ſtand ſuch a proof: for no man can well ſupport a fictitious character; he will ſoon diſcover himſelf, and appear in his own colours, and therefore he ought to be in reality what he would have the world think he is: otherwiſe he may make a fool of himſelf, but he cannot deceive the

[*o*] The abovementioned Ferdinand V. King of Arragon and Caſtile, is here meant, who owed the acquiſition of the Kingdoms of Naples and Navarre merely to perfidy and breach of faith. Upon which, a certain Italian Prince, who was his cotemporary, uſed to ſay, "that Ferdinand ſhould ſwear by ſome God in whom he believed, before he would truſt him."

[*p*] "Animus ejus vultu, flagitia parietibus tegebantur; ſed hæc obſtructio nec diuturna eſt, nec obducta ita, ut curioſis oculis perſpici non poſſit." *Cic. pro. P. Sext.*—"Quam non eſt facilis virtus! quam verò difficilis ejus ſimulatio!" *Idem. Epiſt. ad Attic. lib.* VII. *Ep.* 1.—"Tecta omnia celeriter, tanquam floſculi, decidunt; nec ſimulatum poteſt quidquam eſſe diuturnum." *Idem, De Offic. lib.* III.

Public.—Pope Sixtus V. Philip II. of Spain, and Oliver Cromwell, were eſteemed enterprizing, but not good men [q].

Machiavel reaſons no better upon the *motives* that ſhould induce Princes to practiſe deceit and hypocriſy. The moral that he gives to the fable of the Centaur, though ingenious, is miſapplied and inconcluſive: for though Chiron was half-man and half-beaſt, it does not follow from thence that Princes ſhould be fierce and deceitful. A man muſt be very fond ſurely of ſetting up for a Preceptor of Villains, when he is forced to have recourſe to ſuch weak and far-fetched arguments to ſupport his doctrine.—He ſays, "that a Prince ought to have the qualities of a Lion and a Fox; from whence we may learn that a Prince is not obliged to keep his word." [A ſtrange conſequence indeed! there are Foxes and Wolves in a foreſt; *therefore* a Prince ought to be a Knave] [r]. If one could extract any ſort of probity or meaning out of ſuch a confuſed manner of arguing, it muſt be by giving it this turn. The world may be compared to a party of Gameſters; amongſt whom ſome play fair, and others are ſharpers. A perſon therefore, who ſits down to play in this company, ought to be acquainted with all the tricks and fineſſes of the game; not in order to practiſe them himſelf, but to guard againſt the knavery of others.

To proceed. "As all men are wicked and faithleſs, ſays he, and will not keep their engagements with you, you are not obliged to keep your's with them." But here he flatly contradicts himſelf: for preſently after he ſays, "that ſuch as know how to diſſemble, will always find ſimple people to practiſe upon."—All men are Knaves, and yet there are others that are fools; how is this to be reconciled?

It is likewiſe utterly falſe that all men are knaves. One muſt be a Miſanthrope indeed, not to be convinced that there are many good and worthy men in every Society; and that there are numbers of others who are neither good nor bad. But if Machiavel thought all the World were knaves, what occaſion was there for this abominable maxim? Nay, ſuppoſing men were as bad as he repreſents them; would it follow from thence that we ought to imitate them? If Cartouche was a Highwayman and a murderer, I conclude that he was a wretch who ought to be puniſhed; and not that I ought to regulate my conduct by his.—"If there was no honour nor virtue left in the world, ſaid Charles *the wiſe*, the laſt traces of them ſhould be found amongſt Princes."

[q] The following paſſage, which is in the firſt edition, is here ſtruck out, "Un Prince quelque habile qu'il ſoit, ne peut, quand même il ſuivroit toutes les Maximes de Machiavel, donner le charactere de la vertu, qu'il n'a pas, aux crimes qui lui ſont propres."

[r] The firſt edition runs thus, "Voilà une concluſion ſans premices: le Docteur du crime n'a t'il pas honte de begayer ainſi les leçons d'impieté?"

After

After our Politician has endeavoured to prove the neceſſity of being a Villain, he encourages his diſciples to be ſo, from the little difficulty they will find in it; "thoſe, ſays he, who are maſters of diſſimulation, will never want Dupes:" which is ſaying in other words, "your neighbour is a weak man, and you are an artful cunning fellow: it is neceſſary therefore that you ſhould defraud him." This is a ſort of Logic, however, for which ſeveral of Machiavel's pupils have either been hanged, or broken upon the wheel.—But he is not content with having ſhewn, in his manner, how eaſy a thing it is to be a rogue; he proceeds to recommend fraud and perfidy by the example of ſome that have ſucceeded in their deſigns by ſuch means. Yet unluckily for him, Cæſar Borgia, the moſt thorough-paced and perfidious villain that ever lived, his great pattern Cæſar Borgia, was utterly ruined at laſt. He therefore carefully avoids all mention of his name upon this occaſion; as he was not an example for his purpoſe: and where indeed could he expect to find any ſuch, except in the lives of ſome wicked Popes and Tyrants? He affirms that Alexander VI. the vileſt and moſt faithleſs hypocrite of his time, always ſucceeded in his deſigns, becauſe he was perfectly acquainted with the weakneſs and credulity of mankind. But I will venture to ſay that the ſucceſs of moſt of that Pope's deſigns was not ſo much owing to the credulity of mankind, as to a fortunate concurrence of certain events and circumſtances of affairs; particularly to the ambition both of the French and the Spaniards, the hatred and diviſions which then reigned amongſt the chief families in Italy, and the weakneſs of Lewis XII. and to aſſert on the contrary, that want of good faith, and too much refinement, is thought a defect in policy, even by Politicians themſelves. Don Lewis de Haro [*ſ*], who was an able Miniſter himſelf, told Cardinal Mazarin "that he was guilty of a great error in Politics, becauſe he *never* obſerved his word upon any occaſion." The ſame Cardinal was told by Marſhal de Fabert, whom he deſigned to employ in a negotiation with the Duke of Savoy, "that he could wiſh his eminence would not inſiſt upon his deceiving the Duke at that time, ſince the matter in queſtion was but a trifle: for as the world eſteemed him a man of honour, he thought it would be better to reſerve the ſacrifice of his reputation, 'till the Kingdom itſelf, or ſome other ſuch important concern, was at ſtake" [*t*].

But

[*ſ*] A Grandee and Miniſter of State in Spain, Nephew to the Duke de Olivarez. He did conſiderable ſervice to the crown of Spain, and particularly by negotiating the peace with Cardinal Mazarin, betwixt France and that Kingdom, in the year 1659. *See Hiſtoire du Siecle courant.*

[*t*] Mazarin was Prime Miniſter of France about the middle of the laſt century, in the minority of Lewis XIV. and under the regency of Q. Anne of Auſtria. He ordered

But to wave ſuch arguments as might be drawn from the dictates of honour and virtue, and to reaſon only from conſiderations of ſelf-intereſt, I maintain that it is bad Policy in Princes to abuſe and deceive the world: for they can do it but once; and after that, nobody will put any further confidence in them. Princes ſometimes ſet forth the motives of their proceedings in a Manifeſto, and preſently after act in direct contradiction to their declarations: but ſuch bold ſtrokes as theſe ſoon put an end to all truſt and dependance; and the earlier they happen, the more ſhameleſs does their prevarication appear. The Romiſh Church, to avoid inconveniences of this kind, has very wiſely ordained, that ſuch as are to be canonized ſhall paſs a noviciate of an hundred years; during which, the memory and witneſſes of their foibles becoming extinct, and no evidence of that kind appearing againſt them, their Apotheoſis is ſecured.—Nevertheleſs, I confeſs there are ſome diſagreeable and melancholy occaſions, which oblige a Prince to break his treaties and alliances: but yet he ſhould do it in as honourable a manner as poſſible, by giving his allies timely notice that he is going to ſeparate himſelf from them, and never proceed to extremities, unleſs the ſafety of his people, and the moſt urgent neceſſity compel him to it.

We may obſerve in the laſt place, how vices multiply in Machiavel's hands. He adviſes a Prince that has little or no Religion to add hypocriſy to his infidelity, and thinks the people will be more taken with a ſhew of devotion, than diſguſted with any ill treatment they meet with from him. There are others I know of this opinion: but, for my own part, I think, one ought to make great allowances for ſpeculative errors, if they are not attended with a corruption of heart; and that the people will always be more ready to excuſe a Prince that is Sceptically inclined, but an honeſt man and their Benefactor, than another who is orthodox in his tenets, but a villain and a Tyrant in his actions: for the actions, and not the opinions of Princes, make men happy or miſerable.

dered his body to be opened after his death. Upon which, our Countryman, Tom Brown, amongſt many other very ſevere things in an Epitaph he made upon him, ſays,

" Pectus tamen poſt mortem apertum eſt.
Tum primum patuit vafrum cor Mazarini:
Quod nec precibus, nec lachrymis nec injuriis moveretur,
Diu quæſivimus, invenere Medici, cor lapideum."

Brown's Works, Vol. IV. p. 249.

CHAP.

CHAP XIX.

That Princes ſhould take care not to make themſelves either hated or deſpiſed.

HAVING diſtinctly conſidered the moſt important of thoſe qualities which I mentioned above, I ſhall briefly diſcuſs the reſt in a general diſcourſe upon this ſubject, viz. that a Prince ſhould take particular care, as I have hinted before, to avoid doing ſuch things as may make him either odious or contemptible: which if he can do, he will fill his part pretty well, and need not be under any apprehenſion of danger from the infamy of other vices.—Nothing, as I have already ſaid, makes a Prince ſo odious to his ſubjects as uſurping their eſtates, and debauching their wives and daughters; from both which kinds of violence he ought therefore moſt carefully to refrain: for whilſt he neither invades their property nor their honour, the Generality will live quietly and contentedly, and he will have nothing to ſtruggle with but the ambition of ſome few perſons, which yet he will eaſily find many ways and means to reſtrain. A Prince becomes contemptible when he is accounted changeable, full of levity, effeminate, puſillanimous, and irreſolute [*u*]; all which imputations he ſhould ſteer clear of as ſo many dangerous Shoals, and endeavour to keep up the character of magnanimity, courage, gravity, and reſolution in all his actions. When he takes cognizance of the private affairs of his Subjects, he ſhould ſee that his ſentence is duly executed, and inſpire them with ſuch an opinion of his juſtice, that nobody may dare to think of abuſing or deceiving him. The Prince that conducts himſelf in this manner will always be well eſteemed: and that eſteem will always be a great preſervative to him both againſt private conſpiracies and open attacks: for people will be very cautious how they attempt any thing of either kind, when they have ſo able and reſolute a man, and ſo much reſpected by his Subjects, to deal with.

A Prince then you ſee has two things to guard againſt, the machinations of his own Subjects, and the attempts of powerful foreigners; the latter of whom he will be able to cope with, if he is well armed, and has good allies; and ſuch he will always be ſure to have, whilſt his arms are reſpectable. His affairs at home likewiſe will be upon a good footing, ſo long as he is not moleſted from abroad, except they are

[*u*] "Vitellium ſubitis offenſis, aut intempeſtivis blanditiis, mutabilem contemnebant, metuebantque." *Tacit. Hiſt.* 2.

diſturbed

diſturbed by ſome conſpiracy: and even in caſe he ſhould be attacked by foreigners, he will be in a condition to make head againſt them all, as Nabis the Spartan did, if he has not been wanting to himſelf in making ſuch proviſions, and obſerving ſuch rules as I have preſcribed. But as to his Subjects, the only thing he has to apprehend from them, if he is not moleſted by foreign enemies, is, that they may privately cabal and conſpire againſt him: which yet he will always be ſecure from, as long as he does not make himſelf odious and contemptible, and the people are ſatisfied with his conduct; all which muſt be carefully attended to, as I have ſaid before at large.——The moſt effectual preſervative then againſt conſpiracies, is not to be hated and deſpiſed by the people: for thoſe that enter into a conſpiracy, do it out of a perſuaſion that the death of the Prince would be acceptable to his Subjects; but when they are convinced, on the contrary, that it would only ſerve to enrage them, they will be deterred from embarking in any ſuch undertaking; becauſe conſpiracies are always attended with infinite difficulties and dangers, and ſeldom ſucceed, as experience has ſufficiently evinced. For one man cannot carry on a deſign of that kind himſelf; nor can he truſt any accomplices, but ſuch as he thinks are malcontents. Now as ſoon as you have communicated it to a malcontent, you put it in his power to ſatisfy himſelf; for by diſcovering it, he may expect any ſort of recompence [*x*]: ſo that when he ſees a certain reward on one hand, and nothing but difficulty and danger on the other, he muſt either be an implacable enemy to his Prince, or a very extraordinary friend to you indeed, if he does not betray the ſecret [*y*]. In ſhort, conſpirators live in continual diſtruſt, ſuſpicion, and apprehenſion of puniſhment, which muſt of neceſſity diſmay them, and throw a damp upon their undertaking [*z*]: whilſt, on the contrary, the Prince is ſupported

[*x*] As in the caſe of Voluſius Proculus, who being diſcontented that he had received no reward for the murder of Agrippina, ſeemed very deſirous to revenge himſelf: and yet he went and betrayed the woman to Nero, whom he had truſted with all his ſecret malice and cauſes of diſguſt to that Prince. "Is mulieri, dum merita erga Neronem ſua, & quam in irritum cecidiſſent, aperit, adjicitque queſtus, & deſtinationem vindictæ, ſi facultas orireretur, ſpem dedit poſſe impelli. Ergo Epicharis omnia Scelera Principis ordiſtur; accingeretur modò, navaret operam, & militum acerrimos duceret in partes, ac digna pretia expectaret..... Proculus ea quæ audierat ad Neronem detulit." *Tacit. Annal.* 15.——Mr. de la Rochefoucault very well ſays in his Memoires, that he to whom you diſcloſe your ſecret, immediately becomes maſter of your liberty.

[*y*] *See* Book III. Chap. vi. *of his political diſcourſes*, where he ſays pretty much the ſame thing.

[*z*] Tacitus, in the fifteenth book of his Annals, enumerates the many circumſtances that may make a Conſpiracy prove abortive. As firſt, the hope of impunity; which is always an impediment to great deſigns, "impunitatis cupido, magnis ſemper conatibus adverſa:——& promiſſa impunitas."——Secondly, Hope and Fear. "Spes ac metus." Thirdly, Delay. "Accendere conjuratos, lentitudinis eorum pertæſa." Fourthly, The dread

ported by the Majeſty of his State, and the aſſiſtance of his friends and allies [a]; ſo that if he has likewiſe the affections of his people, it is almoſt impoſſible that any man ſhould be mad enough to think of conſpiring againſt him. For if a Conſpirator has reaſon to be afraid (as it uſually happens) before the execution of his deſign; certainly he muſt have much more afterwards, when he has exaſperated the people, and left himſelf no refuge to fly to. Of this I might give ſeveral examples: but I ſhall content myſelf with one only which happened not long ago. Hannibal Bentivoglio (grandfather of the preſent Hannibal) Prince of Bologna, having been murdered by the Canneſchi [b], who conſpired againſt him, the people, by whom the Bentivogli were extremely beloved, immediately took arms, and maſſacred all the family of the Canneſchi. Nay, they carried their affection ſtill higher: for as there was no one of the Bentivogli left, who was capable of governing the State (Hannibal's only Son Giovanni, then being but an infant) [c] the Bologneſe having information that a baſtard of that family then lived at Florence, ſent Deputies thither to demand him, though he was

dread of being betrayed, "metus proditionis." Fifthly, Jealouſy. For he ſays that Piſo refuſed to aſſaſſinate Nero at his Country-houſe whither he often retired, leſt either Silanus ſhould be advanced to the throne, or the Conſul Veſtinus ſhould take it into his head to reſtore public Liberty, or perhaps make an Emperor to ſerve his own turn. Sixthly, Diſcovery: which often happens upon the very eve of execution, "pridie inſidiarum." Seventhly, The temptation of reward. "Præmia perfidiæ, immenſa pecunia & potentia." The hope of recompence, as well as the fear that another perſon ſhould run away with it. "Multos adſtitiſſe qui eadem viderint; nihil profuturum unius ſilentium; at præmia penes unum fore qui indicio præveniſſet." Beſides which, there is another ſort of diſcovery that proceeds from the countenance, which often betrays what is concealed in the heart. "Ipſe mæſtus & magnæ cogitationis manifeſtus erat." Eighthly, Imprudence, for inſtance, in making certain preparations before Servants, as whetting a dagger, &c. "Pugionem aſperari ſaxo, & in mucronem ardeſcere juſſit;" which neceſſarily muſt occaſion ſuſpicion of ſome kind: "arreptis ſuſpicionibus ex conſequentibus." Ninthly, the ſight of the rack, &c. "Tormentorum aſpectus, ac minæ." Tenthly, the perſuaſion which conſpirators have, that ſome of their accomplices have revealed the whole, and that it is to no purpoſe to keep ſilence any longer. "Cuncta jam patefacta credens, nec ullum ſilentii emolumentum, edidit cæteros." ——To all which, we may add Chance, of the Accidents which happen in all human affairs. The Earl of Leiceſter miſcarried in his deſign upon Leyden, only becauſe one of the Conſpirators having been arreſted for debt, all the reſt ran away, out of a belief that they were betrayed by ſome of their companions.

[a] "Illum quidem, ſaid Germanicus to the Legions that had mutinied againſt Tiberius, ſua majeſtas; imperium Romanum cæteri exercitus defendent;" after he had firſt repreſented to them, that Italy and the Gauls were firmly attached to Tiberius, and that all the reſt of the Empire was in tranquility. "Italiæ conſenſum, Galliarum fidem extollit; nil uſquam turbidum aut diſcors." *Tacit Annal.* 1.

[b] A family that vied with the Bentivogli for power, at Bologna, in the year 1445.

[c] Machiavel [illegible] *quale era in faſce, who was in ſwaddling cloaths:* The French tranſlator ſays *etoit [illegible], an infant at nurſe.* But in the ſixth Book of his Hiſtory of Florence, Ma[illegible], he was then ſix years old. The difference however is not ve[illegible]terial.

commonly

commonly reputed the Son of an Artificer, and gave him the government of their City, till Giovanni was old enough to take the reins into his own hands [*d*]. —— I ſay then, that a Prince, whoſe Subjects are well affected to him, has no occaſion to be afraid of Conſpiracies; but if he is hated by them, he has every thing to fear from every body: all wiſe Princes therefore, and well govern'd States, have made it their chief care to content the common people, and not to drive their Nobility to deſpair.

Amongſt the beſt governed Kingdoms in theſe times, France is the principal [*e*]; for there are many excellent Laws and inſtitutions eſtabliſhed in that Monarchy, for the ſecurity of the King, and the liberty of the Subject, the chief of which is the authority of the Parliament [*f*]: Thoſe that modelled the polity of France, well knew the inſolence and ambition of the Grandees, and of conſequence the neceſſity of curbing it; but as they judged it proper, on the other hand, to ſecure them from the rage of the Commonalty, who both feared and hated them, they found it the beſt way to excuſe the King from interfering in the matter; that ſo he might neither incur the hatred of the Grandees, by ſeeming to favour the people, nor that of the people, by inclining to the Grandees: upon which account, they ſet up a third power, which might repreſs the Nobility, and defend the people, without bringing any odium upon the King, either from one ſide or the other. And as nothing could be more wiſely concerted than this Inſtitution, nor better calculated for the ſafety both of the King's own perſon, and the Kingdom in general, we may deduce another rule from hence, viz. "that Princes ought to reſerve the diſtribution of favours to themſelves, but to leave puniſhments, and ſuch matters as may create hatred and diſguſt, to the adminiſtration of others [*g*]:" and I ſay further, that a Prince ſhould cheriſh and ſupport the Nobility, but not in ſuch a manner as to make himſelf odious to the people.

Many perhaps, who conſider the lives and deaths of ſeveral of the Roman Emperors, will be inclined to think they afford examples that

[*d*] He was natural Son of one Hercules Bentivoglio, couſin to Hannibal: his name was Santi, and he paſſed for the Son of Agnolo Caſceſe, a wool-comber. *Machiavel, ibid.* where he adds, that Santi behaved himſelf with ſo much prudence in the government of Bologna, that, though moſt of his Predeceſſors had been murdered by their enemies, he, on the contrary, lived all his days in great honour, and died a natural death.

[*e*] "The French, (ſays he, in his *political diſcourſes*, Book III. Chap. ii.) are more obedient to the Laws of their Country, than any other nation."

[*f*] The Parliament of Paris is here meant, which gives life and motion to all the other Parliaments in France.

[*g*] "Viro Principi, ubi pœnarum res eſt (ſays Xenophon) aliis id delegandum; ubi præmiorum aut munerum, ipſi abeundum."

ſeem

ſeem to invalidate my opinions: as ſome of them were depoſed, and others murdered by the hands of conſpirators; whoſe conduct yet was great and noble, and their actions magnanimous. In anſwer to this objection, I will examine the qualifications of thoſe Emperors, and ſhew, that their ruin was owing in a great meaſure to the cauſes I have already aſſigned: for which purpoſe, it will be neceſſary to take ſome notice of ſuch things as ſeem moſt remarkable in the occurrences of thoſe times. And here, let the examples of the nine following Emperors ſuffice, who immediately ſucceeded Marcus Aurelius the Philoſopher, viz. of his Son Commodus, Pertinax, Julian, Severus, Antoninus Caracalla his Son, Macrinus, Heliogabalus, Alexander, and Maximin. —— We muſt obſerve then in the firſt place, that though other Princes, for the moſt part, have no difficulties to ſtruggle with, but the ambition of their Nobility, and the inſolence of the Commonalty, the Roman Emperors had a third obſtacle to ſurmount, that is, the cruelty and avarice of the Soldiery, which was the ruin of ſeveral of thoſe Princes; it being almoſt impoſſible to pleaſe both the Soldiery and the people: for as the latter love eaſe and quiet, they naturally deſire a mild and pacific Prince to reign over them; but the former always wiſh for one of a fierce and rapacious diſpoſition, and inclined to war [*b*]: which qualities they would have him exerciſe upon the people, in order to increaſe their pay, and ſatiate their avarice and cruelty at the expence of their fellow-ſubjects. From hence it came to paſs, that thoſe Emperors, who were neither ſo inclined by nature, nor cared to aſſume the appearance of ſuch a diſpoſition, not being able to keep either the people or the Soldiery in due ſubjection, were always ruined. Moſt of them indeed, eſpecially thoſe that were advanced to the throne from a private condition, being aware of this difficulty, endeavoured to ingratiate themſelves with the army, and made but little account of the favour of the people. In which they were certainly right, as there was a neceſſity for acting in that manner: for if a Prince cannot avoid being hated either by one ſide or the other, he ſhould endeavour, in the firſt place, to be upon good terms with the generality

[*b*] "Erant quos memoria Neronis ac deſiderium prioris licentiæ accenderet." *Tacit. Hiſt.* 1. "Neque exercitus, aut legatos ac duces magnâ ex parte luxûs, egeſtatis, ſcelerum, ſibi conſcios, niſi pollutum obſtrictumque meritis ſuis Principem paſſuros.". *Hiſt.* 2. Galba loſt the Empire, and his life too, by ſaying, "he would not buy the affections of the Soldiery:" "legi a ſe militem non emi. "*Hiſt.* 1; and by treating thoſe with too much rigour, who had been long unaccuſtomed to the ſeverity of the ancient military diſcipline, and uſed to be indulged by Nero in all manner of licentiouſneſs. "Nocuit antiquus rigor & nimia ſeveritas, cui jam pares non ſumus." And in another place, he ſays, "Severitas ejus angebat coaſpernantes veterem diſciplinam atque ita quatuordecim annos a Nerone aſſuefactos, ut haud minus vitia Principum amarent, quam olim virtutes verebantur." *Hiſt.* 1.

of the people: but if that cannot be effected, he ought to uſe all means to ſecure the affections of the ſtronger party.

Thoſe Emperors therefore who were exalted to the Sovereignty from a private condition, and ſtood in need of extraordinary ſupport, choſe rather to adhere to the Soldiery than the people; which turned to their advantage or diſadvantage, according to the degree of reputation they had amongſt them. Hence it happened that Pertinax, and Alexander, being Princes of great moderation and clemency, lovers of Juſtice, enemies to violence, humane and benevolent, both came to unfortunate ends. Marcus Aurelius, indeed, lived and died in peace and honour, becauſe he ſucceeded to the Empire by right of inheritance, without being obliged either to the Soldiery or the people: and as he had many excellent qualities, which afterwards made him revered, he kept them both within the bounds of their duty, as long as he lived, and was never either hated or deſpiſed by them. But Pertinax was murdered before he had reigned three months: for the Soldiery having been uſed to live licentiouſly under Commodus, could not brook the reformation which he endeavoured to introduce amongſt them: beſides, as he had been choſen Emperor againſt their will, and was an old man, he became both odious and contemptible [*i*]. —— It muſt be obſerved then, that hatred may be incurred by good actions, as well as by the contrary [*k*]; and therefore a Prince, who would ſupport his State and authority, is often under a neceſſity of doing evil, as I have ſaid before: for if the ſtrongeſt party be corrupt (whether it is the people, or the army, or the Nobility) and he has occaſion for their aſſiſtance to maintain his dignity, he muſt comply with their diſpoſition, and indulge them: and in that caſe, he is not at liberty to be good, becauſe it would be his ruin. —— As to Alexander [*l*], he was a Prince of ſo much goodneſs and equity, that amongſt his other praiſes, it is related, that during a reign of fourteen years, not ſo much as one man was put to death

[*i*] Old age often makes Princes become deſpicable. "Ipſa ætas Galbæ & irriſui & faſtidio erat aſſuetis juventæ Neronis. "*Tacit. Hiſt.* 1, either becauſe they are then leſs enterprizing, "reputante Tiberio extremam ætatem:" *Annal.* 6. or becauſe their enemies think they are not in a condition to defend themſelves, "Artabanus ſenectutem Tiberii ut inermem deſpiciens." *ibid.* or that they look upon them as deſultory and inconſtant, "fluxam ſenio mentem objectando." *ibid.* Beſides, old age often obliges them to ſuffer themſelves to be governed by others. "Invalidum ſenem, odio flagitiorum oneratum, contemptu inertiæ deſtruebant." *Hiſt.* 1. and thoſe that ſerve them towards the latter end of their reign, make haſte to enrich themſelves by all manner of rapine and oppreſſion. "Afferebant venalia cuncta præpotentes liberti; ſervorum manus ſubitis avidæ, & tanquam apud ſenem feſtinantes," eſpecially as they ſtand in but little awe of ſo helpleſs a Maſter, "cum apud infirmum & credulum minore metu, & majore præmio peccaretur. *Hiſt.* 1.

[*k*] "Et quia moribus ipſorum aliena, perinde odium pravis & honeſtis." *Tacit. Annal.* 2.

[*l*] Alexander Severus.

without

without a fair trial: nevertheleſs, as he was accounted effeminate, and ſuffered himſelf to be governed by his Mother, he fell into ſuch a degree of contempt, that the army conſpired againſt him, and killed him.

On the other hand, if we examine the conduct of Commodus, Severus, Antoninus Caracalla, and Maximin, we ſhall find that they were all exceeding cruel and rapacious, and committed every kind of outrage and violence upon the people, in order to feed the avarice of their Soldiers: and yet they all died miſerably, except Severus [*m*], whoſe reign was happy. For though he grievouſly oppreſſed his Subjects, yet his courage and other virtues were ſo eminent, that he was not only admired by the people, but revered and beloved by the Soldiery. And as his actions were great, conſidering he was a new Prince, I will briefly ſhew in what manner he acted both the Fox and the Lion; the qualities of which two animals, as I ſaid before, and now ſay again, ought to be imitated by Princes. —— Severus obſerving the indolence of the Emperor Julian [*n*], prevailed upon the army which he commanded in Illyria, to march to Rome, in order to revenge the death of Pertinax, who had been murdered by the Pretorian guards: and under this pretence, without ſeeming in any wiſe to aſpire to the Empire, he immediately began his march towards that City, which he proſecuted with ſuch expedition, that he arrived in Italy before they had any notice there of his quitting Illyria. As ſoon as he entered Rome, he cauſed Julian to be put to death [*o*], and himſelf to be elected Emperor by the Senators, who durſt not refuſe their compliance. But after this, he had ſtill two difficulties to ſurmount before he could make himſelf Maſter of the whole Empire; one in Aſia, where Peſcennius Niger was declared Emperor by the army under his Command in thoſe parts; and the other in the Weſt [*p*], where Clodius Albinus was likewiſe his competitor. But as he thought he was not a match for them both at once, he reſolved to proceed openly, and by force,

[*m*] Septimius Severus.

[*n*] Didius Julianus.

[*o*] "Scelus, cujus ultor eſt quiſquis ſucceſſit." *Tacit. Hiſt.* 1. "Omnes conquiri & interfici juſſit, non honore Galbæ, ſed tradito Principibus more, in munimentum ad præſens, in poſterum ultionem." *ibid.* It is cuſtomary with Princes to revenge the death of their predeceſſor; not out of any regard to him, but to ſecure themſelves. Thus Claudius cauſed Chereas and Lupus, who had killed Caligula, to be put to death, though that event was the occaſion of his mounting the throne. Vitellius puniſhed all thoſe with death, that had been concerned in the murder of Galba and Piſo; and Epaphroditus was ſentenced to die by Domitian, for aſſiſting Nero to kill himſelf; though Nero had been condemned by a decree of the Senate. Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuſcany, ordered his Siſter-in-law, Bianca Capella, to be put to death for poiſoning Francis her huſband, the late Grand Duke.

[*p*] In France.

againſt Niger; whilſt he endeavoured to cojole and circumvent Albinus by other means. For this purpoſe, he wrote to the latter, that though he had been elected Emperor by the Senate, he was willing to ſhare that dignity with him, and that he ſhould likewiſe (as the Senate had ſo concluded) be called Cæſar, and acknowledged as his Collegue: all which Albinus was ſimple enough to believe. But after Severus had not only vanquiſhed Niger, but put him to death, and ſettled the affairs of the Eaſt in peace, he returned to Rome, where he complained in the Senate that Albinus, forgetting the favours he had ſo lately received, had treacherouſly endeavoured to get him murdered: upon which account, he ſaid, he was obliged to go and puniſh him for his ingratitude. And this he did effectually; for he marched into France againſt him, and there deprived him both of his ſhare in the Empire, and his life at the ſame time.

If then we ſtrictly examine the actions of this Prince, we ſhall find him as fierce as a Lion, and as ſubtle as a Fox, feared and reverenced by the people, without being hated by the Soldiery: and it will not ſeem any longer ſtrange, that a new man ſhould be able to maintain ſo large an Empire, when it is conſidered, that his great reputation always ſecured him from the hatred which his Subjects might otherwiſe have conceived againſt him, on account of his rapacious and oppreſſive diſpoſition.——His Son Antoninus Caracalla was likewiſe a great man, and had many excellent qualifications, which made him admired by the people, and eſteemed by his Soldiers: for he was of a warlike turn, patient of hardſhips and fatigue, an enemy to delicacy and ſelf-indulgence of every kind, which highly recommended him to the army. Nevertheleſs, the ferocity and cruelty of his nature were ſuch, that at different times he butchered the greater part of the Roman people, and all the inhabitants of Alexandria: ſo that he became odious to the whole World, and began to be feared even by thoſe that were about his perſon, to ſuch a degree, that he was killed by a Centurion in the midſt of his army.——From hence we may obſerve, that it is not in the power of any Prince to eſcape ſuch aſſaſſinations as proceed from an obſtinate and determined reſolution: for he that deſpiſes his own life, has always that of another in his power [q]. But a Prince has the leſs occaſion to be apprehenſive of theſe accidents, becauſe

[q] "Quiſquis vitam ſuam contemnit, tuæ dominus eſt." *Senec. Epiſt.* 4. "Periculum ex ſingulis, (ſaid Veſpaſian to thoſe that exhorted him to ſeize upon the Empire) quid enim profuturas cohortes, ſi unus alterque, præſenti facinore, paratum ex diverſo præmium petit? Facilius univerſos impelli quàm ſingulos vitari." *Hiſt.* 2. that is, "Every private Soldier is to be feared; for of what ſervice will Legions be againſt two or three reſolute men, that are tempted by a great reward? it is eaſier to corrupt a whole army, than to guard againſt the Stroke of an aſſaſſin."

they

they are exceeding rare [r]: he ſhould take particular care however, not to do any grievous injury to any of his Officers, or ſuch as are immediately employed under him, as Caracalla did, who ſtill kept a Centurion in his body-guard, after he had put his brother to an ignominious death, and daily threatened to ſerve the man himſelf in the ſame manner; which was a piece of raſhneſs and inconſideration, that proved his ruin, as might well be expected.

Let us in the next place, enquire into the merits of Commodus, who might eaſily have kept poſſeſſion of an Empire, to which he ſucceeded by hereditary right, as Son to Marcus Aurelius: for he had nothing to do but to follow the ſteps of his father, in order to recommend himſelf both to the people and the army: but as he was of a cruel and brutal diſpoſition, he indulged his Soldiers in ſuch a manner, as made them licentious, that ſo he might the more effectually plunder his Subjects. Beſides, he took ſo little care to keep up his dignity, that he often fought with common Gladiators upon a public Stage, and did ſo many other things, unworthy of the Imperial Majeſty, that he ſoon became vile and contemptible in the eyes of the Soldiery: ſo that being deſpiſed by them, and hated by the people, they joined in a conſpiracy, and killed him.

It now only remains to conſider the character of Maximin.—— After the Soldiery had diſpatched Alexander, becauſe they thought him too effeminate (as I have already ſaid) they ſet up Maximin in his room, who was a great warrior: but as he likewiſe became odious and contemptible, he did not long ſupport himſelf in the Empire [ſ]. The baſeneſs of his extraction expoſed him to contempt, and raiſed a general indignation againſt him; for every body knew that he had been a hog-driver in Thrace: and the cruelties which his Lieutenants exerciſed both at Rome, and in all other parts of the Empire, before he came thither to take poſſeſſion of the Imperial dignity, gave people ſufficient reaſon to look upon him as a Savage and blood-thirſty Tyrant. So that every one being either filled with diſdain at the vileneſs of his birth, or ſhocked with the report of his cruelties, Africa in the firſt place, and afterwards the whole Senate and people of Rome, and all Italy, conſpired againſt him: in which they were ſeconded by his own Soldiers, who being tired out with the hardſhips of a long and unſucceſsful ſiege before Aquileia, and the frequent repetition of his barbarities, were encouraged, when they ſaw how generally he was hated, to fall upon him and kill him [t].

I ſhall

[r] Except in France.

[ſ] A little above two years.

[t] This Prince was of a gigantic Stature, and ſuch a glutton, that it is ſaid he would eat forty pounds of meat, and drink eight bottles of wine in a day. He became ſuch a

I ſhall ſay nothing of Heliogabalus [*u*], Macrinus [*x*], or Julian [*y*], who being all effeminate and contemptible perſons, were ſoon pulled down: but before I conclude this diſcourſe, I muſt add, that the Princes of our times are under no neceſſity of gratifying the Soldiery in their reſpective governments, by ſuch extraordinary means: for though they ought not to be altogether neglected, yet no danger is now to be apprehended from them, which may not eaſily be remedied; ſince the armies of Princes are not kept together in one body at preſent, nor ſuffered to continue for a long courſe of years in the ſame Governments and Provinces, as thoſe of the Roman Emperors were; who therefore were obliged to favour the Soldiery rather than the people, becauſe they had more power in their hands [*z*]. But at this time of

monſter of cruelty, that he was called the Cyclops, the Buſiris, the Sciron, Phalaris, Typhon, and Gyges of his age. He crucified many people; others he buried alive in the ſkins of beaſts; ſome he expoſed to Lions, and other wild beaſts; and others he cauſed to be cudgelled to death, without ever ſhewing the leaſt compaſſion. The Senate at laſt declared him a public enemy, at which he was ſo enraged, that he had well nigh killed his Son, whom he had made his partner in the Empire. His Soldiers likewiſe being wearied out with his inhumanities, cut off both him and his Son, at the Siege of Aquileia, and ſent their heads to Rome, after they had given their bodies to wild beaſts. His ſon was ſaid to have nothing of the barbarous diſpoſition of the father; but they were ſo thoroughly exaſperated, that they were determined to leave none of the family alive. *Oroſius.*

[*u*] This Emperor was ſo abominably vicious and luxurious, that he was called the *Roman Sardanapalus:* when he was near the Sea, he would eat nothing but fowls from the remoteſt mountains; and when he was the fartheſt from it, he would feaſt upon nothing but Sea-fiſh. He fed his lamps with balſam, and his fiſh-ponds with ſcented water. He was extravagantly laviſh of his treaſures, expoſed all honours and offices to public ſale, and uſurped an uncontroullable power both to himſelf and his Servants. His two Coachmen, Protogenes and Gordius, were his chief companions and fellow-debauchees. At laſt he became ſo hateful to his own guard, that both he and his mother were killed in the camp, and their bodies, after a thouſand indignities from the populace, firſt thrown into the common Sewer, and afterwards into the Tiber, after a reign of near four years: He was but eighteen, or (as ſome ſay) but twenty-two years old at moſt; yet he had been guilty of all manner of vices and villainies, and ſuch other enormities, as would make thoſe bluſh that read his Hiſtory. *Aurelius Victor.*

[*x*] Macrinus was of a very mean birth: but fortune raiſed him by degrees; having been a fencer, a huntſman, a Scrivener, an Attorney-general, and a Captain of the guards. His cruelty made him odious to the Soldiery, by whom he had been elected Emperor: So that they put him to a violent death, after he had reigned a little above a year. *Julius Capitolinus.*

[*y*] This Julian was of ſo mean and niggardly a diſpoſition, that he made a little pig and a leveret, which were ſent him of a preſent, ſerve him for three Suppers, dining every day in the mean time, on a few herbs and garden ſtuff. When Septimius Severus came to Rome, he privately hanged him in the moſt retired place of the imperial palace. *Victor Aurel.*

[*z*] Witneſs the Legions in Germany, who boaſted that they had the Empire in their own hands. "Suâ in manu ſitam rem Romanam, ſuis victoriis augeri Rempublicam, in ſuum cognomentum adſciſci Imperatores." *Tacit. Annal.* 1. "Evulgato Imperii arcano, poſſe Principem alibi quam Romæ fieri." *Hiſt.* 1. "Et poſſe ab exercitu Principem fieri".

day,

day, it is the intereſt of all Princes to court and careſs the people, as they are now more powerful than the Soldiery. I except the Grand Signior and the Sultan of Egypt: becauſe the former conſtantly keeps about twelve thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe-guards, about his perſon, upon which the ſtrength and ſecurity of his Empire entirely depend. It is abſolutely neceſſary therefore, to ſecure their affection at all events, in preference to that of the people: and the Sultan being in the ſame ſituation, ought likewiſe to regulate his conduct in the ſame manner. It ſhould alſo be obſerved, that the Government of the Sultans, is different from all other Principalities, except the Roman Pontificate, to which it bears ſome ſort of reſemblance: for the children of the deceaſed Prince do not ſucceed to the Empire, but ſuch as are choſen by particular perſons, who are veſted with the power of election. And this cuſtom being very ancient, the Government cannot be called a new one, nor is it ſubject to any of thoſe difficulties and inconveniencies that are incident to ſuch States: becauſe, though the Perſon of the Prince is new, yet the order and conſtitution of government having been long eſtabliſhed, he is received as if he had an hereditary right to it.

But to return to my ſubject. —— Whoever maturely conſiders what I have ſaid upon this matter, will find, that the ruin of the abovementioned Emperors was chiefly owing to their making themſelves either odious or contemptible; and be able to judge from whence it came to paſs, that part of them taking one courſe, and part another that was very different, ſome of both ſorts ſucceeded, and others came to unfortunate ends. For as Pertinax and Alexander were new Princes, they found it not only in vain, but pernicious, to imitate Marcus Aurelius, who ſucceeded to the Empire by right of inheritance. In like manner, Caracalla, Commodus, and Maximin were undone, by pretending to follow the ſteps of Severus; becauſe they had not abilities equal to their pattern. —— A new Prince therefore cannot come up to the example of Marcus Aurelius; nor will he have occaſion to follow that of Severus in all reſpects: but he ought to imitate the latter in ſuch things as are neceſſary to eſtabliſh himſelf in his dominion; and the former, in thoſe that may enable him to maintain it with reputation, when he is ſo eſtabliſhed.

EXAMEN

EXAMEN. CHAP. XIX.

THE rage of Syſtems is a Species of madneſs not peculiar to Philoſophers only: Politicians are likewiſe infected with it; and Machiavel in particular. He endeavours to prove, that a Prince ought to be wicked and knaviſh: theſe are the Sacramental parts of his Religion. He is as great a Monſter as Hercules ever deſtroyed, though not ſo ſtrong; and therefore there is no occaſion for a club like his to demoliſh him. For what can be more ſuitable, more natural, and neceſſary to Princes, than equity and goodneſs? —— But why ſhould we throw away arguments to prove this? the Politician ſufficiently bewilders and confutes himſelf by aſſerting the contrary. For in laying it down as a rule, that a Prince, who is lawfully ſettled upon his throne, ought to be cruel and perfidious, he only inſtructs him how to ruin himſelf: and in recommending the practice of theſe vices to one who has advanced himſelf to Royalty, in order to eſtabliſh his uſurpation, he gives him ſuch advice, as will neceſſarily excite all Sovereigns and Republics to riſe in arms againſt him: for how can any private man exalt himſelf to Sovereignty, without diſpoſſeſſing ſome rightful Prince or Republic of their dominions? and what Prince would not endeavour to prevent ſuch an attempt? If Machiavel had compoſed a Syſtem of Villainy for the practice of Highwaymen only, he would not have been ſo blame-worthy.

I ſhall take ſome notice, however, of his manner of reaſoning, in this Chapter. —— He ſays, that a Prince makes himſelf odious to his ſubjects, chiefly by unjuſtly ſeizing upon their properties, or violating the chaſtity of their wives or daughters. It is certain, that a rapacious, unjuſt, violent, and cruel Prince, will always be deteſted by his people: but the ſame cannot be ſaid in regard to Gallantry. Julius Cæſar, who was ſaid to be every man's woman, and every woman's man, Lewis XIV. of France, and Auguſtus the late King of Poland, were all extremely addicted to women; yet they were not hated upon the account of their amours: and if Cæſar was aſſaſſinated, if the Patriots of Rome plunged their daggers into his heart, it was becauſe he was an Uſurper, and not the effect of an amorous diſpoſition. The expulſion of Kings at Rome, occaſioned by the outrage committed upon Lucretia, may be alledged perhaps in confirmation of Machiavel's poſition. In anſwer to which, I ſay, that it was not young Tarquin's paſſion for Lucretia, but his violent manner of gratifying it, which cauſed that revolution: for as that act of violence awakened the remembrance of other enormities which the Tarquins had been guilty of, the

the Romans then determined to take that opportunity of revenge: if yet the Story of Lucretia be true.——I do not ſay this by way of excuſe for gallantry in Princes; for it is morally evil in itſelf: I am only endeavouring to ſhew that it does not make them odious. It is looked upon as a pardonable weakneſs in good Princes, provided it is not attended with violence and injuſtice. A man may be ſuch a Lover as Lewis XIV. Charles II. of England, or Auguſtus of Poland: [but he muſt not violate Lucretias, nor kill Pompeys, nor murder Uriahs] [*a*].

In the next place, the Politician ſeems guilty of a flat contradiction. ——He ſays, "that a Prince ſhould make himſelf beloved by his Subjects, in order to avoid the danger of Conſpiracies:" but in the ſeventeenth Chapter, he affirms, "that it ought to be the chief care of a Prince, to make himſelf feared, and to truſt to what depends upon himſelf alone, not upon the caprice of the people." ——Now which of the two is the Author's real opinion? He ſpeaks in the language of an Oracle, and is ſo ambiguous, that he may be interpreted as one pleaſes: but let it be obſerved, by the bye, that the language of Oracles is the language of Knaves.——I would ſay in general upon this occaſion, that conſpiracies and aſſaſſinations are now very rare in the world, and Princes are pretty ſafe in that reſpect. Such crimes are worn out, they are gone out of faſhion, and Machiavel himſelf aſſigns very good reaſons for it. Nothing but Fanaticiſm can revive ſo dreadful a ſpecies of wickedneſs in the world.

What Machiavel ſays in relation to Conſpiracies, is certainly very juſt and true, though it ſeems to come awkwardly out of his mouth. "A Conſpirator, ſays he, is perpetually haunted with apprehenſions of the puniſhment which hangs over his head: but a Prince is ſupported by the Majeſty of his State, and the authority of the Laws." Methinks the Politician ſeems to ſpeak here with a very bad grace of *Laws*, whoſe ſole endeavour is to inculcate ſelf-intereſt, cruelty, deſpotiſm, and uſurpation [*b*]. Yet he adviſes Princes to make themſelves beloved, and to proceed with caution upon the abovementioned account, and to ſecure the affections both of the Nobility and Commonalty. And without doubt he has reaſon on his ſide, when he counſels them to throw the weight of ſuch things upon others, as may make themſelves odious to either of thoſe Eſtates, by eſtabliſhing another Juriſdiction to mediate betwixt the people and the Grandees, and to decide their differences. For this purpoſe, he propoſes the government of

[*a*] The firſt Edition ſays here, "mais il ne faut imiter ni Neron, ni David."

[*b*] What follows is in the firſt Edition, but cut off here in the ſecond. "Machiavel fait comme les Proteſtans; ils ſe ſervent des argumens des incredules pour combattre la Tranſubſtantiation des Catholiques, & ils ſe ſervent des mêmes argumens dont les Catholiques ſoutiennent la Tranſubſtantiation, pour combattre les incredules."

France as a model. The avowed Patron and Advocate of deſpotiſm, uſurpation, and high-handed authority, here condeſcends to approve of that moderating power, with which the Parliaments of France were formerly veſted.—For my own part, I think, if there is any Government, in our times, worthy of being propoſed as a model of wiſdom, it is that of England, where the Parliament is Arbitrator betwixt the King and the people; and where the King has power to do as much good as he pleaſes, but no evil. This, however, is ſpoken without any deſign to diſparage the conſtitution of other States.

After this, our Politician runs out into a long digreſſion, concerning the conduct of ſeveral Roman Emperors, from the time of Marcus Aurelius to that of the two Gordians, and imputes the frequent revolutions, that happened in their reigns, to the venality of the Empire. But that was not the ſole cauſe: for Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, all came to miſerable ends; and yet none of them bought the Empire as Didius Julianus did. Venality, indeed, was an additional cauſe: but the true reaſon of the misfortunes of thoſe Emperors, was the form of that Government. The Pretorian guards, at that time, were what the Mamelucs in Egypt, the Janizaries in Turkey, and the Strelites [*c*] in Muſcovy were afterwards. Conſtantine, however, who was a Prince of great abilities, found means to break thoſe guards: but ſtill the diſtracted condition of the Empire expoſed ſucceeding Princes to be poiſoned and aſſaſſinated, as others had been before them. I ſhall only obſerve, that bad Emperors, for the moſt part, died a violent death: but Theodoſius I. [*d*] died quietly in his bed, and Juſtinian I. lived happily to the age of eighty-four [*e*]. Few bad Princes have been hapy: Auguſtus Cæſar himſelf could not live in peace till he became virtuous. The Tyrant Commodus, who ſucceeded the Divine Marcus Aurelius, was put to death, notwithſtanding the reverence in which his father was held by every one. Caracalla, was ruined by his cruelty. Alexander Severus was treacherouſly killed by Maximin of Thrace [*f*]: and Maximin, having made himſelf odious to the whole

[*c*] Or Strelitzes. See the *Life of Peter I. Czar of Muſcovy*, by Mottley. *Vol.* I. *p.* 6. *& ſeq.*

[*d*] See the Hiſtory of Florence. Book I. at the beginning.

[*e*] Not to mention the reſt of this Emperor's great actions, he collected all the Roman Laws into one body, and gave it the name of *Codex Juſtinianus*. The Laws of the Judges and Magiſtrates diſperſed in near two thouſand books, were reduced to the number of fifty, and called the *Digeſts* and *Pandects*. He likewiſe compoſed four books of *Inſtitutes*, which are an abridgment of the text of all the Laws; and collected the Laws made by himſelf, into one Volume, called *Novella*. It was he that built the Church of St. Sophia, at Conſtantinople, which is reckoned one of the fineſt pieces of Architecture in the world.

[*f*] But Alexander Severus was a very good Prince.

world

world, by his barbarities, was likewiſe murdered in his turn [*g*]. Machiavel indeed pretends, that the diſdain, with which he was looked upon by every body, on account of the baſeneſs of his extraction, was the cauſe of his death [*h*]: but in this he is much miſtaken: for a man that has advanced himſelf to Empire, by dint of his own courage, is no longer reproached with the meanneſs of his family; his power then is only conſidered, and not his birth. Pupien was the Son of a Blackſmith [*i*], Probus, of a Gardener, Diocleſian, of a Slave, Valentinian, of a rope-maker; and yet they were all highly reſpected [*k*]. Franciſco Sforza, who made a conqueſt of Milan, was the Son of a Peaſant: Oliver Cromwell, who bowed the necks of the Engliſh to his yoke, was the Son of a private Gentleman: Mahomet, the Founder of the moſt flouriſhing Empire in the Univerſe, had been Servant to a Broker: Samo, the firſt King of Sclavonia, was a French Merchant [*l*]. The famous Piaſte, whoſe name is ſtill ſo much revered in Poland, was elected King, whilſt he had yet a pair of wooden clogs upon his feet, and lived in great honour till he was an hundred years old [*m*]. How many great Generals, Miniſters, and Chancellors have been of plebeian extraction? Europe abounds with ſuch examples: and ſo much the better; as it ſhews that theſe employments are commonly given ac-

[*g*] Yet Mr. Voltaire, in his General Hiſtory of Europe. *Vol.* III. *part* vi. *p.* 163. ſpeaking of the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, ſays as follows. "Cromwell made himſelf Maſter of England, Scotland and Ireland. A Rebel, whoſe name was Liſtching, obliged the laſt Emperor of the Chineſe to ſtrangle himſelf, together with his wife and children, which opened a paſſage into China for the Tartars. In India, Aurengzeb rebelled againſt his father, who died of a lingering death in priſon, whilſt the ſon enjoyed the fruits of his iniquity in peace. Muley Iſhmael, the greateſt of all Tyrants, was practiſing the moſt horrid cruelties in the Empire of Morocco. Of all the Kings upon earth, thoſe two Uſurpers, Aurengzeb and Muley Iſhmael, lived the happieſt and the longeſt. They were both above an hundred years old when they died. Cromwell, though as wicked as either of them, did not live indeed ſo long, but ruled and died in peace.—If we examine the Hiſtory of the World, we ſhall find weak Princes unfortunate, and great Villains ſucceſsful; as if the Globe was a vaſt ſcene of plunder and devaſtation, abandoned to fortune and caprice."

[*h*] Machiavel likewiſe aſſigns his cruelty as another cauſe.

[*i*] *Marechal de Village.*

[*k*] Pupien and Probus, were both killed by the Soldiery: Valentinian killed himſelf with paſſion. How then highly reſpected?

[*l*] He put himſelf at the head of the Sclavonians, to deliver them from the Tyranny of the Huns: in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that being raiſed by them to the throne, he afterwards reigned over that people ſix and thirty years with great renown. *And. Brunner.*

[*m*] "In the year 820 there was an Inter-regnum full of troubles in Poland, till the Poles declared Piaſtus, a country fellow born at Cruſſwitz, their Prince; from whom ever ſince, ſuch of the natives as obtained the royal dignity, were called *Piaſti.* His poſterity reigned a long time in Poland; and from them deſcended the race of the Dukes of Lignitz and Brieg, in Sileſia, which is but lately extinct. It is ſaid he was an hundred and twenty years old when he died." *Puffendorf's introduction to the Hiſtory of Europe, p.* 305.

cording to merit [n]. I do not ſay this to diſparage the blood of the Witikinds [o], the Charlemagnes, and the Ottomans: for I have more reaſons than one to ſet a due value upon illuſtrious birth; but ſtill I ſhall always pay a greater regard to perſonal merit.

I muſt not forget to take notice here, that Machiavel has fallen into an error, in ſuppoſing that the favour of the Soldiery alone was ſufficient to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the Empire in the time of Severus. The Hiſtory of the Emperors ſhews us the contrary: the more they indulged the ungovernable Pretorians, the more they felt their weight: it was equally dangerous to careſs or reſtrain them. But the power of the Soldiery is not much to be dreaded at preſent: becauſe armies are now ſeparated in little corps, which are a check upon each other, as their Princes nominate to all Commiſſions, and the authority of Laws is more firmly eſtabliſhed. The Turkiſh Emperors, indeed, are not yet free from the terror of the bowſtring: but it is becauſe they have not availed themſelves of this piece of policy. The Turks are all ſlaves to the Grand Signior; and he is a ſlave to the Janizaries. But in Chriſtendom, Princes muſt treat all orders of their Subjects with the ſame favour and indulgence, and not make thoſe diſtinctions amongſt them, which are apt to create envy and jealouſies that often prove fatal to their intereſts.—The conduct of Severus, therefore, which Machiavel propoſes for the imitation of thoſe that advance themſelves to Empire, from a private condition, is as bad a pattern as that of Marcus Aurelius is a good one. But how can any one for ſhame propoſe the models of Severus, Cæſar Borgia, and Marcus Aurelius at the ſame time? Is not this coupling the moſt reſpectable wiſdom and virtue, with the moſt hideous crimes? I cannot help adding by way of concluſion to this Chapter, that Cæſar Borgia, with all his cruelty and artifice, came to a miſerable end: and that on the contrary, Marcus Aurelius, that royal Philoſopher, who was always good and virtuous, lived in happineſs and tranquility all the days of his life, without experiencing any reverſe of fortune.

[n] Aſia may be ſaid to abound with ſuch examples as well as Europe. For the Turks make no account of high blood: moſt of their Viſiers, and other great Officers, have been Slaves brought out of Europe.

[o] Witikind was a Saxon Prince, who kept the Saxons a long time in rebellion againſt Charlemagne, though he at laſt reduced them to terms: but Witikind ſoon after appeared in arms again, at the head of a body of Danes. Charlemagne hearing of this, and beig tired of ſpilling blood after ſo many rebellions as he had puniſhed, ſent one of his Courtiers, whoſe name was Amalauvinus, to exhort him to return to his duty, and to offer him very advantageous conditions: upon which, Witikind ſubmitted, and came to wait upon the Emperor at Agny in Champagne, who received him kindly, gave him the Duchy of Angrie, and engaged him to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion, of which he made profeſſion in the year 843. He was killed four years after by Gerald Duke of Suabia, leaving but one Son called Wipert or Robert, the chimerical head of ſo many great genealogies. *Crantz. Metropol. cap.* xviii. *Witikind Chron. Sax.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Whether Fortreſſes, and ſome other things, are of Service or diſſervice to a Prince.

SOME Princes, in order to ſecure themſelves effectually in the poſſeſſion of their dominions, have diſarmed their Subjects; others have fomented jealouſies and factions in their Cities: ſome have deſignedly made themſelves enemies amongſt them; others have endeavoured to gain thoſe whom they ſuſpected in the beginning of their reign: ſome again have built fortreſſes, and others have demoliſhed them. And though no certain or determinate rule can be laid down, with regard to ſuch expedients, except one had a thorough knowledge of the reſpective States where they are to be put in practice; yet I ſhall ſay ſomething of them in general, as far as the nature of the thing will admit.

It was never known then, that a new Prince diſarmed his Subjects: on the contrary, when he has found them diſarmed, he has always put arms into their hands. For by ſo doing, he makes them ſo many Soldiers entirely at his Service; thoſe that were ſuſpected, become faithful to him; thoſe that were faithful before, are confirmed in their attachment; and his Subjects become his partiſans. It is true he cannot arm them all; but if he is kind and obliging to thoſe whom he does arm, he may make the bolder with the reſt. Beſides, thoſe that are employed by him, will think themſelves honoured by that preference [*p*]: and thoſe that are not, will excuſe it, as they muſt think them more worthy of reward, who are moſt expoſed to danger. But if he diſarms them, he preſently forfeits their affections; becauſe it gives them reaſon to think he has but a mean opinion, either of their courage or fidelity: which will certainly make them hate him. And as he cannot poſſibly ſupport himſelf without an army, he will then be under a neceſſity of taking Mercenaries into his Service; the inconvenience of which I have already ſufficiently ſhewn. But ſuppoſing Mercenaries to be ever ſo good troops; they would not be able to defend him, both againſt a powerful foreign enemy, and diſaffected Subjects. New Princes, there-

[*p*] As in the caſe of the fourteenth Legion, which alway continued faithful to Nero, and reſpected his memory, out of gratitude for the honour which he had done it in making choice of it, as the moſt valiant in his Service, to reduce Britain which had revolted: "Addiderat (quarta decumanis) gloriam Nero, eligendo eos ut potiſſimos: unde longa illis erga Neronem fides, and erecta in Othonem Studia;" becauſe Otho was like Nero in his temper." *Tacit. Hiſt.* 2.

fore:

fore (as I ſaid before) always take care to have an army of their own: of which Hiſtory affords us numberleſs examples. But when a Prince makes himſelf Maſter of a new State, and annexes it as an appendage to his hereditary dominions, it is neceſſary to diſarm the Subjects, excepting ſuch as ſided with him in making that acquiſition: and even thoſe he muſt endeavour to ſoften and enervate as time and occaſions ſerve, and order matters in ſuch a manner, that his Soldiery may wholly conſiſt of his own proper Subjects, that is, of ſuch as ſerved him before he became poſſeſſed of that State.

Some of our Anceſtors, who were eſteemed wiſe men, uſed to ſay, "that Piſtoia could not be kept in obedience without encouraging factions there; nor Piſa without a Citadel:" upon which account, they fomented diviſions in ſome of their territories, and built fortreſſes in others, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of them. This perhaps might not be bad policy, as the affairs of Italy were then balanced; but I think it would not hold good at preſent: for ſo far are ſuch Diviſions from producing any ſalutary effect in a city, that when an enemy draws near to its gates, it muſt preſently ſurrender; as the weaker party would not fail to join them, and the other could not make a ſufficient defence. The Venetians encouraged the factions of the Guelfs and Ghibelines, in the cities that were ſubject to their juriſdiction, for the aforementioned reaſons I ſuppoſe: and though they ſeldom ſuffered them to come together by the ears, yet they ſtill fomented their diſſenſions; that ſo the citizens being otherwiſe employed, might not have leiſure to conſpire againſt them. But as it happened, this manner of proceeding did not anſwer their purpoſe: for when their army was routed at Vaila, one of thoſe factions boldly took up arms and ſhook off their yoke. Theſe expedients, therefore, argue weakneſs in a Prince: for no government of any ſtrength or conſiſtency, will ever ſuffer ſuch diviſions [q]: becauſe, though they may poſſibly ſerve in ſome meaſure to prevent conſpiracies and inſurrections in time of peace; yet when a war breaks out, the fallaciouſneſs of thoſe counſels is ſoon diſcovered. It muſt be allowed that Princes grow ſtronger and more powerful, by ſurmounting difficulties and obſtacles that are thrown in their way: and fortune, eſpecially when ſhe has a mind to aggrandize a new Prince (who certainly has more occaſion for reputation than an hereditary one) often raiſes enemies and confederacies againſt him, to exerciſe his courage and reſolution, and to give him an opportunity when he has ſubdued them, of advancing himſelf

[q] "Witneſs the King of France (ſay Machiavel, in his *political diſcourſes*, Book III. Chap. xxvii) who never would ſuffer any perſon to ſay he was of the King's party; which would imply, that there was another party againſt him: whereas the King would not have it thought there were any parties at all."

ſelf ſtill higher by the very means which they took to deſtroy him [r]. For this reaſon, ſome have been of opinion that a wiſe Prince, upon certain occaſions, ſhould artfully excite feeble inſurrections againſt himſelf, by quelling which, he will become ſtronger and more formidable than he was before [ſ].

Princes, and particularly new ones, have generally found thoſe men more faithful and ſerviceable to them at laſt, whom they ſuſpected in the beginning of their reign, than others on whom they put moſt confidence at firſt. Pandolpho Petrucci, Lord of Siena, governed that ſtate chiefly by the aſſiſtance of ſuch as he had once ſuſpected. Much, however, cannot be ſaid with any certainty of this matter; as it muſt vary of courſe, according to the times and circumſtances of things: I ſhall only add, therefore, that if thoſe perſons that are diſaffected to a Prince at the beginning of his government, are ſuch as ſtand in need of his favour to ſupport them, they may eaſily be gained; and they will always be very officious in ſerving him afterwards, becauſe they know that ſuch a degree of aſſiduity is neceſſary to cancel the prejudice he had conceived againſt them: ſo that he will reap greater advantage from their diligence, than from others who think themſelves more ſecure of his favour, and conſequently will be apt to neglect his affairs [t]. But ſince the nature of the Subject in ſome meaſure ſeems to require it, I cannot help adviſing a Prince, who has newly made himſelf maſter of a ſtate, by a correſpondence with the natives, to conſider well, what motives could induce them to lend him their aſſiſtance: for if it did not proceed from real affection for him, but diſguſt to the former Government, it will be exceeding difficult to keep them his friends; becauſe he will find it impoſſible ever to ſatisfy them [u]. Many examples

[r] As ſhe did to Tiberius, whoſe life, before he came to be Emperor, was full of dangers and troubles. "Caſus primâ ab infantiâ ancipites ..... Ubi domum Auguſti privignus introiit multis æmulis conflictatus eſt, dum Marcellus & Agrippa, mox Caius Luciuſque Cæſares viguêre ..... Sed Maxime in lubrico egit, acceptâ in matrimonium Juliâ, impudicitiam uxoris tolerans, aut declinans." *Tacit. Annal.* 6. And to Caractacus, "quem multa ambigua, multa proſpera extulerant, ut cæteros Britannorum Imperatores præmineret." *Annal.* 12. And to that Roman Captain, whom the viciſſitudes of good and bad fortune had made intrepid in all changes. "Cæcina ſecundarum ambiguarumque rerum ſciens, eòque interritus." *Annal.* 1.

[ſ] This, perhaps, might be Diogenes's meaning when he ſaid, *it was neceſſary to have enemies.*—It may be proper, according to human prudence, for a Prince to force his private enemies into open action, if they are not too numerous; that ſo he may ſuppreſs them, or at leaſt prevent them from doing him more miſchief in ſecret, than they could do openly.—This ſeems to be the meaning of *certain occaſions* here. But is it neceſſary to *excite*, to create enemies, on purpoſe only to cut them off?

[t] Thus Marius Celſus proved faithful to Otho, though he had been a firm friend to Galba. "Marium Celſum Conſ. Galbæ uſque in extremas res amicum fidumque." *Tacit. Hiſt.* 1. "Otho inter intimos habuit ..... manſitque Celſo velut fataliter etiam pro Othone fides integra." *ibid.*

[u] "Multi odio præſentium & cupidine mutationis." *Tacit. Annal.* 3. "Pri[illegible] ſpes agitantes, ſine publicâ curâ." *Hiſt.* 1.

both ancient and modern, ſufficiently evince that it is a much eaſier matter for ſuch a Prince to gain the affections of thoſe that lived quietly under the preceding government, and were conſequently averſe to his acceſſion, than to make others his friends, who ſided with him at firſt, and favoured his undertakings merely out of diſcontent [x].

It has been cuſtomary with Princes to build Citadels and Fortreſſes, in order to ſecure their dominions againſt the attempts of foreign enemies, to bridle their own Subjects in caſe of rebellion, and to take refuge there themſelves upon any emergency: and I approve of it, becauſe it is a practice of long ſtanding. Nevertheleſs, Niccolo Vitelli, in our own memory, diſmantled two Forts in Città di Caſtello to ſecure that State: and Guidobaldo Duke of Urbino, after he had recovered the territories, out of which he had been driven by Cæſar Borgia, utterly razed all the Fortreſſes in that Province, out of a perſuaſion that an enemy would afterwards find it much more difficult to make themſelves Maſters of it again [y]. The Bentivogli did the ſame at Bologna, when it was reſtored to them [z].——Fortreſſes then are either of ſervice or diſſervice, according to the times; and if they do good on one hand, they are often as prejudicial on the other. I think we may ſtate the caſe in this manner. A Prince that has more reaſon to be afraid of his own Subjects, than of foreign enemies, ought to build fortreſſes; but if he is more afraid of foreigners than of his ſubjects, he ought to let it alone. The Citadel which Franciſco Sforza built at Milan, has already been a ſharper thorn (and probably will continue to be ſo) in the ſides of his family, than any other oppoſition or diſturbance they have hitherto met with in the courſe of their government [a]. The ſtrongeſt Citadel that a Prince can have, is not to be hated

[x] This was the caſe with our King William III.

[y] Machiavel ſays, in his *political diſcourſes*, Book II. Chap xxiv. that the Duke of Urbino demoliſhed his fortreſſes, becauſe, as he was beloved by his Subjects, he did not care to diſoblige them, by ſeeming to entertain any diſtruſt of them; and that he could not otherwiſe have defendid thoſe fortreſſes, without an army likewiſe in the field.

[z] The Bentivogli became wiſe at the expence of Pope Julius II. who having built a Citadel at Bologna, and appointed a Governor, who put many of the Citizens to death, provoked the reſt to ſuch a degree, that they roſe in arms and deprived him both of the fortreſs and the City. *ibid.*

[a] Becauſe it encouraged them to oppreſs the Milaneſe with leſs reſerve. If you build fortreſſes, ſaſs Machiavel, in the ſame Chapter, they may be ſo far of ſervice to you in time of peace, as to enable you to take what liberties you pleaſe with your Subjects: but they will be of no uſe to you in time of war; for when they are attacked by a foreign enemy, and your own diſguſted Subjects at the ſame time, it will be impoſſible to maintain them againſt both.—And if you think to recover a State that has been loſt, by the help of fortreſſes, you will find yourſelf diſappointed in that; except you have an army likewiſe in the field, which is able to make head againſt the enemy that has ſtripped you of it—But if you have ſuch an army, you may recover it without the aſſiſtance of fortreſſes

hated by his people; for if he is, all other Fortreſſes will be in vain: becauſe, whenever they take up arms againſt him, they are ſure to find ſome foreign power or other, that will be ready enough to ſupport them. We have not ſeen ſo much as one inſtance in our times, wherein Fortreſſes have been of the leaſt ſervice to any Prince, except to the Counteſs of Furli [*b*], after the murder of her huſband Count Girolamo [*c*]. She indeed was enabled, by that aſſiſtance, to ſtem the rage of her rebellious Subjects, till ſhe received ſuch ſuccours from Milan, as reſtored her authority over them: but the affairs of Italy were ſo circumſtanced at that time, that no other power could ſtir to their relief. That dependence, however, was of little ſervice afterwards, when Cæſar Borgia invaded her territories, and her Subjects took that opportunity of ſiding with a foreign enemy: She would have had no occaſion for a Citadel, either at that time or before, if ſhe had not been hated by the people.—After a due conſideration of theſe things, I ſee no reaſon to condemn, either one Prince that builds Fortreſſes, or another that does not: but certainly he is much to be blamed, who ſolely confides in them, and makes no account of being odious to his Subjects.

EXAMEN. CHAP. XX.

THE Ancients painted Janus with two faces, to ſignify that he knew every thing both paſt and to come: which picture is a ſort of an allegory that may very properly be applied to Princes. For they, like Janus, ought to look backwards into the hiſtory of former ages, which will furniſh them with many uſeful leſſons for the conduct of their lives and actions: and they ſhould likewiſe endeavour to penetrate into futurity, and employ their reaſon and ſagacity in carefully comparing the preſent with paſt times; that ſo they may be able to form a probable conjecture of thoſe that are yet to come.

Machiavel in this Chapter propoſes five queries; ſome of which relate to ſuch Princes as have newly made a conqueſt; and others to ſuch as deſire nothing further than to eſtabliſh themſelves ſecurely in the poſſeſſion of their hereditary dominions. Let us therefore proceed in

treſſes. As for the Citadel of Milan, adds he, it was ſo far from being of any Service, either to the Sforza's or the French, in times of need, that, on the contrary, it was actually of prejudice to them both; as the dependence which they had upon that fortreſs, made them equally indifferent about the affections of the people.'

[*b*] Catharine Sforza, Daughter to Francis, and Siſter to Lewis the Moor, Dukes of Milan.

[*c*] Girolamo Riario, Nephew to Pope Sixtus IV. *See the Hiſtory of Florence*, Book VIII. *towards the end.*

the ſolution of theſe queſtions according to the rules juſt now laid down, and when we have duly compared things together, paſs ſuch a judgment upon them as reaſon and juſtice preſcribe.

The firſt Queſtion is, whether a Prince ought to diſarm a people whom he has newly conquered, or not?—In anſwer to which I ſay, that it muſt be remembered in the firſt place, how much the manner of making war is altered ſince Machiavel's time. At preſent there are diſciplined armies conſtantly kept in pay for the defence of every country; which are more or leſs numerous, according to the power and extent of it: for a parcel of mere peaſants only with arms in their hands would now be ſufficiently laughed at: and if the townſmen ſometimes carry arms in a Siege, the Beſiegers generally chaſtiſe them for it, either by a bombardment, or firing red hot balls into the town. It ſeems prudent likewiſe to diſarm the citizens when the place is taken; eſpecially if there is any miſchief to be apprehended from them. After the Romans had conquered Britain, and found the natives were of ſo turbulent and warlike a diſpoſition, that they could not keep peaceable poſſeſſion of it; they reſolved to ſoften and enervate them if poſſible, in order to moderate their fierceneſs; and in this they ſucceeded according to their wiſh. The Corſican Malecontents, though but an handful of men, are as brave and reſolute as thoſe Britons were: and it is my opinion they will never be ſubdued by any other meaſures than prudence and gentleneſs. To maintain the Sovereignty of that Iſland, it ſeems abſolutely neceſſary to diſarm the inhabitants, and to ſoften their manners. One might obſerve, by the bye, from the example of the Corſicans, with what courage and virtue the love of liberty inſpires mankind, and how dangerous and unjuſt it is to oppreſs them.

The ſecond Queſtion is, whether a Prince, who has lately made himſelf Maſter of another State, ſhould put more confidence in ſuch of his new Subjects as aſſiſted him in the conqueſt, or in thoſe that continued loyal to their former Sovereign?—When a place is taken by means of a ſecret coreſpondence and the treachery of ſome of the citizens, it would be highly imprudent to truſt ſuch traitors; as they will probably betray you again in your turn: and we ought to preſume that thoſe who were faithful to their former Maſter, will be ſo to a new one; for they are generally men of prudence and property, inclined to peace, and averſe to change, as likely to be of prejudice to their intereſt. However, too much confidence ſhould not be put in either of them.—But if a people ſhould be oppreſſed by a Tyrant to ſuch a degree, that they reſolve to ſhake off his yoke, and call in another Prince to rule over them; ſuch a Prince, I think, ought to anſwer any manner of confidence they put in him: for if he ſhould deceive thoſe upon ſuch an occaſion, who have entruſted every thing that is moſt dear and valuable

valuable to them in his hands, he would be guilty of a piece of ingratitude, that would not only prejudice his intereſt, but be an eternal blot upon his reputation. William, Prince of Orange, preſerved the friendſhip and confidence of thoſe that had ſet the crown of England upon his head to the laſt day of his life: but thoſe that oppoſed it, abandoned their country, and followed the fortune of King James II.— In elective Kingdoms, where the throne is venal, and the choice of a Sovereign influenced by brigue and faction, I think (whatever may be ſaid to the contrary) the new Prince may gain thoſe as eaſily who oppoſed his election, as thoſe who promoted it. Of this we may find ſufficient proofs in the Kingdom of Poland, where the crown is frequently expoſed to ſale in as public a manner, as other things are in a common market. And here liberality overcomes all oppoſition: the King has it in his power to take off the principal families by giving them Palatinates, Staroſties, and other employments which are in his diſpoſal. But as mankind in general ſoon forget favours and benefactions, it is neceſſary to refreſh their memory now and then: in ſhort the Poles may be compared to the tun which the Danaids were doomed to fill [*d*]; the moſt generous Prince in the world would find all his endeavours to ſatisfy them thoroughly in vain. But though the King of Poland has many to oblige, and much to do it with, he ſhould husband his reſources, and be liberal only upon certain occaſions; beſtowing his favours upon thoſe families alone whoſe ſervice he has then moſt need of.

The next Queſtion is properly, whether it tends more effectually to the ſecurity of a Prince that is in poſſeſſion of an old eſtabliſhed dominion, to encourage union, or to ſow diſcords and jealouſies amongſt his Subjects?—There might have been room, perhaps, for ſuch a queſtion in the time of Machiavel's Anceſtors at Florence: but I think no Politician would propoſe it at preſent: and one might very well be allowed upon this occaſion to quote the celebrated and well-known apologue which Menenius Agrippa applied to the Romans [*e*]. Republics, however, ought to foment ſome ſort of jealouſy amongſt their Subjects: for if one part of them did not keep a ſtrict eye upon the other, their form of Government would ſoon be changed into a Monarchy. There are Princes who think a diſunion amongſt their Miniſters ſerves to promote their intereſts; as they are not ſo liable, they

[*d*] The fifty daughters of Danaus, all of whom, except Hypermneſtra, killed their huſbands upon the wedding night: for which they were doomed, as the Poets ſay, to fill a barrel with water that was full of holes, through which it ran out again as faſt as they poured it in. Hence the proverb, *Danaidum dolium*; ſpoken of a perſon whoſe deſires are inſatiable, and never to be filled.

[*e*] About the Head, and the reſt of the Members of the Body, being at variance together.

imagine, to be deceived by men, whoſe mutual hatred and ſuſpicion keeps them equally upon their guard. But if their animoſities produce this effect, they likewiſe are attended with another of very dangerous conſequence: for the Miniſters, inſtead of concurring, as they ought to do, in the ſervice of their Maſter, are continually quarrelling and thwarting each other, to the great prejudice of his government and Subjects, whilſt they mix their own private differences with thoſe of their Prince, in order to wreak their revenge upon one another more effectually.—Nothing then contributes ſo much to the ſtrength of a Monarchy as an intimate and indiſſoluble union of all its Members; and therefore it ought to be one of the chief endeavours of a wiſe Prince to eſtabliſh ſuch harmony amongſt them.

What I have ſaid by way of anſwer to Machiavel's third Queſtion, may in ſome meaſure ſerve as a ſolution to the fourth: however, let us not paſs it over altogether unnoticed, though but a very brief, or indeed no diſcuſſion at all is neceſſary, to convince any one, whether it is better for a Prince to excite factions and diſcontents againſt himſelf, or to gain the love and confidence of his Subjects. To make enemies only to ſubdue them, would be the ſame as raiſing Monſters merely for the ſake of fighting them. Is it not much more natural, more rational, and humane to create friends? Happy are the Princes who know the ſweets of friendſhip! ſtill more happy are thoſe that have merited the affections of their people!

We are now come to the laſt Queſtion, viz. whether it is better for a Prince to build Fortreſſes and Citadels, or to demoliſh them?—I think I have ſpoken my opinion already pretty freely in the tenth Chapter of this Eſſay with regard to petty Princes: let us now ſee how far great and powerful Kings are concerned in the matter.—The World in Machiavel's time was in a general ferment: a Spirit of Sedition and revolt reigned every where: there was nothing to be ſeen but faction and Tyranny. Frequent, and almoſt continual revolutions obliged Princes to build Citadels upon eminencies near towns, to bridle the rebellious diſpoſition of their Subjects. But ſince that turbulent age, whether it is becauſe men are grown weary of deſtroying each other, or that Sovereigns have a more uncontrouled and deſpotic power in their States, we hear but of few Seditions and revolts; and one may venture to ſay, that that reſtleſs ſpirit being tired out after ſo much agitation, has at laſt ſubſided into a perfect calm: ſo that there is now no longer any occaſion for Citadels in a Country to ſecure the fidelity of the natives. But the ſame cannot be ſaid of Fortreſſes that are deſigned to guard it againſt foreign enemies, and to eſtabliſh its tranquility upon a laſting foundation in that reſpect. Armies and Fortreſſes are of equal ſervice to a Prince: for as he is enabled by his forces to make head againſt

againſt an enemy in the field, ſo he may ſhelter them under the cannon of a fortreſs in caſe of a defeat: and if it is beſieged, that will give him time to recruit his army, and aſſemble freſh troops, by the help of which, if they can be got ſoon enough together, he may poſſibly raiſe the Siege. The late wars in Flanders, betwixt France and the Emperor of Germany, proceeded very ſlowly, on account of the number of fortified places in that Country: and the loſs of a battle, in which perhaps an hundred thouſand men were engaged on each ſide, was attended with no other conſequence than the ſurrender of a town or two. The next Campaign, the enemy, having had ſufficient time to repair his loſſes, appeared in the field again, and made the advantage doubtful which had been gained the year before. For in Countries where there are many ſtrong towns, an army that can command the ſpace of two miles [*f*], may ſupport a war there for thirty years together, and at laſt, if it has fought twenty battles, and been ſucceſsful in them all, may have penetrated, perhaps, about ten miles farther into the enemies territories, as a reward for all its hardſhips and fatigues. But in an open Country, the event of one battle, or two campaigns at moſt, puts an end to all diſputes, and the Conqueror finds himſelf in poſſeſſion of a whole Kingdom. Alexander the Great, Julius Cæſar, Gengiſcham [*g*], Charles XII. of Sweden, would not have acquired ſo much reputation, if there had been any ſtrong places in the Countries where they waged war, to ſtop their career. The Conqueror of the Indies had but two Sieges to retard his progreſs; the Arbiter of Poland met with no more. Prince Eugene, Marſhal Villars, the Dukes of Marlborough and Luxembourg, were great Generals; but the impediment of Fortreſſes in ſome meaſure abated their glory and ſucceſs. The French ſeem well aware of their uſefulneſs: for the route from Brabant down as far as Dauphiné is a double chain of them: and the frontiers of France next to Germany are like the Jaws of a Lion with two dreadful rows of teeth ready open to devour any invader. Let this ſuffice to ſhew the great utility of fortified towns.

[*f*] We muſt ſuppoſe that his Majeſty here means German miles, (one of which is equal to about five of ours) and thoſe ſquare miles too.

[*g*] The Conqueror of the Moguls.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

In what manner a Prince ought to behave himſelf in order to gain reputation.

NOTHING gains a Prince ſo much eſteem as great enterprizes and extraordinary actions. Ferrando, or Ferdinand, of Arragon, the preſent King of Spain [*b*], may in ſome meaſure be called *a new Prince*, becauſe he has advanced himſelf from a petty State to be the moſt renowned Monarch in Chriſtendom. If we conſider his actions, they will all appear very great, and ſome of them indeed moſt extraordinary. For in the very beginning of his reign, he invaded the Kingdom of Granada [*i*]: an enterprize that proved the foundation of all his greatneſs, and in which he met with no impediment or interruption from the very firſt; the Barons of Caſtile being ſo intent upon that invaſion, that they never dreamt of diſturbing him in other things: whilſt in the mean time he inſenſibly eſtabliſhed a dominion over them, by maintaining armies at the expence of the Church and the people, and by diſciplining them in ſuch a manner, during the courſe of that long war, as afterwards made his power and reputation irreſiſtible. In the next place, after he had cruelly plundered the Marrani [*k*], he drove them out of his dominions, upon religious motives, as he pretended; for he conſtantly threw that veil over all his actions. But in fact it was to enable him to engage in ſtill greater enterprizes: and though the means he took for this purpoſe without doubt were moſt barbarous, yet it was an extraordinary and almoſt unexampled action. Under the ſame cloak he afterwards invaded Africa, Italy, France, and always had one great deſign or other in agitation; the event of which kept his Subjects in continual ſuſpence and admiration, and drew all their attention that way. And theſe enterprizes followed ſo cloſe upon the heels of each other, that people had no leiſure to think of any thing elſe; much leſs to raiſe conſpiracies or inſurrections againſt him.

It is likewiſe of great ſervice to a Prince to give ſome rare examples of civil adminiſtration, eſpecially when there is occaſion to reward or puniſh a perſon in an exemplary manner, for the extraordinary good or

[*b*] Ferdinand V.

[*i*] At that time in the poſſeſſion of the Moors.

[*k*] The Moriſcoes, or deſcendants of the Moors.—The Inquiſition was ſet up at this time, under a pretence of diſcovering who were true Chriſtians, and who concealed Mahometans. To what other purpoſes it has been ſince applied, every body knows.—It is ſaid Ferdinand drove ſeven hundred thouſand Mooriſh families out of Spain, to the great impoveriſhment and depopulation of that Kingdom: which ſurely was a piece of very bad policy. *See Gaddes's Tracts.*

evil

evil he may have done; and to find means of doing it in ſuch a way as may occaſion it to be much talked of: and of this, the conduct of Bernabo Galeazzo, Lord of Milan, may ſerve for a pattern [*l*]. But above all, a Prince muſt endeavour to give an air of greatneſs and nobility to his actions [*m*]; and it will likewiſe add to his eſteem if he ſhews himſelf either a true friend or an open enemy: that is, if he frankly and without reſerve declares in favour of one ſtate againſt another; which he will always find more for his intereſt than to ſtand neuter. For if he ſhould happen to have two powerful neighbours at war together, whether he has reaſon or not to be afraid of the Conqueror (whoever gets the better) it will be more prudent in either caſe to declare himſelf on one ſide or other, and to enter vigorouſly into the war. For if he does not, he will certainly fall a prey to the Conqueror, (to the great ſatisfaction too of him that is conquered) nor will he have any body to eſpouſe or protect him: becauſe the former will not look upon him as his friend who would not ſtir to his aſſiſtance when he wanted it: nor will the latter have any thing to do with one, who before refuſed to take up arms and embark in the ſame bottom with him. When Antiochus marched into Greece at the invitation of the Etolians, in order to repel the Romans, he ſent Ambaſſadors to perſuade the Achaians, who were in friendſhip with the Romans, to ſtand neuter. The Romans, on the other hand, exhorted them to take up arms on their ſide: but the matter coming to be debated in the Achaian Council, and Antiochus's Ambaſſadors ſtill adviſing a neutrality, the Roman Lieutenant told them in a few words, "that it was the moſt pernicious meaſure they could take; for if they did not engage either with one ſide or the other, they would be eſteemed by neither, and be ſure to be ſwallowed by the conqueror [*n*]." It may be looked upon therefore

[*l*] This Bernabo Galeazzo has been already ſpoken of in the Notes upon the Hiſtory of Florence. It is a wonder Machiavel did not here again introduce his old favourite pattern Cæſar Borgia, and the inſtance of his putting to death Remiro d'Orco his Lieutenant in Romagna, beforementioned, *Chap.* vii. *of the Prince.*—Philip de Commines ſays of his Maſter Lewis XI. of France, that he thought it neceſſary to puniſh and execute a great number of perſons, in order to make himſelf feared and obeyed. He reduced the officers, broke the Gens d'armes, retrenched penſions, and ſpent his whole time in ſuch regulations, as made him more talked of in the Kingdom than any Prince had ever been before. *Mem. liv.* VI. *Chap.* viii.

[*m*] "Præcipua rerum ad famam dirigenda, ſays Tacitus, *Annal.* 4. He ſhould be like Mucian, who had the art of giving an air of agreeableneſs to every thing he did or ſaid. "Omnium quæ diceret atque ageret, arte quâdam oſtentator." *Hiſt.* 2.

[*n*] "Quippe ſine dignitate, præmium victoris eritis." *Liv. Lib.* XXXV. "A neutrality is generally prejudicial, except to a Prince that is ſtronger than both the other States that are at war together: for ſuch a one indeed has it always in his power to be an Arbitrator and Umpire betwixt them. On the contrary, it muſt of neceſſity be detrimental:

fore as a certain rule, that he is your enemy who tempts you to ſtand neuter in ſuch circumſtances, and that he is your friend who perſuades you to take up arms, and declare boldly either for one party or the other. Irreſolute Princes, who generally embrace a neutrality to avoid ſome preſent inconvenience, for the moſt part are ruined by it [*o*]. But when you frankly declare yourſelf in favour of one ſide; if your friend gets the better, though he becomes very powerful by it, and you lie at his mercy, he thinks himſelf obliged to you, and eſteems you: and men are not yet arrived at that height of ingratitude as to ruin thoſe to whom they are under ſuch obligations. Beſides, a victory is ſeldom ſo complete that it enables the conqueror to lay aſide all reſpect both to decency and juſtice.—But if he with whom you ſide is worſted, he will ſtill continue firm to you, and aſſiſt you upon occaſion, when it is in his power: ſo that by your joint endeavours you may poſſibly retrieve your loſſes.

In the other caſe, when you have nothing to fear from either of the Princes at war (which ſide ſoever prevails) you will ſtill act more wiſely in declaring for one of them: for then you are ſure to conquer, and to ruin one by the aſſiſtance of the other, who in good Policy ought to have joined him againſt you; as he will afterwards lie at your diſcretion himſelf.—And here it ought to be obſerved, that a Prince ſhould take care never to enter into a confederacy with another in an offenſive war who is ſtronger than himſelf, if he is not compelled to it by downright neceſſity, as I have ſaid before [*p*]: for if he ſucceeds in his enterprize, you will be left at his mercy; which is a ſituation that every Prince ſhould endeavour by all means to avoid, if poſſible. The Venetians joined with the French againſt the Duke of Milan, when they had no occaſion to have done ſo; and they were ruined by it. But when there is no other choice or expedient left, as it happened to the Florentines at the time when the Pope and the King of Spain invaded Lombardy, it muſt be ſubmitted to, for the abovementioned reaſons. Let not any Government or Prince, however, imagine that a certain and invariable rule can be laid down in ſuch caſes; let them rather in ſome

mental to a petty Prince. For which reaſon, if a Prince is not ſtrong enough of himſelf to give law to both the other powers at war, he ought always to join the ſtronger ſide." Thus ſays Monſ. Amelot de la Houſſaye in a note upon this paſſage.—But is it *always* good Policy in a weak Prince to throw his little weight into the heavier Scale? and has it not often been ſeen that ſeveral weak Princes, confederated together, have been more than a balance for one overgrown power? which at laſt has been reduced not only to reaſon, but ſometimes to no ſmall degree of *humiliation* by ſuch a League. Inſtances of this are too numerous to be quoted, and will readily occur to every Reader.

[*o*] Does not this ſeem likely to be the caſe of the Dutch, with regard to England and France?

[*p*] See Chap. xiii.

meaſure

meaſure be diffident off all: for things are often ſo circumſtanced in the courſe of this world, that by endeavouring to avoid one inconvenience, we muſt of neceſſity run into another: all that human prudence can do in ſuch dilemmas, is to weigh both evils, and to chuſe the leſs [q].

A Prince ſhould likewiſe be an encourager of arts and Sciences, and honour all ſuch as excel in their reſpective vocations, eſpecially in commerce and agriculture; frequently exciting his ſubjects to a diligent proſecution of their ſeveral occupations by bountiful rewards, and aſſurances that they ſhall enjoy the fruits of their labour in peace and ſecurity: that ſo they may not be deterred from exerting their induſtry in ſuch things as tend to the ſtrength and embelliſhment of his dominions, either by the apprehenſion of being robbed of their profits, or overloaded with grievous and intolerable taxes. [r]. Beſides all this, he ſhould take opportunities at proper ſeaſons of the year to entertain his people with feaſts and public ſpectacles, and rejoicings of every ſort, to divert and keep them in good humour [ſ]. And as every community has trading Companies and Corporations, he ſhould ſometimes condeſcend to ſhew his regard for them by honouring their Shews and Treats, and Regalements, with his preſence [t], to make a diſplay of his affability

[q] "He that waits for an opportunity of executing any deſign, that is to be complete in all reſpects, (ſays Machiavel in his Hiſtory of Florence, Book II.) will either never attempt any thing at all, or moſt probably miſcarry if he does." "I have often obſerved in the courſe of human affairs, ſays another Italian Politician, that nothing is more dangerous than too much care to avoid danger, and that too great a degree of prudence is apt to degenerate into imprudence." *Father Paul.*

[r] Sir William Temple very well obſerves, that Commerce can never flouriſh under a deſpotic Government, becauſe nobody can be aſſured of long enjoying the fruits of his labours. But there is nothing of this kind to fear in a Republic. From whence he infers, that that form of Government is moſt proper both to cultivate and preſerve Commerce, and inſtances the examples of Tyre, Carthage, Athens, Syracuſe, Agrigentum, and Rhodes, in all which Commonwealths, Commerce began to dwindle away as ſoon as they became Subject to the dominion of one Prince. *Obſervations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, Chap. vi.

[ſ] As the Romans uſed to do, who, according to Tacitus, ſubdued other nations, by introducing the ſweets of voluptuouſneſs, more effectually than by dint of arms. "Voluptatibus, quibus Romani plus adverſus ſubjectos, quam armis valent." *Hiſt.* 4.— "Agricola ſoftened the ferocity of the Britons by luxury to ſuch a degree, that they called that *humanity* and *gentleneſs*, which only ſerved to rivet their chains more ſecurely upon them." "Ut homines diſperſi ac rudes, eoque bello feroces, quiete & otio per voluptates aſſueſcerent . . . . . idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars Servitutis eſſet. *In vit. Agric.*

[t] As Auguſtus did. "Indulſerat ei ludicro Auguſtus . . . . . neque ipſe abhorrebat talibus Studiis, & civile rebatur miſceri voluptatibus vulgi." *Annal.* 1. For the people, who naturally love pleaſures of this kind, are above meaſure pleaſed always, when they ſee their Prince mix in them. "Ut eſt vulgus cupiens voluptatum, & ſi eodem Princeps trahat lætum." *Annal.* 14. And Vitellius, who uſed to put himſelf amongſt the Candidates for the Conſulſhip, and endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the people to himſelf, by preſiding at the ſpectacles that were exhibited in the Circus and Theatres.

lity and eaſineſs of acceſs; always remembering to ſupport the Majeſty of a Prince at the ſame time in a proper manner, which ought never to be proſtituted upon any account whatſoever [u].

EXAMEN. CHAP. XXI.

IN this Chapter Machiavel lays down ſome rules that are very good, and others again that are as bad. I ſhall therefore, in the firſt place, take ſome notice of what is moſt exceptionable: after which, I will confirm what appears good and laudable, and venture to give my opinion of ſome other ſuch things as ſeem naturally to fall in with this Subject.

The Author propoſes the conduct of Ferdinand of Arragon, and Bernabo of Milan as patterns to thoſe that would diſtinguiſh themſelves by great enterprizes and extraordinary actions. For ſomething rare and marvellous, it ſeems, is required in ſuch exploits, and in the rapidity with which they are executed. There is an air of grandeur in things of that kind I allow: but certainly they cannot be truly ſaid to merit praiſe and glory any further than they are conſiſtent with juſtice. "Thou who pretendeſt to exterminate Robbers, ſaid the Scythian Ambaſſadors to Alexander the Great, art one of the greateſt Robbers in the world thyſelf: for thou has plundered all the nations which thou haſt ſubdued. If thou art a God, thou oughteſt to do good to mortals: but if thou art a man, conſider thy own condition [x]." Ferdinand of Arragon did not content himſelf merely with the violence of war; he abuſed Religion at the ſame time to cloak his wicked deſigns; he paid no regard to the moſt ſolemn oaths and engagements; and always had the name of juſtice in his mouth, whilſt he was committing the moſt flagrant injuries. Yet Machiavel commends him for things which are ſurely moſt worthy of abhorrence.

The other model is Bernabo of Milan: from which he inſinuates that Princes ſhould always reward virtue, and puniſh vice in the moſt exemplary and conſpicuous manner, in order to appear great and ſingular in their actions. But generous Princes will never want reputation, eſpecially when their liberality flows from the goodneſs of their heart,

" Comitia Conſulum civiliter celebrans, omnem infimæ plebis rumorem in theatro, ut ſpectator, in Circo ut fautor affectavit."—See the Story of our King Charles II. and Sir Robert Viner, Lord Mayor of London. *Spectator*, *Vol.* VI. No. 462.

[u] " Ita ut nec illi, aut facilitas auctoritatem, aut ſeveritatis amorem diminuat." *In vit. Agricol.* But this was the foible of our merry Monarch, *who*, (as is excellently ſaid of him by a great hand which wrote his Character) *was not a King for a quarter of an hour together during his whole reign.*

[x] Quint. Curt. *Lib.* VII. Chap. viii.

and

and is not the effect only of ſelf-love and private views. Goodneſs alone will make them greater than all other qualifications. Cicero told Julius Cæſar, "that fortune could give him nothing greater than the power, nor nature any thing better than the inclination, to ſpare his fellow-citizens [y]." The puniſhments then which Princes inflict, ſhould be lighter than the offence deſerves, and the rewards they confer, always greater than the merit of the ſervice.

In the next place, I cannot help obſerving another contradiction in Machiavel's Politics. For in this Chapter he adviſes Princes to ſtick cloſe to their Allies, and fulfil their engagements with them: whereas in the eighteenth Chapter, he fully diſcharges them from every thing of that kind. So that he recommends in one place what he condemns in another.—But if he is blameable in that reſpect, his advice is not to be deſpiſed, when he cautions Princes not to enter raſhly into alliances with others that are more powerful than themſelves; who, inſtead of ſuccouring, perhaps may ruin them. A great Prince in Germany, equally eſteemed by his friends and enemies, ſhewed upon the following occaſion, that he well knew the danger of acting in that manner. The Swedes having penetrated into his dominions whilſt he was abroad (for he had marched with all his forces to the aſſiſtance of the Emperor, who was then at war with the French upon the Lower Rhine) his Miniſters adviſed him, upon the news of ſo ſudden an invaſion, to call in the Czar of Muſcovy to his ſuccour. But he wiſely anſwered, "that the Muſcovites were like bears, which ſhould not be let looſe, leſt one ſhould not be able to chain them up again when it was neceſſary," and bravely reſolved to ſtand upon his own bottom, which, as it proved, he had no occaſion to repent of [z]. If it was poſſible that I ſhould be alive an hundred years hence, I am very certain I ſhould have occaſion to add many inſtances and reflections to this article: but it is not my buſineſs here to paſs judgment upon the conduct of modern Princes; and as times go, it is as neceſſary to know when to hold one's tongue, as when to ſpeak out.

The Subject of Neutralities is likewiſe well handled by Machiavel: and what he ſays concerning the Duty of Princes is equally juſt.—Experience has long ago fully ſhewn, that when two Princes are at war together, a third, who ſtands neuter, expoſes his dominions to be inſulted by both; that they will probably become the ſeat of the war; and that he will be ſure to loſe, without any proſpect of gaining.

As to the other part of the Subject, there are two ways by which a Prince may make himſelf great. One is by conqueſt; that is, when

[y] Nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus, quam ut poſſis; nec naturatua melius, quam ut velis conſervare quam plurimos." *Pro Ligario, ad finem.*

[z] It is imagined his Majeſty's Grandfather is here meant.

a warlike Prince extends his dominions by force of arms [*a*]: the other is by good government, as when a Prince takes pains to make all ſuch arts and Sciences flouriſh in his State, as tend to render it more powerful and polite. Machiavel's precepts relate almoſt wholly to the former: but let us ſay ſomething of the latter alſo, as more innocent and juſt, and no leſs ſerviceable than the other. —— The arts moſt neceſſary to ſuſtain the life of man, are Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures: but thoſe that do moſt honour to the human underſtanding, are Geometry, Philoſophy, Aſtronomy, Eloquence, Poetry, Painting, Muſic, Sculpture, Architecture, &c. which are generally called the *polite Arts*. But as there is a great difference in countries, there are ſome where the chief dependance of the inhabitants is upon Agriculture, that is, upon corn and paſturage; others upon the cultivation of Vineyards; others upon Manufactures; and others again upon Commerce: nor is it impoſſible that all theſe arts ſhould flouriſh together in the ſame nation.

The Sovereigns, who prefer this gentle and amiable manner of making themſelves more powerful, ſhould well conſider the nature and conſtitution of their Country, in order to know which of theſe arts are moſt likely to ſucceed there, and conſequently which they ought to encourage moſt. The French and the Spaniards being aware that their Commerce began to fail, formed a deſign to ruin that of the Engliſh [*b*]: and if they had ſucceeded in it, France would have increaſed her power much more by that means, than by gaining twenty cities, and a thouſand villages: for then both England and Holland, two of the fineſt and richeſt Countries in the world, muſt inſenſibly have waſted away like a man in a conſumption. —— In Countries where corn and wine conſtitute the riches of the inhabitants, two things are to be obſerved. In the firſt place, all the lands muſt be carefully cleared and cultivated; that ſo every part of them may be turned to advantage: and in the next, it is neceſſary to extend the ſale of the crop as far as poſſible, to find out the cheapeſt way of exporting it, and to carry it to the beſt market. As to manufactures of all kinds, they are perhaps the moſt uſeful and profitable of all other things to a State; as they ſupply both the real wants and luxury of the natives, and even their neighbours are obliged to pay a tribute to their induſtry: on one hand, they prevent money from being carried out of a country, and on the other, they ſerve to bring it in. I have always been of opinion, that the want of Manu-

[*a*] It is to be ſuppoſed his Majeſty here means, in conſequence of a war juſtly undertaken. Otherwiſe how is it to be reconciled with what he ſays towards the beginning of this work, about the folly of Princes in deſiring to extend their dominions, &c.

[*b*] This they have attempted ſo often, that it is not eaſy to fix upon the particular time here meant.

factures

factures was, in ſome meaſure, the cauſe of thoſe prodigious emigrations of people from the North, of thoſe inundations of Goths and Vandals which ſo often over-run the Southern parts. They were ſtrangers to all manner of arts in thoſe rude ages in Sweden, Denmark, and the greater part of Germany, except Agriculture and Hunting. The arable lands were in the hands of a certain number of proprietors, who cultivated and lived upon them. But as it is well known, that mankind always multiply very faſt in cold climates, it often happened that there were twice as many inhabitants in a country, as could be ſupported by tillage. So that the needy younger brothers of great families were forced to quit their native country, and turn adventurers: neceſſity made them illuſtrious Robbers, they ravaged other parts, and diſpoſſeſſed the inhabitants. But wherever they came both in the Eaſtern and Weſtern Empires, they ſeldom demanded any thing elſe, but ſuch an allotment of lands as was ſufficient to provide them with the neceſſaries of life when tilled. The northern countries are as full of people at preſent, as they were in thoſe times: but as Luxury has happily multiplied our wants, it has likewiſe given birth to Manufactures, and other arts, which maintain millions of people, who muſt otherwiſe have been obliged to ſeek their bread elſewhere.

Theſe methods then, of making a State flouriſh, are talents intruſted with the wiſdom of a Prince, who ought carefully to improve them. It is a moſt certain ſign that a Country is wiſely and happily governed, when the polite arts thrive and are cheriſhed in its boſom. Theſe are flowers that grow in a rich Soil, and a favourable climate: but droughts and boiſterous winds make them fade and wither away. —— Nothing makes the reign of a Prince more illuſtrious, than the arts which flouriſh under his protection. The age of Pericles is as famous for the great Genius's who lived at Athens, as for the battles which the Athenians fought in his time. That of Auguſtus is more nobly diſtinguiſhed by the writings of Cicero, Ovid, Horace, Virgil, &c. than by the Proſcriptions of that cruel Emperor, who after all, owed his glory chiefly to the Horatian lyre. That of Lewis XIV. is more celebrated for the works of Corneille, Racine, Moliere, Boileau, Deſcartes, the le Bruns, and Girardons, than for the ſo much exaggerated paſſage of the Rhine [*c*], the Sieges where his Majeſty aſſiſted in perſon, or the Battle of Turin, which Monſieur de Marſin cauſed the Duke of Orleans to loſe, by a ſecret order from Court [*d*].

Kings do honour to human nature, when they diſtinguiſh and recompenſe ſuch as are the ornaments of it, and encourage thoſe ſu-

[*c*] *See* the account of that famous exploit in *Le ſiecle de Louis XIV.* p. 89, 90.
[*d*] *See* the ſame Author, p. 196, 197, 198.

perior

perior Spirits, who devote themſelves to the propagation of knowledge, and the ſervice of truth. Happy are the Sovereigns who cultivate theſe Sciences themſelves, who think like Cicero, the celebrated Conſul of Rome, the Deliverer of his Country, and the Father of Eloquence. Let us hear him; "theſe Studies, ſays he, form our youth, and are the delight of our maturer years; they make proſperity more brilliant, and take away the ſting of adverſity: in voyages, in ſolitude, abroad and at home, in every place, and at all times, they are the comfort of our life" [e]. Lorenzo de Medici, the greateſt man of his nation, was the Peace-maker of Italy, and the Reſtorer of the Sciences: his probity gained him the confidence of all the Princes in Europe. Marcus Aurelius, one of the moſt glorious and renowned Emperors of Rome, was not only a ſucceſsful warrior, but a ſage Philoſopher, and ſtrictly practiſed the laws of morality himſelf, which he recommended to others. I will conclude this Chapter with one of his Apothegms, "A Prince, who makes juſtice the rule of his actions, has the whole World for a Temple, and all good men will be his Prieſts, and offer ſacrifice to him."

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning the Secretaries of Princes.

A Right choice of Miniſters, is of no ſmall importance to a Prince: for the firſt conjecture that is formed of his capacity, is from the perſons that he has about him [f]. When they are men of abilities and fidelity, it ſhews that he is a wiſe and diſcreet man himſelf, by having diſtinguiſhed their worth, and found means to keep them faithful

[e] The paſſage which his Majeſty here alludes to, is as follows. "Hæc ſtudia adoleſcentiam alunt, ſenectutem oblectant, ſucundas res ornant, adverſis perfugium ac ſolatium præbent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiſcum peregrinantur, ruſticantur." *Cic. pro Archia poetâ.*

[f] Tacitus ſays, it was looked upon as a good omen, that Nero, in the beginning of his reign, had preferred Corbulo to the command of his army; as ſuch a choice ſhewed that the gate was open to merit, and that he was governed by good counſel. "Datum plane documentum, honeſtis, an ſecus, amicis uteretur, ſi ducem egregium, quam ſi pecunioſum & gratiâ ſubnixum deligeret." And ſome lines after, "Læti quod Domitium Corbulonem præpoſuerat, videbaturque locus virtutibus patefactus." *Annal.* 13. Commines ſays (Book II. Chap. iii. of his Memoirs) that a Prince can give no greater demonſtration of good ſenſe, than in placing worthy and virtuous men about his perſon: for others will form their opinion of him, according to the quality of the perſons with whom he is moſt familiar. Thus the Prince of Orange ſaid, "one might eaſily judge of King Philip the ſecond's own diſpoſition, from the cruelties which he ſuffered the Duke of Alva to exerciſe with impunity in the Low Countries."

faithful to him [*g*]. But when they are otherwiſe, it gives people room to entertain but a mean opinion of his judgment, from the badneſs of his choice, which is the firſt error he can be guilty of.—— Every one that knew Antonio da Venafro, who was prime Miniſter to Pandolpho Petrucci, Lord of Siena, thought Pandolpho a wiſe man, for making choice of ſuch a Miniſter. In the capacities of mankind, there are three ſorts or degrees: one man underſtands things by his own light; another underſtands things when they are explained to him; and a third neither can underſtand them of himſelf, nor when they are explained to him by others. The firſt are rare and excellent; the ſecond have their merit [*b*], but the laſt are good for nothing. It is certain then, that if Pandolpho was not one of the firſt rank, he was at leaſt of the ſecond: for whenever a Prince has judgment enough to diſcern what is good or bad in the words and actions of others, people will naturally ſay, "if he is not a man of the higheſt abilities himſelf, he is ſufficiently capable however, of diſtinguiſhing when his Miniſter does well or ill, and knows how to reward him for one, and correct him for the other;" ſo that when the Miniſter finds it is not in his power to deceive him, he is under a neceſſity of being a good man, and doing his Duty [*i*].

But the queſtion is, how a Prince may know whether his Miniſter is a good one or not: and for this there is an infallible rule. When you ſee he thinks more of himſelf than of you, and that all his actions tend to his own private intereſt and advantage, he is a bad Miniſter, and you ought not to truſt him upon any occaſion [*k*]. For he that has the

[*g*] For as a man cannot judge properly of the ſkill of a Painter, a Statuary, or a Sculptor, without being of the ſame profeſſion: ſo no one can diſtinguiſh wiſdom in another, except he is wiſe himſelf, "Ut enim de Pictore, Sculptore, fictore, nemo niſi artifex judicare; ita niſi ſapiens non poteſt perſpicere ſapientem." *Plin. Epiſt.* 10. lib. I.

[*b*] According to the Poet,

Laudatiſſimus eſt, qui per ſe cuncta videbit:
Sed laudandus & is, qui paret recta monenti.

[*i*] For this reaſon, Sejanus, who was well acquainted with the penetration and abilities of Tiberius, gave him good counſel at the beginning of his Miniſtry. "Sejanus, adhuc incipiente potentiâ, bonis conſiliis noteſcere volebat." *Annal.* 4.

[*k*] After Sejanus had ſav'd the life of Tiberius, in the Grotto of Spelunca, Tacitus ſays, that Tiberius put an entire confidence in him, as a man that had a greater regard for his Prince's ſafety than his own. "Major ex eo, & ut non ſui anxius, cum fide audiebatur." *Annal.* 4. And Tigellinus, in order to ſupplant his rivals, told Nero, that he did not act like Burrhus, who had private views of his own; that his only ambition was to watch over the ſafety of his Prince. "Non ſe ut Burrhum diverſas ſpes, ſed ſolam incolumitatem Neronis ſpectare." *Annal.* 14. Moſt Miniſters talk in this Style; but their heart and actions often belye their lips.

manage-

management of your whole State in his hands, ought to lay aſide the care of his own affairs, and turn all his attention upon that charge only: nor ſhould he ever trouble you with any other ſort of buſineſs that does not relate to your government [*l*].——On the other hand, in order to keep him firmly attached to you, it is your buſineſs to conſider his Services [*m*], to heap honours, riches, employments, and other favours and obligations upon him; that ſo he may be perfectly ſatisfied and contented in his Station, and have no reaſon to wiſh for a change of government; as he muſt be ſenſible, that inſtead of gaining any thing more, he would be a loſer by it, and perhaps ruined, when deprived of your ſupport. —— When a Prince and his Miniſter therefore are upon this footing, they may ſafely confide in each other: but when it is otherwiſe, the event will certainly prove fatal to one of them.

EXAMEN. CHAP. XXII.

THERE are Princes of two ſorts in the world: ſome who ſee every thing with their own eyes, and govern their States themſelves: others, who truſt to the integrity of their Miniſters, and ſuffer themſelves to be governed by ſuch as have gained an aſcendant over them.

Sovereigns of the former ſort are, as it were, the Life and Soul of their States: the weight of the Government reſts wholly upon their ſhoulders, as that of the world is ſaid by the Poets to have done upon the back of Atlas. They, at the ſame time, are the chief Magiſtrates of Juſtice, Generals of their Armies, High Treaſurers, &c. They, like God Almighty (who employs Intelligences ſuperior to man for the performance of his Divine will) have penetrating and indefatigable Agents to execute their deſigns, and to work upon the ſeveral parts of

[*l*] Tiberius reprimanded one of the Senators, who had the impertinence to introduce his family affairs into the Senate; and told him, that the Senate was conſtituted to deliberate upon public buſineſs, and not to take cognizance of the little trifling complaints of every private man. "Nec ideo a Majoribus conceſſum eſt, egredi aliquando relationem, & quod in commune conducat loco ſententiæ proferre, ut privata negotia, res familiares noſtras hic augeamus .... Efflagitatio intempeſtiva & improviſa, cum aliis de rebus convenerint Patres, conſurgere." *Annal.* 2.

[*m*] Thus Tiberius told Sejanus, "Ipſe quid intra animum volutaverim, quibus adhuc neceſſitudinibus immiſcere te mihi parem, omittam ad præſens referre. Id tantum aperiam nihil eſſe tam excelſum, quod non virtutes iſtæ, tuuſque in me animus, mereantur, datoque tempore, vel in Senatu, vel in concione non reticebo." *Annal.* 4. "Don't give yourſelf any trouble about your own family, I will think of you: and though I ſhall ſay no more at preſent, aſſure yourſelf that I will not fail to reward your ſervices at a proper opportunity." As Philip II. of Spain, ſaid to Ruy Gomez, his Prime Miniſter, "*Take care of my affairs, and I will take care of yours.*"

a

a plan, the whole of which was projected by themſelves: their Miniſters are properly but tools in the hands of wiſe and able workmen. —— [Princes of the ſecond claſs, who have not received the ſame talents from Providence, muſt endeavour to ſupply the want of them by the help of able Miniſters. A King, however, who has a ſhare of health and ſpirits ſufficient to carry him through the fatigues of the Cabinet, is wanting in his duty, if he takes a prime Miniſter: but if he is not poſſeſſed of theſe bleſſings, I think he is wanting to himſelf and his Subjects, if he does not make uſe of his rational faculties, at leaſt in chuſing ſome wiſe and experienced Servant, to carry the burden which is too heavy for his Maſter. Every one is not born with talents; but every one can diſcern them in others, and make uſe of them if he pleaſes. The ſort of knowledge that is moſt common, is that which enables us to judge preſently of the extent of other peoples capacity. The meaneſt artiſt will form a pretty juſt opinion of the moſt accompliſhed maſter. A private Soldier knows how far the ability of his officer reaches; and the faculties of the ableſt Miniſter are narrowly ſcanned by his under-agents. A Prince then muſt be very ſhort-ſighted indeed, if he cannot judge of the abilities of thoſe whom he employs. It is not ſo eaſy a matter, I own, to find out immediately how far their integrity may be depended upon. An ignorant man cannot conceal his ignorance: but one that is falſe and double-hearted, has it in his power to deceive his Maſter, if he finds his account in it, and to impoſe upon him for a long time together, by one artifice or other] [*n*]. In ſhort, if Sixtus V. had cunning enough to elude the penetration of Seventy Cardinals, aſſembled in the Conclave, (who ought, one would think, to have known him thoroughly) how much more eaſy a matter muſt it be for a Subject to deceive his Sovereign, who has had but few opportunities of looking into him? A man of ſenſe will ſoon be able to form a judgment of the genius and capacity of thoſe that ſerve him: but it is almoſt impoſſible to do the ſame of their fidelity and diſintereſtedneſs.

It has often been ſeen, that men have appeared good, for want of opportunities of being otherwiſe; and that they have ſoon renounced

[*n*] Inſtead of what is included betwixt the two crotchets above, the firſt Edition runs thus. "Souverains du ſecond ordre ſont comme plongez, par un defaut de genie ou une indolence naturelle, dans une indifference lethargique. Si l'etat, prêt de tomber en defaillance par la faibleſſe du Souverain, doit etre ſoutenu par la ſageſſe & la vivacité d'un Miniſtre, le Prince alors n'eſt qu' un fantome, mais un fantome neceſſaire: car il repreſente l'Etat: tout ce qui eſt à ſouhaiter, c'eſt qu'il faſſe un choix heureux.——Il n'eſt pas auſſi facile, qu'on le penſe, à un Souverain de bien approfondir le charactere de ceux qu'il veut emploier dans les affaires; car les particuliers ont autant de facilité à ſe deguiſer devant leurs maitres, que les Princes trouvent d'obſtacles pour diſſimuler leur interieur au yeux du Public."

their virtue when it has been put to the proof. Tiberius, Nero, and Caligula, were not ill ſpoken of before they came to the throne: perhaps their wicked diſpoſition might have lain dormant, if opportunity had not called it out into action. There are men who, with great genius, addreſs, and ſhining parts, have a baſe and ungrateful Soul: and there are others of leſs abilities, who are poſſeſſed of a good and generous heart. Wiſe Princes have generally given the preference to the latter, eſpecially in the management of the interior concerns of their State. On the contrary, they have made it a rule to employ thoſe in foreign negotiations, who have had the greateſt ſhare of addreſs. For as the chief point is to maintain good order and juſtice at home, common integrity is ſufficient for that purpoſe: but as penetration and addreſs are often neceſſary to unravel and guard againſt the intrigues of their neighbours, they ſeem to be more requiſite upon thoſe occaſions, than probity and good faith alone.——I think a Prince can never ſufficiently recompence the fidelity of thoſe that are zealous in his ſervice: there is a certain principle and regard for juſtice engrafted in human nature, which prompts us to gratitude, and we ought to obey its dictates. The intereſts of Princes likewiſe abſolutely demand that they ſhould be as generous in rewarding merit, as merciful in puniſhing offences: for when their Miniſters perceive, that the beſt and readieſt way to make their fortune, is to be virtuous and incorrupt, they will not lie under any temptation to be otherwiſe; but naturally prefer the favour and benefactions of their Maſter, to the bribes of foreigners, or any other perſons. The laws of juſtice therefore, and wordly policy, are highly reconcilable in this point: as it is not only imprudent, but hard-hearted, to expoſe the fidelity of Miniſters to a dangerous trial, by ungenerouſly with-holding the recompence that is due to their Services.

Princes are guilty ſometimes of another error; that is, of too lightly changing their Miniſters upon trifling occaſions, and of puniſhing any little irregularity in their conduct with the utmoſt rigour. As Miniſters act immediately under the eyes of their Prince, they cannot conceal their faults from him, when they have been ſome time in Office; and the more ſagacious he is, the ſooner he will diſcover them: but ſince few Kings are Philoſophers, they have not patience to bear with thoſe weakneſſes in their Servants, and often carry their diſguſts to ſuch a height, that they make no ſcruple of diſgracing and ruining them. Wiſe and experienced Princes know mankind more intimately, and act more reaſonably: they are ſenſible that all men are frail, that there is nothing perfect in this world, that the moſt amiable qualities are balanced by others of a very different complexion, and that men of the greateſt genius often partake of both. Upon this conſideration, they chuſe to retain

retain old Miniſters (except they find them perfidious) with all their good and bad qualities, and prefer ſuch as they have tried to others whom they have not; like ſkilful muſicians, who had rather play upon the inſtruments they have long been uſed to, than upon new ones which they know nothing of.

CHAP. XXIII.

That Flatterers ought to be avoided.

I Muſt not forget to take ſome notice of an evil, which it is very difficult for Princes to eſcape, except they have a great ſhare of prudence and diſcretion; and that is flattery, a peſt which infects all Courts [o]: for mankind are naturally ſo fond of their own actions, and apt to deceive themſelves in ſuch a manner, that it is a hard matter to avoid this contagion; eſpecially as thoſe that endeavour to guard againſt it, run the riſk of becoming contemptible. For there is no other fence againſt Flatterers, but to let people know that you are not offended at truth: and if you indulge every one in the freedom of telling you the truth, you will ſoon loſe the reſpect that is due to you [p]. A wiſe Prince then ſhould take a middle courſe, and make choice of ſome diſcreet men in his State, to whom alone he may give the liberty of telling him the truth in ſuch things as he demands it, and forbid them to meddle in any thing elſe. But he ought frequently to make that demand, to hear their opinions, to determine upon them as he afterwards ſhall think fit, and to behave himſelf in ſuch a manner towards them all, as to ſhew that the more freely they ſpeak, the more acceptable they will be to him [q]. After which, he ſhould liſten to nobody elſe; but proceed firmly and ſteadily in the execution of what he has reſolved upon. The Prince that acts otherwiſe, muſt either be ruined by Flatterers, or vary his reſolution ſo often, according to the different advice that is given him, that he will be very lightly eſteemed [r]. Let the following inſtance ſuffice upon this occaſion.

[o] Tacitus ſays, Flattery is an evil of a very ancient date. "Adulationes..... vetus id in Republicâ malum." *Annal.* 2.

[p] Tiberius, though he hated flattery, would not ſuffer people however to ſpeak to him wth freedom. "Anguſta & lubrica oratio ſub Principe, qui libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat." *Annal.* 2.

[q] Like King John II. of Portugal, who being importuned by one of his Courtiers, for a palce that was vacant, told him, "*that he reſerved it for a man that never flattered him.*"

[r] Like all weak Princes, "Ipſe modò huc, modò illuc, ut quemque ſuadentium audierat, promptus." Says Tacitus of Claudius. *Annal.* 12. "Huc illuc circumagi, quæ juſſerat vetare, quæ vetuerat jubere." *Hiſt.* 3.

——Father Luca, a Prieſt, who attended the Court of the preſent Emperor Maximilian, ſpeaking of his Maſter one day, ſaid, " that he never adviſed with any body, nor ever did any thing according to his own judgment and inclination :" and the reaſon of that was, becauſe he acted directly contrary to the rules juſt now laid down. For as the Emperor is a very cloſe reſerved man, he never communicates his Secrets, nor conſults any one : but when his reſolutions are to be executed, and people begin to diſcover them, they are oppoſed by thoſe that are about his perſon : and he being of an eaſy, flexible diſpoſition, always ſuffers himſelf at laſt to be governed by their opinions. Hence it comes to paſs, that what he does one day, he frequently cancels the next [*ſ*] : ſo that nobody can build upon his determinations, becauſe it is impoſſible to know what he deſigns, or what they will be.

A Prince therefore ought to take the opinion of others in every thing ; but at ſuch times only as he thinks proper to aſk, and not whenever they are pleaſed to obtrude it upon him : nay, he ought to diſcourage every one from preſuming to adviſe him, except when he requires it ; which indeed he ſhould do very often, and be exceeding patient in hearing the truth in ſuch matters as he enquires about : but if he finds that they endeavour to ſuppreſs it, or will not ſpeak out for ſome private reaſon or other, then, and not till then, he is to ſhew his diſpleaſure. Thoſe are much miſtaken, who think a Prince that takes advice, will paſs for one that has no judgment himſelf, but what he owes to the counſel of others [*t*] : for it is a general and infallible rule, that a Prince who has no prudence of his own, can never be well adviſed ; except, by chance, he ſuffers himſelf to be entirely governed by ſome other man of great abilities : and in ſuch a caſe indeed, he may be well governed, but he cannot ſupport himſelf in his State, becauſe that Miniſter will ſoon ſtrip him of it. But if a Prince, who has no great judgment of his own, conſults with more than one, they will differ in their opinions, and he will not be able to reconcile or unite them [*u*] : they will all be endeavouring to ſerve themſelves, whilſt he neither perceives it, nor could provide any remedy for it if he did [*x*]. Indeed it cannot

[*ſ*] A fault which the Emperor Leopold was afterwards ſaid to inherit from this Maximilian I.

[*t*] " The abilities of a Miniſter, ſays a wiſe Spaniard, are never any diſparagement to his Maſter : all the glory of a ſucceſsful enterprize, as well as the ignominy of an unſucceſsful one, is imputed to the principal cauſe of it. The firſt movers in any action are always either praiſed or blamed : people ſeldom ſay ſuch a Prince had good or bad Miniſters ; but that he himſelf was either a wiſe or a weak man. It is abſolutely neceſſary therefore, for ſuch as have any regard for their own reputation, to make choice of good Miniſters." *Gratian. Orat. Man.*

[*u*] " Neque alienis conſiliis regi, neque ſua expedire." *Tacit. Hiſt.* 3.

[*x*] " Sibi quiſque tendentes." *Hiſt.* 1. " Quia apud infirmum minore metu, majore præmio peccatur." *ibid.*

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be otherwiſe; for men will always behave to you like rogues, if you have it not in your power to compel them to be honeſt.——I ſay then, that good counſel (whoſoever gives it) originally proceeds from the wiſdom of the Prince; and not the wiſdom of the Prince from good counſel.

EXAMEN. CHAP. XXIII.

THERE is ſcarcely any hiſtory, or book of Morality, in which the weakneſs of Princes, with regard to flattery, is not ſeverely cenſured: the authors would have Kings honour truth, and accuſtom themſelves to hear with their own ears: and ſo far they are right. But this is not ſufficient to content them: they further (like all the reſt of mankind) require ſuch things from them, as are contradictory to each other. They will allow them to cheriſh ſo much ſelf-love and ambition, as may inſpire them with a deſire of glory, and ſpur them on to great actions: but at the ſame time they expect that they ſhould be ſo indifferent and regardleſs of that glory, when obtained, as freely to renounce the reward of their labours; and that the ſame principle ſhould excite them to merit praiſe, and then to deſpiſe it. This is pretending to a great deal of humility indeed: but we ſhould do them too much honour, in ſuppoſing they would lay a ſeverer reſtraint upon themſelves, than upon others. —— *Contemptus virtutis ex contemptu famæ. A contempt of Virtue ariſes from a contempt of fame.* Few Princes deſpiſe fame and reputation, but ſuch as are given up to indolence, effeminacy, and pleaſure; maſſes of vile matter, without any virtue to animate them. Some of the moſt cruel Tyrants, it is true, have affected praiſe: but that was an odious piece of vanity and injuſtice too in them: they demanded eſteem, when they had merited infamy and deteſtation.

To bad Princes, Flattery is a poiſon that ſtill increaſes the depravity of their hearts: and with regard to good Princes, it is a ſort of ruſt that eats into their fame, and eclipſes their ſplendor. Men of ſenſe and delicacy are nauſeated at groſs adulation. But there is another ſpecies of flattery, that is more ſubtle and adroit, which diſguiſes or extenuates faults, and furniſhes the paſſions with arguments to defend their exceſſes. It gives the name of Juſtice to ſeverity, and ſets profuſion in ſuch a light, as to make it miſtaken for liberality. It throws the veil of *pleaſure and amuſement* over lewdneſs and debauchery, and amplifies every vice in others, to palliate thoſe of its own Patron. The generality of mankind are caught by this ſort of flattery, which ſeems to juſtify their follies and vices, and bears a reſemblance to truth: they know

know not how to keep thoſe at a diſtance, who, as they think, only pay them the tribute that is due to their merit. This kind of flattery, as it appears like praiſe founded upon a good bottom, is the moſt refined and inſinuating of all others; and it requires no ſmall degree of judgment to diſtinguiſh it from truth. It does not attend a Monarch to a Siege or a field of battle, in the ſhape of a Poet, to record his wonderful exploits there: it does not compoſe tur id Prologues for Operas, dull Prefaces, or ſervile Dedications: it does not make the Hero bluſh with a bombaſt and exaggerated recital of his Victories [y]. —— On the contrary, it puts on an air of ſimplicity, and makes its approaches in a delicate, but ſeemingly unaffected manner. —— How then can a great man, a Hero, a Prince of any ſenſibility, be diſpleaſed at a truth which ſeems to eſcape from the frank and artleſs ſpirit of a friend? Lewis XIV. who did not want to be told that his preſence alone ſtruck a ſort of reverential awe into others, and ſeemed not a little elated with the conſciouſneſs of this ſuperiority, was far from being offended at an old officer, who having occaſion to addreſs him upon ſome account or other, began to faulter and heſitate in his ſpeech; but recovering himſelf from his confuſion, after ſome pauſe, he ſaid, "Sire, I never uſed to tremble in this manner before your Enemies." If Princes, who have been Subjects before they ere exalted to a throne, would remember their former condition, they might diſpenſe with the food of adulation: but thoſe that have reigned all their lives, having been ſo long accuſtomed to live, like Gods, upon incenſe and oblations, would die of hunger and emptineſs, if they were to be deprived of their uſual diet.

Kings therefore, ſurely are rather to be pitied than condemned; but thoſe that flatter them, deſerve both the reprehenſion and deteſtation of the public, as well as Calumniators, and all others, who are ſo much the enemies of their Sovereign, as to diſguiſe or conceal the truth from him.——We ought however to make a diſtinction betwixt flattery and due praiſe. Trajan was ſtill more animated to virtuous actions by Pliny's Panegyric; and Tiberius more confirmed in his vices by the flattery of the Senate.

[y] Theſe ſtrokes ſeem to be levelled at ſome particular perſons; perhaps ſome of the fawning Court-poets in the reign of Lewis XIV.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

How it came to paſs that many of the Italian Princes loſt their Dominions.

IF a new Prince will carefully obſerve the rules I have laid down, they will ſoon make him appear like an hereditary one, and render his dominion even more firm and ſecure than if he was really ſo. For the actions of a new Prince being more narrowly watched than thoſe of another who has been long eſtabliſhed in his Sovereignty, conciliate the affections of his Subjects more powerfully (when thoſe actions prove virtuous) and attach them more ſtrongly to him than if he had ſucceeded to the throne by ancient right: as men are more nearly affected with the preſent, than with what is paſt, and when they find themſelves eaſy and happy in their circumſtances, endeavour to enjoy them in peace, without deſiring any change [z]: on the contrary, they will ſupport him with all their might, provided he is not wanting to himſelf in other things. So that he will reap the glory not only of having founded a new Principality, but of having fortified and embelliſhed it with wholeſome laws, a good army, firm alliances, and virtuous examples: whereas he that was born a Prince, and loſes his dominions by imprudent conduct, deſerves a double ſhare of infamy.

If we look round Italy, and conſider the conduct of the Princes who have loſt their States there in our times, as the King of Naples, the Duke of Milan, and ſome others, we ſhall find, in the firſt place, a defect common to them all, with regard to their arms and manner of conducting their wars, as I have already ſhewn at large; and in the next, that ſome of them have been hated by the people, and others by the Grandees: for a Prince that ſteers clear of theſe errors, and is ſtrong enough to bring an army into the field, cannot well be ſtripped of his dominions. Philip of Macedon [a] (not the father of Alexander the Great, but he that was vanquiſhed at laſt by Titus Quintus) was but weak in compariſon of the Romans and Greeks, by whom he was invaded: nevertheleſs, as he was a man of a warlike diſpoſition, a good Soldier, and had found means to gain the affection both of the people and the Grandees, he ſupported a war againſt thoſe two powers for the ſpace of ſeveral years: and though, indeed, he loſt ſome Cities

[z] "Tuta & præſentia quam vetera & periculoſa malunt." *Tacit. Annal.* 1. "Anteponunt præſentia dubiis." *Hiſt.* 1.

[a] Father of Perſeus, the laſt King of Macedon.

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in the end, yet he preſerved his Kingdom. It is not owing to the malevolence of fortune therefore, that ſeveral of our Princes have loſt dominions which they had been long poſſeſſed of, but to their own indolence and indiſcretion: for as they took no manner of care in peaceable times, to provide againſt any change that might enſue (it being the common foible of mankind not to think of a ſtorm whilſt the calm continues) when a war broke out, and the enemy drew near, inſtead of making any defence, they ran away, without any other hopes, than that their Subjects would recall them when they began to be tired of the inſolence and oppreſſion of the Conqueror. A courſe, indeed, which muſt be taken when there is no other left; but ſurely the man is much to be condemned, who neglects all other remedies, and truſts to that alone: for who would throw himſelf down, only out of an expectation that ſome body or other will be kind enough to help him up again? Beſides, that may not happen; or if it does, it is but a pitiful ſecurity, and cannot be relied upon, as he muſt then continually lie at the mercy of others: that defence only is certain and durable, which depends upon a man's ſelf, and his own courage.

EXAMEN. CHAP. XXIV.

THE Story of Cadmus, who ſowed the teeth of a Serpent which he had killed, and from whence a race of men ſprung up, who fought with each other till they were all killed, is a lively repreſentation of what the Italian Princes were in Machiavel's time. The baſeneſs and treachery, which they were guilty of one towards another, entirely ruined their affairs.—Whoever reads the Hiſtory of Italy, from the end of the fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century, will find nothing elſe but one continued ſeries of cruelty, ſedition, violence, confederacies to deſtroy each other, uſurpations, aſſaſſinations, in a word, an aſſemblage of ſuch enormous crimes, that the very idea of them alone inſpires one with horror. If we were to baniſh Juſtice and Humanity out of the world, as Machiavel endeavours to do, it muſt ſoon be ſubverted; an inundation of wickedneſs would preſently overwhelm the Univerſe, and reduce it to a deſart. The Italian Princes owed the loſs of their States to their iniquity and barbarity: and the vile principles, which Machiavel inculcates, would infallibly ruin thoſe that ſhould be mad enough to adopt them. But as I ſhall not endeavour to diſguiſe any thing, it muſt be confeſſed that the indolence and effeminacy of ſome of the Italian Princes, might equally contribute with their wickedneſs, to effect their deſtruction. The weakneſs of the Kings of Naples was certainly one cauſe of their ruin: but let any Politician argue

argue as long as he pleaſes, let him build Syſtems, quote examples, and employ all his Sophiſms, he will be forced, after all, to own the expedience and neceſſity of Juſtice.

I ſhould be glad to know what Machiavel means, when he ſays, "the actions of a new Prince (an Uſurper I imagine) being more narrowly watched than thoſe of another, who has long been eſtabliſhed in his Sovereignty, conciliate the affections of his Subjects more powerfully when they prove virtuous, and attach them more ſtrongly to him, than if he had ſucceeded to the throne by ancient right; as men are more nearly affected with the preſent, than with what is paſt, and when they find themſelves eaſy and happy in their circumſtances, endeavour to enjoy them in peace without deſiring any change." Does Machiavel here ſuppoſe, that if two perſons were equally qualified as to valour and wiſdom, a whole nation would prefer an Uſurper to a lawful Prince? or does he ſuppoſe, that one of them is already a Sovereign, but deſtitute of theſe virtues; and the other a mere Adventurer, though a man of great courage and abilities? Surely the firſt cannot be his meaning, as it is ſo oppoſite to all reaſon and common ſenſe: it would be an effect without any cauſe, but the prejudice of a people in favour of a man, who yet has been guilty of violence and injuſtice to obtain power, and whoſe merit is confeſſedly not ſuperior to that of a lawful Prince.—Nor can the ſecond caſe well be ſuppoſed: for what good qualities ſoever an Uſurper may be poſſeſſed of, it cannot be denied, but the act of ſiezing upon a State by force is highly unjuſt. And what is to be expected from a Prince that ſets out with violence and injuſtice, but an oppreſſive and tyrannical reign? If a man ſhould catch his wife in adultery the very firſt day of their nuptials, I fancy he would be apt to entertain but an indifferent opinion of her future virtue.

Machiavel confutes and condemns himſelf from his own mouth in this Chapter. He ſays expreſsly, "that a Prince cannot poſſibly ſupport himſelf upon his throne, without ſecuring the affection of his Subjects, that is, both of the people and Grandees, and without a good army [*b*]" Truth ſeems to extort this from him whether he will or not: the very Devils, as Divines aſſure us, acknowledge a God, though they blaſpheme him.—To gain the affections both of the people and the Grandees, a large fund of goodneſs is requiſite: a Prince muſt be humane and beneficent; and with theſe qualities he muſt alſo have a good capacity, in order to diſcharge the painful functions of his Office in a due manner. It is in this ſtation as in all others: whatever profeſſion or employment men follow, they will never gain the confidence of any one, if

[*b*] *See* the paragraph which begins thus, in the 24th Chapter of the Prince, "If we look round Italy, &c." —— This quotation is ſomething different from it.

they do not act with prudence and honesty: the most corrupt always chuse to deal with men of probity and sincerity; and those that are not capable of governing themselves, are glad to trust their affairs in the hands of such, as have the reputation of wisdom and integrity. Even a common Tradesman cannot hope to succeed in his business, if he is not a careful, honest man: and shall Royalty be the only rank in which villainy is to be authorized? It is necessary to be the man I have just now described, in order to gain the affections and confidence of people; and not such an one as Machiavel recommends as a pattern, through the whole course of this Work; that is, cruel, unjust, ambitious, and attentive only to his own private interest and aggrandizement.

Such is the Politician when unmasked, who was reputed an able man in his own times, and whose abominable Maxims have not only been followed by many Ministers, who yet condemned them as dangerous, but recommended to the Study of their Masters: a Politician, whom nobody before has answered in form, and whose precepts are still practised by several others, without fear of censure. Happy would it be for mankind, if Machiavelism could be utterly rooted out of the world. I have endeavoured to point out the absurdities of it: let Princes confute it by their practice. It is their duty to disabuse the public, and to shew how wrong an opinion has been conceived of Politics, which ought in reality to be a System of true wisdom and honesty, and not of low cunning and knavery, as it is generally thought to be. It should be their peculiar care to exclude all double-dealing and insincerity out of treaties, and to restore punctuality and good faith; of which, to speak the truth, there is seldom much to be found amongst Sovereigns. It is their business to shew, that they have no desire to encroach upon the dominions of their neighbours, though they are determined to defend their own. The Prince that grasps at too much, is like a glutton who overloads his Stomach with meat, without considering how it is to be digested: whilst he that contents himself with well governing his own State, may be compared to another man who eats temperately, and whose Stomach, therefore, will properly digest his food.

CHAP. XXV.

How far Fortune may be said to prevail in human affairs, and in what manner She is to be opposed.

THERE have been many, I know, and still are some, who think the affairs of this World are governed either by Divine Providence, or Fortune, in such a manner, that human wisdom has no share

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at all in them: from whence they infer, that it is the beſt way not to give ourſelves any trouble about them; but to leave every thing to its own tendency and event [c]. This opinion has gained ground in our times, from the many ſtrange revolutions which have happened, and ſtill happen every day, contrary to all human judgment and conjecture: and, indeed, when I ſometimes ſeriouſly conſider theſe things, I am almoſt perſuaded to think ſo myſelf. Nevertheleſs, that our free-will may not be abſolutely over-ruled, it ſeems as if Fortune had reſerved the direction of one half of our actions to herſelf, and left the other in a great meaſure to our own management [d]. For my own part, I cannot help comparing her to a rapid river, which when it overflows its banks, carries away trees, houſes, and lands, from one place, and leaves them in another; whilſt every body flies before it, and neither has reſolution nor power to oppoſe its fury. This ought not, however, to diſcourage us from throwing up mounds, cutting trenches, and making other due proviſions afterwards whilſt the Seaſon is favourable, to guard againſt it in ſuch a manner, when it ſwells again, that if the torrent cannot be wholly ſtemmed, it may at leaſt be diverted into other channels, and the impetuoſity of the Stream in ſome meaſure reſtrained. It is the ſame with regard to Fortune, who exerciſes her power in an arbitary and inſolent manner; where there are no preparations made to reſiſt her, and turns her whole force on that ſide, where ſhe finds no

[c] Tacitus, who was an Epicurean, ſays ſomething like this in the Sixth Book of his Annals. "In incerto judicium eſt, fatone res mortalium, an neceſſitate immutabili, an Sorte volvantur." And adds preſently after, "ſome think there is an inevitable fatality, and that this fatality is nothing but a concatenation of natural cauſes with their effects; from whence it comes to paſs, that after we have fixed upon any certain courſe or ſort of life, it is not poſſible for us to avoid the accidents and events that are incident to it." "Fatum quidem congruere rebus putant, ſed non e vagis ſtellis, verum apud principia & nexus naturalium cauſarum: ac tamen electionem vitæ nobis relinquunt; quam ubi elegeris, certum imminentium ordinem." As to what Machiavel ſays, "that human prudence has little or no ſhare in the affairs of the world," Tacitus gives us a remarkable inſtance in Claudius, whom Fortune had deſtined to Empire, contrary to the opinion and expectation of all men. "Mihi, ſays he, quantò plura recentium, ſeu veterum revolvo, tantò magis ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obſervantur; quippe famâ, ſpe, veneratione, potius omnes deſtinabantur imperio, quam quem futurum Principem fortunæ in occulto tenebat."—"Fortune, ſays Gratian, which is ſo much talked of, and ſo little underſtood, is nothing more than the mother of accidents, and the daughter of Supreme Providence, which concurs with ſecond cauſes, either in moving them, or ſuffering them to act of themſelves. It is this Queen ſo abſolute, ſo impenetrable, and ſo inexorable, that laughs at one, turns her back upon another, ſometimes acts the Mother, ſometimes the Step-Mother, not merely out of the effect of paſſion or caprice, but by an incomprehenſible ſecret in the Judgments of God." *See Chap. X. of his Hero.*—But is not this *incomprehenſible* nonſenſe? as indeed nonſenſe never has any meaning.

[d] "It is not in the power of man, ſays Seneca, be he ever ſo wiſe, to command ſucceſs: we begin things, but fortune finiſhes them." *Epiſt.* 14. Solomon ſays, *time and chance happen to all men.*

banks nor ditches thrown up to check her career.—If we conſider the circumſtances of Italy, which has been the Seat of theſe revolutions, and what has been the cauſe of them, we ſhall find it like a plain without any fences to ſecure it: whereas, if it had been properly fortified like Germany, France, or Spain, ſuch inundations of foreigners would either never have happened, or if they had, they could not have occaſioned ſuch alterations as they have done [*e*]. Let this ſuffice in general concerning the neceſſity of oppoſing Fortune.

But to deſcend to particulars. I ſay it is no uncommon thing to ſee a Prince happy one day, and ruined the next, without diſcerning any alteration, either in his diſpoſition or manner of Government; for, as I have already ſhewn at large, he that relies ſolely upon fortune, muſt inevitably be ruined whenever ſhe turns her back upon him. I further aſſert, that he will generally ſucceed, who accommodates himſelf to the nature of the times, and that another will miſcarry, who does not conform to them. For we ſee different men take different courſes to obtain the end that they propoſe to themſelves; which, commonly ſpeaking, is the acquiſition either of glory or riches: one proceeds with circumſpection, another without any caution or reſerve; ſome by force, others by artifice; ſome again with patience, others with impetuoſity; and yet it is poſſible they may all arrive at the ſame point by different ways. It is often ſeen likewiſe, that of two men equally cautious, one ſucceeds in his deſigns, and the other does not: and that if two others, though of diſpoſitions quite contrary to each other, (one of them being haſty, the other cool and ſlow, for inſtance) purſue the ſame object, they both, perhaps, will ſucceed; which is entirely owing to the temper of the times, which always prove favourable or adverſe, according as men conform to them. From hence it happens, as I have juſt ſaid, that two perſons who take different meaſures, ſhall obtain the ſame end: and that two others who ſteer the ſame courſe, ſhall have different ſucceſs. From hence alſo we may account for the change of one's condition from good to bad: for if the times are adapted to the conduct of a Prince who is of a patient and circumſpect diſpoſition, his government, being well ſuited to them, will be happy and proſperous: but if times and circumſtances alter, he is ſure to be undone, that is, if he does not likewiſe change his manner of proceeding [*f*].

[*e*] *See the Hiſtory of Florence, Book* I. towards the beginning, where Machiavel ſpeaks of the alterations and changes cauſed in Italy by the irruptions of Barbarians, &c.

[*f*] "Pietro Soderini, ſays Machiavel, proceeded with lenity and patience in all things, and both he and his Country were benefitted by it, whilſt it ſuited the times. But when it became neceſſary to act with more vigour, he could not prevail upon himſelf to do ſo: which proved his own ruin and that of his Country. If he had acted with Spirit and reſolution, as his office of Gonfalonier would have enabled him to have done, he might have ruined the Medici, and conſequently have preſerved the liberties of his Country." *See the political diſcourſes, Book* III. *Chap.* iii. *and* ix.

But

But there is no perſon, let him be ever ſo wiſe, that can perfectly accommodate himſelf to *all* changes: for one man cannot well tell how to act contrary to what, perhaps, he is powerfully inclined by nature: and another cannot eaſily perſuade himſelf to quit a courſe of life, in which he has always ſucceeded before. So that when it is neceſſary to proceed with vigour and expedition, a cool and deliberate man, not knowing how to act that part, is generally undone: whereas if he would alter his conduct, according to the times, he would have no reaſon to complain that fortune had deſerted him [*g*]. Pope Julius II. acted with fire and impetuoſity in all his enterprizes: and the times and circumſtances of affairs were ſo ſuited to his genius, that he ſeldom or never failed in any thing that he undertook. We might inſtance in particular his firſt enterprize againſt Bologna, when Giovanni Bentivoglio was Lord of that City. The Venetians took umbrage at it; the Kings of France and Spain had ſome deſigns of that kind themſelves; and yet he proſecuted that expedition (which he headed in perſon) with ſuch a degree of fury and reſolution, that neither the Spaniards nor the Venetians durſt offer to move; the latter being abſolutely afraid, and the former unwilling to diſoblige him, leſt he ſhould oppoſe them in the deſigns they had formed of reducing the whole Kingdom of Naples: and as to the King of France, who wanted to make that Pontiff his friend, in order to humble the Venetians, he durſt not refuſe him his aſſiſtance in an enterprize, upon which he perceived he was ſo thoroughly determined, for fear of offending him.—Julius, therefore, did that by a furious and precipitate manner of proceeding, which no other Pontiff could have effected by cool and deliberate meaſures: for if he had ſtaid trifling at Rome till he had made all the neceſſary preparations, and ſettled every thing in due form and order for his expedition, as many a Pope would have done, the opportunity would have been loſt, and he muſt have failed in the enterprize; as the King of France would have found a thouſand pretences to excuſe himſelf from furniſhing him with ſuccours, and others would not have been wanting in ſuggeſting obſtacles and impediments, to divert him from ſuch an undertaking. As all the reſt of his actions were of the ſame Stamp, and all proved ſucceſsful, I ſhall not give myſelf the trouble of reciting any more of them. Indeed the ſhortneſs of his life prevented him from experiencing any viciſ-

[*g*] See the ſame Chapter, *viz.* the ninth.—A King of Sparta being upbraided with changing his conduct, made anſwer, "that it was not he, but his affairs that were changed." Which ſhews, that it is neceſſary to accommodate one's ſelf to the times. "Morem accommodari, prout conducat." *Tacit. Ann.* [illegible]. "Remiſſum aliquid & mitigatum, quia expedierit." *Ann.* [illegible]. "They have always been eſteemed wiſe men, ſays Tully, who have yielded to the times." Tempori [illegible], id eſt, neceſſitati parere, ſemper ſapientis eſt habitum."

ſitude

ſitude of fortune [b]: for if he had lived till the times had changed in ſuch a manner that he muſt have been obliged to act with coolneſs and circumſpection in his enterprizes, he would certainly have been ruined; becauſe he could never have deviated from that violent and impetuous character, which was impreſſed upon him by nature.

I conclude then, that a Prince, or any other man, who continues obſtinately in his courſe, will be fortunate, as long as his conduct is ſuited to the times; but when they differ from each other, he will be otherwiſe: and I will venture to add, that it is better to be bold than baſhful; for Fortune is like a woman, who muſt be teazed and treated in a Cavalier manner, by thoſe that expect to prevail over her, when other means fail; and experience ſhews, that ſhe is commonly more liberal of her favours to thoſe that attack her with warmth and vigour, than to ſuch as are timid and reſpectful in their addreſſes. For this reaſon, ſhe is always partial to young men, as they are frank and forward, and ſeem to think they have a right to her embraces [i].

EXAMEN. CHAP. XXV.

THE queſtion concerning the free-agency of mankind, has ſoundly puzzled Philoſophers, and drawn many a curſe from Divines. The Advocates for it ſay, that if men are not free, it muſt be God that acts upon them, and that it is he who commits murder, theft, and all ſorts of wickedneſs by their miniſtry; which is a manifeſt contradiction to the purity and holineſs of his nature; that if he is the author of evil and iniquity, it is unjuſt to puniſh men for the crimes they do but ſeem to commit; and that there can be no ſuch thing as either virtue or vice in the world. Now as it is impoſſible, ſay they, to conſider this horrible doctrine, without perceiving the contradictions it implies, it would be abſurd not to declare in favour of a free-agency.

[b] Nardi ſays, he ſucceeded in every thing rather by good fortune than prudence; and that he could not have died at a juncture more happy or glorious for himſelf or his Pontificate. *Book* VI. *of his Hiſtory of Florence.* What Paterculus ſays of another perſon, may very properly be applied to him, "Vir ultra fortem temerarius."—The original here ſays, "la brevità della vita non li hà laſciato ſentire il contrario." Qu. Is the ſhortneſs of human life in general here meant, or of his own life in particular, or that of his Pontificate? He lived to the age of Seventy; which has long been reckoned the common Standard of human life; and longer than moſt people live; and he reigned above nine years, which is longer than moſt Popes reign, or can expect to reign, conſidering the advanced age at which they are uſually elected. How then can his life be ſaid to be ſhort, and what reaſon for Buchanan's ſaying,

Ad ſtyga deceſſit Julius ante diem?

[i] See the *Reflections upon Fortune and Prudence*, prefixed to the Life of Caſtruccio Caſtracani, the next piece in this Volume.

On

On the other hand, the partizans of abſolute neceſſity ſay, that God would be worſe than a blind man, or one that worked in the dark, if he did not know what was to be done in the World, after he had created it. A Watch-maker is thoroughly acquainted with the leaſt motion of every wheel in a watch, becauſe he gave it that motion, and knows for what purpoſe he did it: and is it poſſible that God, who is infinitely wiſe, ſhould only be an indolent and impotent Spectator of human affairs? If it could be ſuppoſed that the Supreme Being has left man alone in a State of independency, when all the reſt of his works bear the mark of the exacteſt order and harmony, and are ſubject to certain and invariable laws, the world would be governed not by Divine Providence, but by the caprice of mortal man. If then we muſt decide, whether it is the creature or the Creator that actuates the human machine, it ſeems reaſonable to conclude, that it is the more powerful Being of the two: and thus the hand of Providence makes uſe of our reaſon and paſſions, as inviſible chains, to lead us to the accompliſhment of ſuch events, as eternal Wiſdom had before determined upon [*k*].

In this manner, by endeavouring to avoid one abſurdity, men often fall into another; Philoſophers wrangle till both ſides are bewildered, whilſt Divines grope about and tilt at each other in the dark, and at laſt, charitably conſign their Antagoniſts to damnation. They carry on their diſputes almoſt in the ſame manner that the Romans and Carthaginians uſed to conduct their wars. When the latter were apprehenſive of being invaded at home, they carried the war into Italy; and when the former wanted to rid themſelves of Hannibal, whom they expected to ſee at their gates, they ſent Scipio at the head of their legions to beſiege Carthage. Theſe diſputatious Gentlemen, methinks, are not unlike the French, who begin an attack with great vigour, but if they are forced to act upon the defenſive, they are ſoon defeated: which gave a wit occaſion to ſay, that *God was the Father of all Sects, having given every one of them arms alike, and a ſtrong as well as a weak ſide.*

This queſtion concerning free-will and predeſtination, Machiavel has has whimſically tranſported out of the Metaphyſical Province into that of

[*k*] The original runs in this manner, "Puis donc qu'il faut opter entre le Createur & la creature, le quel des deux eſt l'Automate? Il eſt plus raiſonnable decroire que c'eſt l'Etre en qui reſide la faibleſſe, que l'Etre en qui reſide la puiſſance: ainſi la raiſon & les paſſions ſont comme des chaines inviſibles par leſquelles la main de la Providence conduit le genre humain pour concourer auxevenements que ſageſſe eternelle avoit reſolüe." But there ſeems to be ſome miſtake, or miſprint, or at leaſt, an inverſion of the terms here. I think the paſſage ſhould run thus. "Il eſt plus raiſonnable de croire que c'eſt l'Etre en qui reſide la puiſſance, que l'Etre en qui reſide la faibleſſe, &c." Otherwiſe it ſeems unintelligible, and cannot be reconciled to what immediately follows.—Whether it is rightly tranſlated therefore, or not, is ſubmitted to the judgment of the candid Reader.

Politics:

ment arrived.—Another event of the ſame kind was the ſeparate peace which the Engliſh made with France, towards the end of the war, in which they and ſome other powers had been engaged in, in order to decide the diſputes that aroſe concerning the Succeſſion to the crown of Spain. Neither the Emperor's Miniſters, nor the greateſt Philoſopher, nor the moſt able Politician, could have divined that a pair of gloves was to determine the fate of Europe; this however was literally fact. The Ducheſs of Marlborough was Miſtreſs of the Wardrobe [*l*] to Queen Anne, whilſt the Duke her huſband was reaping a double harveſt of Laurels and riches in the plains of Brabant. The Ducheſs ſupported her Hero's party by the favour ſhe was in with the Queen, and the Hero ſupported her credit at Court by his Victories. The Tory party which oppoſed him, and longed for a peace, could not by any means carry their point, whilſt the Ducheſs had ſuch an aſcendant over her Majeſty: but a very trifling accident at laſt proved the cauſe of her falling into diſgrace. The Queen had ordered a pair of gloves to be made for her, and the Ducheſs beſpoke another at the ſame; but her Grace was in ſuch haſte for her pair, that ſhe preſſed the Milliner to let her have them before ſhe furniſhed the Queen, who in the mean time grew out of patience: upon which a certain Lady [*m*], who was an enemy to the Ducheſs, informed her Majeſty of what had paſſed, with the addition of ſo many ſpiteful circumſtances, that the Queen from that moment began to look upon her Grace as a favourite, whoſe inſolence was no longer ſupportable. The Milliner being examined upon this occaſion, gave the finiſhing ſtroke to the matter; for ſhe confirmed the Story with ſuch malicious aggravations as exaſperated the Queen to the laſt degree. Thus a little drop of leaven proved ſufficient to ſour the whole maſs of her blood, and provoked her to add every mark of reſentment to the mortification of a diſgraced favourite. The Tories, with Marſhal Tallard at their head, availed themſelves of this ſtroke, which was a deciſive one in their favour; for with the Ducheſs of Marlborough fell the intereſt of the Whig party in England, and that of the Emperor's allies. Such a Joke are all worldly affairs, even thoſe that ſeem moſt weighty and momentous! Providence laughs at human wiſdom and greatneſs: the moſt frivolous, and ſometimes the moſt ridiculous cauſes ſerve either to ſave or deſtroy whole Nations. In this inſtance a little peeviſh bickering [*n*] betwixt two women was the preſervation of Lewis XIV. and obliged the Allies that were confederated againſt him to agree to a peace much againſt their will, when

[*l*] "Grande Maitreſſe de la Reine."
[*m*] Mrs. Maſham.
[*n*] "Des petites miſeres des femmes."

neither his policy, nor forces, nor grandeur, could otherwiſe have reſcued him from deſtruction.

Such events happen now and then, though but ſeldom, it muſt be owned; and therefore they are not of ſufficient weight entirely to diſcredit human wiſdom and ſagacity. They are like thoſe diſeaſes that ſometimes interrupt a long courſe of health, which however do not prevent a man from enjoying the benefit of a vigorous and robuſt conſtitution the greater part of his life.—It is highly neceſſary then that thoſe who are appointed to govern mankind ſhould exert their utmoſt endeavours to improve the talents of judgment and penetration which nature has beſtowed upon them. But that alone is not ſufficient: if they would bid defiance to fortune [o], they muſt learn to bend their diſpoſition to the temper of the times: which indeed is a matter of no ſmall difficulty. I here ſpeak only in general of two ſorts of Princes, *viz.* of thoſe that are naturally bold and enterprizing, and of others who proceed, on the contrary, with care and circumſpection in all their actions: and as theſe different diſpoſitions have a phyſical cauſe, it is almoſt impoſſible that a Prince ſhould be ſo thoroughly maſter of himſelf as to change his colour, like a Cameleon, upon every occaſion. There are certain conjunctures which favour the ambition of Conquerors and thoſe daring men who ſeem born on purpoſe to excite wars, and cauſe extraordinary revolutions in the world; and when a ſtrange ſpirit of giddineſs and miſtruſt embroils Princes either in foreign or domeſtic wars, and furniſhes an Adventurer with opportunities of advantaging himſelf by their quarrels. Of which many examples might be quoted, beſides that of Fernando Cortez, to whom the civil wars which raged amongſt the Americans, when he undertook the conqueſt of Mexico, were of no ſmall ſervice in the accompliſhment of his deſigns. —There are other ſeaſons when the world ſeems inclined to peace, and may be governed by mild and gentle meaſures, as a calm generally ſucceeds a ſtorm: and then prudence, circumſpection and negotiation are more efficacious than the violence of war, and a Prince may gain that by treaty which he could not by the Sword.

A Sovereign then, in order to avail himſelf of all conjunctures, ſhould learn to conform to the times, as an able mariner always ſuits his Sails to the wind. If a General was bold upon ſome occaſions, and circumſpect upon others when it was proper, he would be invincible. Fabius ruined Hannibal by delay. He knew very well that the Carthaginians were in want of both money and recruits, and that if he would but have patience, and ſit ſtill a little while, he ſhould conquer their army

[o] It might be here obſerved that his Pruſſian Majeſty makes uſe of the word *fortune*, though he has but a little before ſaid there is no meaning in it.

without

without running the riſque of a battle; as it muſt of courſe either ſeparate or die of hunger. Hannibal, on the contrary, wanted to come to an engagement: his circumſtances obliged him to ſtrike ſome bold ſtroke as ſoon as poſſible, in order not only to gain him reputation and intimidate the enemy, (as ſpirited actions always do) but for the ſake of other emoluments and advantages which uſually attend a victory. If the Elector of Bavaria and Marſhal Tallard had not quitted Bavaria in the year 1704, and advanced to Blenheim and Hochſtet, they might have made themſelves maſters of all Suabia: for the army of the Allies not being able to ſupply itſelf with proviſions in Bavaria, would have been forced to retire towards the Maine, and diſband. It was want of prudence and circumſpection therefore at a proper time that obliged the Elector to hazard a battle, the event of which was no leſs memorable than glorious to the German empire, which owed its preſervation entirely to it: for the Marſhal and the Elector were totally defeated, and not only loſt Bavaria, but all that Country which lies betwixt the high Palatinate and the Rhine. There is ſeldom much ſaid of ſuch as periſh in their raſh undertakings; thoſe only are talked of who are favoured in them by fortune: juſt as it happens with regard to dreams and prophecies; though thouſands have proved falſe and are ſoon forgotten, we remember here and there one that has been accompliſhed. But the world ſhould judge of events from their cauſes, and not of cauſes from their events.

I conclude then that the people run a great riſque, and are in continual danger, who are governed by a bold enterprizing Prince: and that if a Sovereign, who acts with circumſpection and deliberation, is not ſo well formed for great exploits, he ſeems however much better qualified for government. But to make them both great men, it is neceſſary they ſhould come into the world at a favourable conjuncture, without which their reſpective talents will be rather of prejudice than advantage to them. Every reaſonable man, but eſpecially thoſe whom God has deſtined to govern others, ought to lay down a plan for his conduct, as regular and well connected as a geometrical demonſtration; by following which with ſtrictneſs and perſeverance, he will acquire a habit of acting conſiſtently, and cannot be led aſtray from his main object. By this, he may likewiſe make all conjunctures and events ſubſervient to his intereſts, and every thing concur to facilitate the execution of the deſigns he has formed.

But who are theſe Princes from whom we expect theſe rare talents? They are but men, and we may very well be allowed to ſay that human nature cannot completely diſcharge ſo many different duties. We may as well ſearch for a Phenix, or the unities of Metaphyſicians, as the man that is delineated by Plato. It is but reaſonable to expect that people ſhould be content with the efforts of [redacted]

at perfection; thoſe will be the moſt accompliſhed that leaſt reſemble Machiavel's Prince. It is but juſt to bear with their foibles, if they are balanced by a good heart and upright intentions: for we ſhould always remember there is nothing perfect in this world, and that weakneſs and error are the lot of all human kind. That Country is the happieſt where a mutual indulgence betwixt the Sovereign and his Subjects diffuſes that comfort and harmony through the community, without which, life would be a grievous burden, and the world a valley of tears and bitterneſs.

CHAP. XXVI.

An Exhortation to deliver Italy out of the hands of Barbarians.

HAVING maturely weighed what I have ſaid in the preceding Chapters, and conſidered ſeriouſly with myſelf whether the preſent conjuncture would be a favourable one to a new Prince, if he was a man of virtue and prudence, who ſhould endeavour to introduce a form of government into Italy, that would do honour to himſelf and be beneficial to his Subjects, I think ſo many circumſtances concur to favour ſuch an enterprize, that no time could ever be more proper for the execution of it. And if it was neceſſary, as I have ſhewn before, that the Iſraelites ſhould be Slaves in the land of Egypt, for the manifeſtation of Moſes's power; that the Perſians ſhould be oppreſſed by the Medes, to give Cyrus an opportunity of ſhewing his magnanimity; and that the Athenians ſhould be in a State of diſperſion, in order to diſplay the virtues of Theſeus [*p*]; it was likewiſe neceſſary for the glory of ſome Italian Hero, that his countrymen ſhould be reduced to their preſent miſerable condition; that they ſhould be greater Slaves than the Iſraelites, more oppreſſed than the Perſians, and more diſperſed than the Athenians ever were; without any head, without laws or civil order, plundered, trampled upon, pulled to pieces, over-run, and overwhelmed with every ſort of calamity. And though indeed we have ſeen ſome perſons of ſuch extraordinary virtue in theſe times, as have encouraged us to hope they were raiſed up by the hand of Providence for the redemption of our Country, yet as they have afterwards been deſerted by fortune in the height of their career [*q*], it

[*p*] *See Chapter* VI. *of the Prince*, where theſe three perſonages are ſpoken of.

[*q*] " Nor do I name of men the common rout,
Who wandering looſe about,
Grow up and periſh as the Summer flie,
Heads without name no more rember'd:
But ſuch as thou haſt ſolemnly elected,

With

it has been left in a manner lifeleſs, and waiting for ſomebody to bind up its wounds, to put an end to the ſufferings of Lombardy, of Naples [r], and Tuſcany [ſ], and to heal their ſtripes, which now through length of time have begun to feſter. Every one implores Heaven to ſend ſome Redeemer to deliver it from the inſolence and cruelty of Barbarians: every one is ready to follow the Standard of Liberty, if any man would be brave enough to erect it. Nor can we at preſent fix our hopes any where elſe with ſo much confidence of ſucceſs as upon your illuſtrious family, which being now at the head of the Church, and ſo viſibly favoured by God in all other reſpects, may exert its great virtues and good fortune to work out our deliverance, by putting itſelf at the head of ſo glorious an enterprize: which yet will ſeem no hard matter to be effected, if you conſider the conduct and circumſtances of the Heroes whom I have juſt now mentioned. For though indeed their actions were great and wonderful, they were ſtill but men, and none of them bleſſed with a fairer opportunity of diſtinguiſhing their merit than you are at this time: none of them were engaged in a better cauſe, or in any undertaking more eaſy to be accompliſhed than this; nor were they more favoured by Providence than you [t]. You manifeſtly have juſtice on your ſide; for whatſoever is neceſſary is juſt; and it is but common compaſſion to take up arms in behalf of a people who have no other reſource or hope left [u]. Every thing concurs to facilitate the enterprize, and certainly in ſo happy a diſpoſition of affairs there can be no doubt of ſucceſs; eſpecially if you

> With gifts and graces eminently adorned,
> To ſome great work, thy glory,
> And people's ſafety, which in part they effect:
> Yet towards theſe thus dignify'd, thou oft,
> Amidſt their height of noon,
> Changeſt thy countenance and thy hand with no regard
> Of higheſt favours paſt,
> From thee on them, or them to thee of ſervice."
>
> *Milton's Sampſon Agoniſtes*, v. 674.

[r] Machiavel here ſpeaks to his Patron Lorenzo de Medici. Some Aſtrologers in the beginning of Leo the tenth's Pontificate pretended to foretel, that Julian, his Brother, ſhould be King of Naples, and Lorenzo his Nephew, Duke of Milan' *Nardi's Hiſtory of Florence, Book* VI.

[ſ] The ſame Author ſays, Lorenzo wanted to make himſelf abſolute Lord of Florence.

[t] This ſeems a bold ſtroke, as well as a piece of groſs flattery in Machiavel, to level ſuch perſonages as Moſes and Cyrus with a Governor of Florence: as one of them was not only immediately inſpired and directed by God, but admitted to talk *face to face* with the Supreme Being, *as a man talks with his friend*; and the other is called God's *anointed* and his *choſen*, by the prophet Iſaiah. Does he not likewiſe contradict himſelf preſently after, when he allows that Miracles were wrought in favour of Moſes?

[u] "Juſtum eſt bellum quibus neceſſarium; & pia arma quibus nulla niſi in armis relinquitur ſpes." *Liv. Lib.* IX. *Cap.* i.

follow

follow the example of thoſe perſons whom I have propoſed for your imitation; For though ſome of them, it is true, were conducted by the immediate hand of God in an extraordinary and unexampled manner, though the Sea divided to let them paſs through it, though a Cloud directed their courſe, though a Rock poured out water for them, though Manna was given them from Heaven; yet there is no occaſion for ſuch miracles at preſent; as your grandeur furniſhes you with ſufficient power and means to effect your purpoſe, and ſuch as you ought not to neglect. It cannot be expected that God ſhould do every thing for us: we are left to ourſelves and the free exerciſe of our will in many things, that ſo we may claim ſome merit from our own actions.

It is no wonder that none of the Italians whom I have hinted at above, could effect what may be hoped from your illuſtrious houſe: and that all military virtue ſeems extinguiſhed in Italy, notwithſtanding the frequent revolutions and long wars that have happened in it: for their diſcipline was bad, and there was nobody that knew how to reform it. Nothing conduces to the reputation of a new Prince ſo much as making new Laws and Inſtitutions, eſpecially if they are good and wholeſome, and carry an air of grandeur with them: for then they make him revered and eſteemed by every one. And without doubt Italy is capable of receiving any new form: for there is great vigour in the members, though they are deſtitute of a proper head: the Soldiers and natives in general have more ſpirit and ſkill in arms than moſt other people, and generally get the better in duels and rencounters, where a few of a ſide are engaged: but in an army they make no figure. This proceeds from weakneſs and inexperience in their officers, who will never be duly obeyed by thoſe that are better men than themſelves: and as every one has that opinion of himſelf, no Commander has hitherto had courage, or good fortune, or authority ſufficient to make himſelf obeyed as he ought to have been. From hence it has come to paſs in all the wars which have happened for theſe laſt twenty years, that the armies which were compoſed of Italians only always behaved ill, as we might inſtance at large in the actions that happened at Taro, Alexandria, Capua, Genoa, Vaila, Bologna, and Meſtri. If therefore your illuſtrious family would follow the example of thoſe great and excellent men, who have delivered their Countries from the oppreſſion of foreigners, it is neceſſary above all things, as the only true foundation of every enterprize, to provide yourſelves with an army of your own Subjects; for you cannot have better or more faithful Soldiers: and though every one of them may be a good man, yet they will become ſtill better when they are all together, and find themſelves not only commanded, but honoured, careſſed, and preferred by a Prince of their own. You muſt furniſh

yourſelves

yourſelves then with ſuch forces; otherwiſe the valour alone of Italians will not be able to ſhake off the yoke of ſtrangers: for notwithſtanding the Swiſs and Spaniſh Infantry are accounted formidable, they both have their defects, and a third ſort may be compoſed, which will be ſure to defeat them, if ever they ſhould chance to engage. The Spaniſh cannot ſuſtain the force of Cavalry; and the Swiſs are not invincible, when they meet with other Infantry as reſolute as themſelves. Experience has fully ſhewn us (and we ſhall always find the ſame) that the Spaniards are not able to cope with the French Cavalry; and the Swiſs have been beaten by the Infantry of Spain: and though indeed there has not been any thorough trial with regard to the Swiſs in that point, yet there was a ſort of ſpecimen in the battle of Ravenna, when the Spaniſh Infantry being engaged with the German (which obſerves the ſame order and diſcipline with the Swiſs) the Spaniards, by the agility of their bodies, and the protection of their bucklers, broke in upon them under their Pikes, and made great ſlaughter, with very little loſs on their own ſide; for the Germans had no remedy or defence left, and would certainly have all been cut to pieces, if the Cavalry had not come up to their relief. The defects, therefore, of theſe two ſorts being now diſcovered, it is poſſible to invent a third, that may be able to make head againſt Cavalry, and not be afraid of any other kind of Infantry; which is to be done, not by changing arms, but altering their diſcipline. Theſe are ſome of the Inſtitutions that give reputation, authority, and an air of grandeur to a new Prince.

Such an opportunity, therefore, ought eagerly to be embraced, that ſo Italy, after her long ſufferings, may at laſt ſee her Deliverer appear. Certainly it cannot well be conceived with what affection, with what gratitude, with what joy, with what impatience for revenge, he would be recived by thoſe Provinces, which have been ſo long oppreſſed by Barbarians. Where is the town that would not throw open its gates to him? or who are the people that would not take pride in obeying him? Could any one be malicious enough to oppoſe him; any Italian refuſe to follow him, when every one abhors this cruel domination? ——Let me therefore conjure your illuſtrious family to embark in this undertaking, with that ſpirit and magnanimity, and with that confidence of ſucceſs, which juſt and noble enterprizes always inſpire: that ſo, under your auſpicious banners, our country may not only be delivered out of bondage, but recover its ancient reputation, and the prophecy of Petrarch in the following ſtanza, be at laſt accompliſhed,

Virtù contr' al furore
Prenderà l'arme, e fia il combatter corto,

Che

Che l' antico valore
Ne gl' Italici caor' non e' ancor morto.

When virtue takes the field,
Short will the conflict be;
Barbarian rage ſhall yield
The palm to Italy.
For patriot blood ſtill warms Italian veins;
Though low the fire, a ſpark at leaſt remains.

EXAMEN. CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning the different ſorts of Negotiation, and what may be called a juſt reaſon for making war.

IN the courſe of this eſſay, I have pointed out the diſingenuity of Machiavel's reaſoning, and ſhewn the fallacious manner in which he endeavours to impoſe upon Princes, by recommending Villains to their imitation, under the maſk of great men. I have attempted to pluck off the diſguiſe of Virtue, which he has thrown over Vice, and to correct the errors under which many people lie in their notions of Politics. I have repreſented to Sovereigns that true Policy conſiſts in ſurpaſſing their ſubjects in virtue; that ſo they may not be reduced to the neceſſity of condemning that in others which they practiſe themſelves: and I have made bold to add, that ſuch actions as are uſually accounted great and brilliant, are not ſufficient to make them truly glorious, except they likewiſe tend to the benefit and happineſs of mankind. To theſe conſiderations, I ſhall ſubjoin two others; one in relation to negotiations, and the other to the reaſons for making war which may properly be called lawful and juſt.

The Miniſters that reſide at foreign courts are privileged ſpies [x], who watch the conduct of thoſe Princes to whom they are ſent: it is their buſineſs to penetrate into their deſigns, to weigh their actions, to foreſee dangers, and to inform their maſters of them in time. Their principal aim ſhould be to preſerve amity betwixt Sovereigns; but, inſtead of being peace-makers, they often ſtir up wars. They employ all manner of flattery, artifice, and ſeduction to draw ſecrets of State out of other miniſters: they gain upon the weak by addreſs, upon the

[x] Sir Henry Wotton ſays, an Ambaſſador is *Vir bonus peregrè miſſus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ cauſâ; a good man ſent to lie abroad for the benefit of his Country:* for ſo it is tranſlated by ſomebody. But here is an ambiguity in the word *lie*, which was not intended in the Latin.

proud

proud by adulation, and upon the ſelf-intereſted by preſents. In ſhort, they often are as bad men as they know how to be: they think they have a licence for it, and may proceed in that manner with impunity. Againſt the artifices of theſe Spies, Princes ought always to be upon their guard: and the more important a negotiation is, the more narrowly it behoves them to obſerve the conduct of their own Miniſters, leſt their virtue ſhould be corrupted. When a treaty of alliance is on foot, a prince ought to exert all his prudence and vigilance, and maturely conſider the nature of the engagement he is going to conclude; that ſo he may not afterwards have reaſon to complain of any hardſhip or embarraſſment in fulfilling it. For a treaty thoroughly examined on every ſide, and in all its conſequences, is a very different thing from one that is but ſuperficially conſidered: what appears to be a great and real advantage at firſt ſight, may prove, upon a nearer view, to be only a wretched palliative, that muſt end in the ruin of his ſtate. Beſides theſe precautions, it is neceſſary to ſee that the Treaty is drawn up in the moſt clear and expreſſive terms; a ſcrupulous cavilling Grammarian is almoſt as uſeful an aſſiſtant in ſuch caſes, as an able Politician, in order to prevent the ſtale, litigious diſtinction betwixt the *ſpirit* and *letter* of a Treaty from being trumped up upon occaſion. It would not be a labour unworthy of a Politician to draw up a ſort of a narrative of the difficulties and diſtreſſes into which many Princes have plunged themſelves by precipitation, for the benefit of thoſe that are about to enter into treaties and alliances: the peruſal of ſuch a work would give them time and occaſion to make reflections that might be of ſervice to them.

Negotiations are not always carried on by Miniſters with full powers and credentials: perſons are often ſent without any public character, not either to one Court or the other, but to ſome third place, where they make propoſals to each other with ſo much the more liberty, as the perſons of their Maſters are leſs expoſed. The preliminaries of the laſt peace betwixt the Emperor and France were ſettled thus, in the territories of Neuwied, without the Princes of the Empire, or the maritime powers, being made privy to it. Victor Amadeus, the moſt able and artful Prince of his time, and one that knew better than any of them how to diſſemble his deſigns, impoſed upon Europe more than once by ſuch artifices: particularly when he was attended by Marſhal de Catinat, in the habit of a Monk, who, under a pretence of being employed by that Prince in his ſpiritual concerns, found means to draw him off from the Emperor's intereſt, and make him a Proſelyte to France. This negotiation was conducted with ſo much ſecrecy and addreſs by the King and that General, that all Europe looked upon the alliance, which ſoon after was concluded betwixt and Savoy and France,

as a moſt wonderful and unexpected ſtroke of Politics [y]. But I do not pretend either wholly to juſtify or condemn the conduct of Victor Amadeus, though I have quoted him as an example; I may be allowed however to admire his policy and addreſs, which, when applied to good purpoſes, are qualifications abſolutely neceſſary and commendable in a Sovereign.

It may be laid down as a general rule, that none but men of the moſt adroit and ſubtle ſpirit ſhould be employed in difficult negotiations: ſuch as not only know how to conduct intrigues, and inſinuate themſelves into the confidence of others, but are ſo quick as to diſcern the thoughts of their hearts from the emotion of their countenances; ſo that nothing can eſcape their ſagacity and penetration [z]. Theſe qualities,

[y] "Victor Amadee, Duc de Savoie, etait celui de tous les Princes, qui prenait le plutôt ſon parti, quand il s' agiſſait de rompre ſes engagemens pour ſes interêts. Ce fut a lui que la Cour de France, s' adreſſa. Le Compte de Teſſé, depuis Marechal de France, homme habile & amiable, d' ungenie fait pour plaire, qui eſt le premier talent des Negociateurs, agit d' abord ſourdement à Turin. Le Marechal de Catinat, auſſi propre a faire la paix que la guerre, acheva la negociation. Il n' etait pas neceſſaire de deux hommes habiles pour determiner le Duc de Savoie à recevoir ſes avantages. On lui rendait ſon pais; on lui donnait de l'argent, on propoſait le marriage du jeune Duc de Bourgogne, fils de Monſeigneur heritier de la couronne de France, avec ſa fille. On fut bientôt d' accord: le Duc & le Marechal de Catinat conclurent le traité à Notre-Dame de Lorette, où ils alerent ſous pretexte d'un pelerinage de devotion, qui ne fit prendre le change à perſonne. Le Pape (c'etait alors Innocent XII.) entrait ardemment dans cette negociation. Son but etait de delivrer a la fois l' Italie, & des invaſions des Français, & des taxes continuelles que l' Empereur exigeait pour paier ſes armees. On voulait que les Imperiaux laiſſaſſent l' Italie neutre. Le Duc de Savoie s' engageait par la traité à obtenir cette neutralité. L' Empereur repondit d' abord par des refus; car la cour de Vienne ne ſe determinait gueres qu' à l' extremité. Alors le Duc de Savoie joignit ſes troupes à l' armee Françaiſe. Ce Prince devint en moins d'un mois, de Generaliſſime de l' Empereur, Generaliſſime de Louis XIV. On amena ſa fille en France, pour epouſer à onze ans le Duc de Bourgogne qui en avait treize. Apres la defection du Duc de Savoie, il arriva, comme a la paix de Nimegue, que chacun des allies prit le parti de traiter. L' Empereur accepta d' abord neutralité d' Italie. Les Hollandais propoſerent le Chateau de Riſwic, pres de la Haïe, pur les conferences d'une paix general. Quatre armees, que le Roi avait ſur pied, ſervirent à hâter les concluſions. Il avait quatre vingt mille hommes en Flandre ſous Villeroi. Le Marechal de Choiſeul en avoit quarante mille ſur les bords du Rhin. Catinat en avait encor autant en Piemont. Le Duc de Vendôme, parvenu enfin au generalat, apres avoir paſſé par tous les degrez depuis celui de garde du Roi, comme un Soldat de fortune, commandait en Catalogne, où il gagna un combat, où il prit Barcelone. Ces nouveaux efforts & ces noveaux ſucces furent la mediation la plus efficace. La cour de Rome offrit encore ſon arbitrage, & fut refuſee comme à Nimegue. Le Roi de Suede Charles XI. fut le mediateur. Enfin la paix ſe fit, non plus avec cette hauteur & ces conditions avantageuſes qui avaient ſignalé la grandeur de Louis XIV.; mais avec une facilité & un relâchment de ſes droits, qui furent l' effet de ſa politique, & qui devaient le mettre en etat d' etre plus grand & plus puiſſant que jamais." *Le Siecle de Louis* XIV. Chap. 16.

[z] Mr. Voltaire, ſomewhere in his Life of Charles XII. King of Sweden, ſays, "That the Duke of Marlborough being ſent to diſcover, if poſſible, whether that Prince

bualities, however, muſt not be too often exerted: it is with them as with high ſpices in a ragout, of which too frequent uſe is apt to pall the taſte, and makes them loſe their effect upon a palate that has been long accuſtomed to them; whereas, integrity and plain dealing never loſe their reliſh; they are like that ſimple and natural food which agrees with every conſtitution, and invigorates the body without inflaming or over-heating it. A Prince whoſe probity and good faith are publicly known, will of neceſſity conciliate to himſelf the confidence of all others: he will make himſelf happy without the aſſiſtance of knavery, and powerful by dint of virtue alone. The tranquility and welfare of his State are a center as it were, where all the radii of his politics unite, and to which all his negotiations ultimately tend.

The peace of Europe chiefly depends upon maintaining that due balance, by which the ſuperior power of one State is counterpoiſed by the united ſtrength of others: if this equilibrium ſhould be deſtroyed, it is much to be feared ſome great revolution would enſue, and ſome over-grown Monarchy riſe out of the wreck of thoſe that have ruined themſelves by diſunion. The circumſtances of the European Princes at preſent ſhould therefore incline them to cultivate alliances, and to enter into treaties with each other, which may enable them jointly to oppoſe the attempts of any ambitious power they are afraid of; and they ought always to miſtruſt thoſe that endeavour to excite diſcord and jealouſies amongſt them. Let them remember the Conſul, who, to ſhew the advantage of union, took the tail of a horſe in his hand, and endeavoured in vain to pull it off; but when he had plucked away one hair after another, as long as he thought fit, he eaſily pulled off the reſt [*a*]. This is a leſſon that may be recommended to the conſideration of certain Princes in our times, with no leſs propriety than it was to the Roman legionaries: nothing but a ſtrict union amongſt them can make them reſpectable, and ſecure the peace of Europe.

It would be happy for the World, if there were no other means but negotiations to maintain juſtice, and re-eſtabliſh harmony and tranquility amongſt nations: reaſon then would take place inſtead of arms; and men would decide their differences by argument inſtead of cutting each others throats. But ſad neceſſity forces Princes to have recourſe to ways that are more inhuman. There are occaſions which oblige them to defend the liberties of people by dint of arms, when others endea-

Prince had any deſign of invading Ruſſia, found him poring upon a map of that Country, when he was introduced into his preſence. Upon which, he waved all further endeavours to ſound his intentions upon that point, imagining he had ſufficiently diſcovered them from that circumſtance:" and ſo indeed it proved.

[*a*] The old ſtory of the bundle of arrows might have ſerved as well here, and is much better known.

vour to oppreſs them; where it is neceſſary to uſe force and violence to extort that which cannot be obtained by gentle means; and to commit the cauſe of the injured to the event of a Battle. In ſuch caſes a vigorous war is the only expedient to reſtore a firm and laſting peace: for good motives alone make a war juſt or unjuſt; but the paſſions and ambition of Princes often blind their judgment, and repreſent the moſt violent and injurious actions in the faireſt light. It is a remedy, however, that ſhould not be applied, whilſt any other is left: and it ought always to be well conſidered, whether it is the effect of pride, or the reſult of cool reaſon and neceſſity.

Defenſive wars are certainly the moſt juſtifiable; but there are others occaſioned by diſputable titles, in which princes are neceſſitated to aſſert their rights, ſword in hand, and to determine their reſpective pretenſions by force.——A due precaution and regard to ſelf-preſervation, ſometimes likewiſe engage a Prince in war; and though indeed ſuch a war may, ſtrictly ſpeaking, be called an offenſive one, it is nevertheleſs juſt. When ſome enormous over-ſwelled power ſeems ready to burſt, and threatens the world with havock and deſtruction, it is but common prudence to throw up ditches and banks to reſtrain the courſe of the torrent, and prevent an inundation, whilſt it is yet in one's power. When the clouds begin to gather together, when thunder and lightning proclaim the approach of a ſtorm, the Prince, who is more immediately threatened with the danger, and cannot withſtand it alone, ought to enter into alliance with others, the circumſtances of whoſe affairs may likewiſe make it neceſſary for them to join him for their own ſafety. If the kings of Egypt, Syria, and Macedonia had confederated againſt the Romans, the latter could never have conquered thoſe nations: a firm alliance amongſt them would have fruſtrated thoſe ambitious deſigns, the accompliſhment of which enſlaved the Univerſe. As it is a point of prudence to chuſe the leſs of two evils, when one of them is unavoidable, and to prefer a certain advantage to one that is uncertain, it is better for a Prince to enter into an offenſive war, whilſt he is at liberty to make choice, either of the olive or the laurel branch, as he pleaſes, than to ſtay till his circumſtances are become deſperate, and a declaration of war would only ſerve to defer his ruin a little while. It is a certain maxim that it is better to anticipate, than to be anticipated, and wiſe men have always availed themſelves of it [*b*]. Many Princes enter into Treaties with their allies,

[*b*] As his Majeſty himſelf did at the beginning of the preſent war.——The firſt Edition here adds what follows, which is ſtruck out in the ſecond, "en faiſant uſage de leurs forces avant que leurs ennemis ayent pris des arrangemens capables de leur lier les mains, & de detruire leur pouvoir."

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by which they engage to furniſh them with a certain number of Auxiliaries in their wars: for, as there is no power in Europe that can ſupport itſelf againſt all the reſt without allies, they are obliged to ſuccour each other in caſe of need, for their own ſafety and preſervation. The event determines which of the contracting powers reaps the moſt advantage from ſuch an alliance: a happy opportunity favours one of the parties at one time, and another at another. Prudence, honour, and good faith then equally oblige Princes to fulfil their engagements with the moſt ſcrupulous punctuality, eſpecially as the welfare of their Subjects principally depends upon a religious obſervation of them.

All wars, therefore, which are begun with no further view than to repel the violence of uſurpation, to maintain one's lawful rights, and to preſerve the liberty of mankind [*c*], are agreeable to juſtice. The Sovereigns that are engaged in ſuch, cannot reaſonably be reproached with the blood that is ſhed in them: neceſſity obliges them to act in that manner; and in ſuch circumſtances war is a leſs evil than peace. [Some Princes formerly gave themſelves no trouble about alliances, but hired out their ſoldiers and made a merchandize of the blood of their Subjects] [*d*]. But, as the inſtitution of Soldiery is for the defence of their country, to hire them out to others like dogs or bulls to be baited, ſeems to me at once to pervert the end both of war and negotiation. It is commonly ſaid that ſacred things ought not to be ſold; can any thing be more ſacred than human blood?

As to wars about Religion, if they be civil wars, they are almoſt always the effects of an imprudent partiality in a Sovereign, who has been weak enough to favour one Sect at the expence of another, and has either too much confined, or too much indulged the public exerciſe of certain modes of worſhip; but eſpecially if he has interfered too buſily in party quarrels, which are but ſhort-lived ſparks, when a Prince does not interpoſe on one ſide or the other, though they often break out into a raging flame, when he foments them by eſpouſing either. To maintain civil government in due vigour, and to allow a general liberty of conſcience; to act like a King rather than a Prieſt, is the ſure way to preſerve a State from thoſe tempeſts, which the dogmatical Spirit of Divines is always endeavouring to excite.——But to

[*c*] *To preſerve the liberty of mankind* is a vague expreſſion, and often made uſe of to countenance deſigns of a very different nature; eſpecially with regard to the Germanic body.

[*d*] What is included betwixt the two Crochets above runs in the firſt Edition, "Ce Sujet me conduit naturellement à parler des Princes, qui par un negoce inoüi dans l'Antiquité, trafiquent du ſang de leurs peuples: leur Cour eſt comme un encan, où leurs troupes ſont vendües à ceux qui offrent le plus de ſubſides."

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enter into foreign wars upon the account of Religion, is the height of injuſtice and abſurdity. To march from Aix-la-Chapelle to convert the Saxons with fire and ſword, as Charlemagne did; or to fit out a powerful fleet on purpoſe to go and perſuade the Sultan of Egypt to turn Chriſtian, were ſtrange expeditions indeed [*e*]; but the rage of Cruſades is now over: Heaven grant it may never return!——War in general is the cauſe of many miſeries; the iſſue is ſo uncertain, and the conſequences ſo ruinous to a country, that a Prince cannot conſider the matter too maturely before he engages in one. For the outrages which his troops commit in an enemy's country are but trifling grievances in compariſon of thoſe that are felt in his own [*f*]. Certainly if Princes could have a true repreſentation laid before them of the calamities that are occaſioned by a declaration of war alone, they could not help being affected with it. But their imagination cannot be ſuppoſed ſtrong enough of itſelf fully to conceive the evils they have never experienced, and from which their elevation in a great meaſure ſecures them. How can they be proper judges of the burden of thoſe taxes, which lie ſo heavy upon the backs of their Subjects; the loſs of the youth of their country, which is drained to furniſh recruits; the contagious diſtempers that ſweep away their forces; the horror of battles, and of ſieges, which are ſtill more deſtructive; the deſtitute condition of the wounded, and ſuch as, perhaps, are deprived of their limbs, the only means and inſtruments of their ſubſiſtance; the pitiable circumſtances of helpleſs orphans, that are doomed to be ſtarved by the loſs of their fathers, upon whom their ſupport entirely depended; and the want of ſo many uſeful men to the public, who have been mowed down by an untimely death [*g*]? Princes indeed that look upon their Subjects as ſo many Slaves, expoſe them without pity, and ſee them periſh without regret: but others, who conſider all men as their equals in point of humanity, and regard their people as a body of which they themſelves are the ſoul, are, and ought to be very ſparing of their blood.

By way of concluſion to this eſſay, I beg the favour of all Sovereigns not to be offended at the liberty which I have taken in addreſſing them; as my only deſign has been to ſpeak truth, to animate them to virtue, and to flatter nobody. The good opinion I entertain of thoſe that

[*e*] As the Emperor Charles V. did.

[*f*] The following paſſage, which is in the firſt Edition, is here ſtruck out in the ſecond, "C'eſt un acte ſi grave & de ſi grand importance de l'entre prendre, qu'il eſt etonnant que tant de Roys en ayent pris ſi facilement la reſolution."

[*g*] The ſecond Edition here leaves out what follows, "Les Princes qui ne ſont dans le monde que pour rendre les hommes heureux, devraient bien y penſer, avant que les expoſer, pour des cauſes frivoles & vaines, a tout ce que l'humanité a de plus a redouter."

govern

govern the World at preſent, induces me to think them worthy of hearing truths, which men neither could nor durſt ſpeak to ſuch Monſters as Nero, Alexander VI. Cæſar Borgia, and Lewis XI.; but, Heaven be thanked for it, none of the European Princes now are of that ſtamp; and it is giving them great, but due praiſe, to ſay that any one has free leave at their tribunal, boldly to arraign every thing that degrades Royalty, and is offenſive to Juſtice [*b*].

[*b*] "Rara temporum felicitas, ubi ſentire quæ velis, & quæ ſentias dicere licet." *Tacit. Hiſt.* 1.

The END of the PRINCE and of the EXAMEN.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

TO THE

PRINCE and the EXAMEN,

OR,

CRITICAL ESSAY upon that Work.

NUMBER I.

An extract from a periodical work, entitled, *Nouvelle Biliotheque* [*a*].

MACHIAVEL publiſhed his *Prince* about the year 1515, and dedicated it to Lorenzo de Medici, nephew to Pope Leo X. That Pontiff, inſtead of being offended, that he had reduced Tyranny and Villainy into a ſort of a Syſtem, engaged him in the compoſition of ſome other works. Adrian VI. and Clement VII. ſet a great value upon that book: the latter granted a patent or privilege, dated Auguſt 23, 1531, for printing his writings. Ten ſucceſſive Popes permitted the Sale of the *Prince*; whilſt ſeveral excellent books of morality were put into the *Index Expurgatorius*. Clement VIII. however, condemned that piece at a time when it was too late, and it might in ſome meaſure plead preſcription: and after a courſe of above two hundred years, a formal Refutation of it has at laſt appeared.

[*a*] For November 1740.

Mr.

Mr. Voltaire, the Editor of this Refutation, inſinuates in his Preface to it, that the Author is a Perſonage of the higheſt rank and quality: but our office as Journaliſts obliges us only to give the public an account of ſuch *works* as may at the ſame time be inſtructive and entertaining; and not to form raſh conjectures of what ſome pains have been taken to conceal from our knowledge. But if it be true, as it begins to be reported, that a Prince is the Author of this performance, we may at leaſt be allowed to thank Heaven, for having inſpired a perſon with ſuch ſentiments, who is charged with the happineſs of other men: for we do not know any book of morality that is comparable to it. There are ſeveral, indeed, that may conduce to form good Citizens: but where are thoſe that are in all reſpects proper to form good Princes? Nothing like this has appeared ſince the time of the great and good Antoninus. A private man may learn elſewhere to regulate his conduct, and to live with decency in civil Society: but here Sovereigns are inſtructed how to govern nations. We heartily wiſh, as friends to Humanity, that all Princes and Miniſters would read this book; if reading good books has ſtill any power left to make them wiſer and better, and the poiſon of Courts is not more prevalent, than the Antidote which we here recommend.

The Author's Preface is written in a ſtrain of ſuch Eloquence, as can only flow from a good heart. Let us give a ſample of it. "In how wretched a ſituation (ſays he) muſt a people be, when they have every thing to fear from an abuſe of power in their Sovereign; when their properties may hourly become a prey to his avarice, their liberty to his caprice, their repoſe to his ambition, and their lives to his cruelty! Such muſt be the circumſtances of a State, governed by a Prince of Machiavel's forming."—Who is there that does not feel his heart touched, upon reading a paſſage ſo full of tenderneſs and paternal affection? Where is the man that would not ſhed the laſt drop of his blood for a Prince who thinks in this manner, who ſpeaks of Sovereigns like a private man, whoſe ſentiments, and principles, and affections, run in the ſame channel with our own, and who thus proteſts in the ſtrongeſt manner againſt every kind of Tyranny and oppreſſion?

What ſeems very extraordinary is, that the Author of this work ſhould write in ſo pure a ſtyle, and be ſo familiar with a language, which, it is ſaid, is not his mother-tongue. Many parts of it are penned with ſuch energy, and the words are ſo well choſen and arranged, that for ſome time we could not believe it was written by a foreigner. Upon which account, we had recourſe to the Editor, and had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing ſuch evident proofs in his hands, that we had no longer the leaſt room to doubt of the Author.

we ſhall always continue ſo: what we have ſaid has been merely out of juſtice and regard to truth alone.

Before we conclude this article, the Reader ſhould be acquainted, that there have been two other Editions of this work, entitled *Examen de Machiavel*, or, *Anti-Machiavel*; one publiſhed at London by W. Meyer, the other at the Hague by J. Van Duren: but they are ſurreptitious, and Mr. Voltaire diſavows them both. They are likewiſe full of groſs miſtakes and interpolations: ſome whole paſſages, containing ten lines or more, being entirely omitted, and the ſenſe miſerably diſfigured in others. Another, that is genuine, will ſhortly be printed at Marſeilles [*d*]. We ſhall only add, that this work has been tranſlated into Engliſh [*e*] and Italian; and it is well Copies are multiplied ſo faſt, as it contains inſtructions that will be ſerviceable in all times and to all ſorts of men.

NUMBER II.

An Extract from the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée* [*a*].

"A Work lately publiſhed by Mr. Voltaire, merely as the Editor, and at his own expence too, plainly ſhews that the Author of it muſt be ſomebody much above the common level; and indeed the general report has confirmed this opinion: for no ſooner did this piece make its appearance at the Hague, but the public univerſally attributed it to one of the higheſt rank. And this conjecture is fully verified by what the celebrated Editor has been pleaſed to tell us in his Preface to it."

* * * * * * *

Here the writer of this paper quotes a large paſſage from the firſt part of Mr. Voltaire's Preface, inſerted at the beginning of this work, and then proceeds in this manner.

From theſe *traits* we diſcover a Prince, who being called by his birth *to give men precepts and examples, applied himſelf whilſt he was yet very young to the ſtudy of Politics, in order to form himſelf to wiſdom and virtue: preſcribing leſſons only to himſelf, which yet ought to be learnt by all Kings that would contribute to the happineſs of mankind:* who likewiſe *is a young foreigner that writes the French language with an uncommon degree of ſtrength and purity, though he has never been in France:*

[*d*] It was ſo in 1741.
[*e*] It may have been ſo perhaps: but the Editor of this tranſlation never met with it.
[*a*] Tom. XXV. Part ii.

who,

who, in ſhort, *is one of thoſe exalted Souls that are ſometimes, though but rarely, formed by Heaven*; one of thoſe extraordinary Genius's that *ſucceed in every thing they apply themſelves to.*—It is but a little while ago ſince a young Prince ſucceeded to a certain throne in the North, in whom all theſe characters unite; and who, from the very firſt day of his reign, has juſtified what Mr. Voltaire ſays of the early care he took to form himſelf to thoſe great virtues which do true honour to Princes, and make their ſubjects happy.——How much is it to be wiſhed, that all thoſe that are deſtined to govern mankind, would exert their utmoſt endeavours to acquire ſuch qualifications as are neceſſary to adorn ſo brilliant, and yet ſo painful a function! Nevertheleſs, it is an obſervation we cannot help making, with extreme concern, that there is hardly any rank of mankind, whoſe education is more vicious, or more neglected: which probably may be owing, in a great meaſure, to the diſpoſition of theſe illuſtrious Pupils, who cannot be made good and virtuous by compulſion; and therefore will never be ſo, except they are naturally inclined to it of themſelves. But if there are ſome,

——quibus arte benignâ
Et meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan.
Juven. Sat. XIV. v. 34.

that is, who are not only born with a noble Soul, an exalted Spirit, and a heart truly great, but take ſuch pains to cultivate and perfect theſe gifts of nature, that they may very well be reckoned in the number of wiſe and philoſophical Princes; we may ſtill ſay with Virgil,

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vaſto.
Æneid. I. v. 122.

there is but here and there one of them.

Howſoever that may be, and without either examining upon what reaſons the public report is founded, or preſuming to lift up the veil which Mr. Voltaire has thrown over the Author, it is certain, that the work itſelf is worthy of the moſt auguſt birth, and of being adopted by all the Sovereigns upon Earth, that have any taſte for true glory and ſolid greatneſs; as any one will be convinced, we are aſſured, from ſome extracts which we ſhall here give out of it.—But before that, it is neceſſary to preſent the Reader with ſome other anecdotes, from the Editor's Preface, relating to the hiſtory, the nature, and deſign of this Eſſay.

* * * * * *

Here the Journalist having quoted another large passage from Mr. Voltaire's Preface, proceed thus,

In this performance we have Machiavel's *Prince* translated by Mr. de la Houssaye, and the *Refutation* published by Mr. Voltaire, printed in two columns over against each other on the same page, but in a different letter. The Notes upon the former are retained and inserted at the bottom of their respective pages: and indeed the citations from other authors are numerous. But the *Refutation* is entirely free from all this ostentation of reading: and I cannot well suppress what Mr. Voltaire observes upon this occasion. "The great Personage, says he, whose work I here publish, seldom or never quotes; but I am very much mistaken if he himself will not often be quoted hereafter by such as are friends to reason and justice." Though indeed it must be confessed, that he not only adduces many facts and examples, but sometimes enters into historical discussions, and often makes fine allusions to what has been related or said, both by ancient and modern authors; leaving the Reader, however, if he pleases, to have recourse to the particular passages, (which he does not specify) whilst he confines himself closely to the province of argumentation, as his principal design; or rather as the only means of effectually establishing virtue upon the ruins of vice. That seems to be the sole intention of this work, which he has executed with so much Spirit and judgment that he never loses sight of his main object: and certainly never any one wrote a System of Politics for the use of Princes that could instruct them in a more concise and affecting manner how to reign like *Fathers of their people*. But the Author himself has acquainted us with the design of this performance, at the very beginning of his Preface to it, in such strong and comprehensive terms that we cannot give so just an idea of it as by copying his own words.

* * * * * *

After citing about one half of his Majesty's Preface (which is prefixed to this work) the Journalist proceeds in this manner.

How grand and magnificent soever this exordium, and how beautiful soever these sentiments may seem, they promise nothing but what will be found well supported in the course of this work, which is one continued display of these noble ideas. From one end to the other the Author appears to be, like Marcus Antoninus, *familiar with Philosophy* [b], and always speaks like a great and truly wise man. But the

[b] Παρα Διογνητου το οικειωθηναι φιλοσοφια. *Marc. Antonin.* L. I. s. 3.

sequel

ſequel and concluſion of this Preface correſpond ſo majeſtically with the beginning, that we cannot deny ourſelves the pleaſure of tranſcribing the reſt; as we are perſuaded the Public will be not a little charmed with it.

* * * * * *

The reſt of the Preface is here inſerted; after which, the Journaliſt continues his letter as follows.

Here we might obſerve by the by, that the Author has decided a point which has been in diſpute above two hundred years. Some pretend, and it is the opinion of Mr. de Wicquefort, *that the Florentine only tells us what Princes actually do, and not what they ought to do.* Others maintain, that the rules he lays down were really deſigned as precepts for their inſtruction, and recommended in earneſt for their practice. One may ſee the arguments on both ſides in Mr. Bayle [*c*], to whom we may add Stollius [*d*]: and I think, after conſulting thoſe Authors, every one will be apt to paſs a more unfavourable judgment upon Machiavel than his cotemporary Paulus Jovius has done, who ſpeaking of his writings, contents himſelf with ſaying, "he is very ſubtle, and that a concealed poiſon is mixed with the honey of his eloquence, even where he takes upon himſelf to form a good Prince, an able General, or a wiſe Miniſter [*e*]." Now this is a very partial and ridiculous ſentence: for it is certain that Machiavel had not the leaſt thought or deſign of forming a *good* Prince; and that the *poiſon* which he has ſcattered through his works is very far from being *concealed.* Mr. Wicquefort's conceit is the moſt plauſible that can be urged in his favour: and yet upon due conſideration, it cannot be ſupported; nay, indeed it is evidently confuted by the effects which Machiavel's writings in general, and his *Prince* in particular, have produced in the world. All his Pupils have proved vile and wicked men: which could not poſſibly have happened, if his lectures had not appeared to them a real Syſtem of true politics; and the execrable examples there propoſed, as ſo many prudent Maxims for their imitation.

We chearfully therefore embrace the opinion of the Author of this *Examen*, or *Critical Eſſay*, and congratulate our age, that ſo horrible and pernicious a Syſtem is now refuted with ſuch ſtrength of reaſon and ſuperiority of argumentation, that we may juſtly expect to ſee it

[*c*] *Bayle Hiſt. and Crit. Dict. Art.* Machiavel.

[*d*] *Stoll. Introduct. ad Hiſt. Liter. De prud. civ. ſect.* V. *Numb.* 36.

[*e*] In hiſtoriâ apprime gravis & aſſutus : : . . . egregiâ hercle cum laude, niſi . . . . . prædulcis eloquentiæ mella occulto veneno illita ſingulis operibus infudiſſet & tum etiam quum optimum Principem formaret, quum bellicis præceptis Ducem inſtrueret, & denique traditis exactæ prudentiæ documentis, in deliberando & conſulendo eximium Senatorem effingeret.

fall

fall into that degree of contempt and deteſtation it ſo highly deſerves. If it was impudent in Machiavel to obtrude it upon the world, it will henceforth be infamous in any Reader to admire it. What an obligation will mankind lie under to the Illuſtrious Author of ſo happy a change ſhould it come to paſs! And what can prevent it, if Princes at laſt will ſuffer themſelves to be convinced that they are not worthy to wear a crown, except they imitate the virtues of the Titus's, the Trajan's, and the Antoninus's? and how can they help being convinced, if inſtead of ſtudying the falſe doctrine of Machiavel, they will vouchſafe to learn the only true politics from this *Critique* upon him? There they would ſoon imbibe this fundamental Maxim, *that Princes are made by the People, and for their good.* This is the Subject of the firſt Chapter; the greater part of which we ſhall here tranſcribe, as it contains the principles, and indeed in ſome meaſure the eſſence of it.

* * * * * *

After the tranſcript, the Letter-writer proceeds thus.

Upon this deciſion, which determines the origin and boundaries of Sovereign authority ſo much to the advantage of mankind, the Author builds the whole of his political Syſtem; which is diametrically oppoſite to Machiavel's. But there are ſo many beautiful Sentiments in the courſe of the work, and ſo nobly expreſſed, that it would be no ſmall difficulty to pitch upon the beſt, where every thing is excellent [*f*]. Let it ſuffice then to copy ſome paſſages out of the following Chapters, by way of gratification to the Reader's curioſity.

* * * * * *

Here follow large Extracts from the 2d, 3d, 5th, 8th and 9th Chapters: after which, the Journaliſt continues his Letter in this manner.

This is ſufficient to give thoſe ſome idea of this work who have not yet ſeen it themſelves. The whole is of the ſame ſtamp with theſe ſpecimens: ſo that one cannot eaſily determine whether ſuch noble and heroic ſentiments, or the ſpirited and beautiful manner in which they are expreſſed, be more worthy of admiration.—To ſhew that, what part ſoever of this book we may fix upon, there is no diſſonance or inequality, either in point of Principle or Sentiment, we ſhall conclude our Account of it with a tranſcript from the end of the laſt Chapter, which treats *of the different ſorts of Negotiation betwixt Princes, and what may be called a juſt reaſon for making war.*

Then follows the Tranſcript.

[*f*] See the beginning of the next Extract from the *Nouvelles Priviléges de Berlin.*

NUM-

NUMBER III.

An extract from the *Nouvelles Privilégies de Berlin* [*a*].

" A Book, entitled, *Examen du Prince de Machiavel*, is lately printed in 8vo, at the Hague by J. Van Duren. This excellent work is divided into twenty-ſix Chapters: and it is not fair to quote any paſſage from it, or to point out any particular beauty, becauſe it would be a very difficult matter, where the whole is excellent, to ſay which part of it is the beſt [*b*]. Few people indeed form a true judgment of things; but it is certain that the Author of this performance deſerves the firſt rank amongſt thoſe few: and nothing can be a ſtronger proof that the times grow more virtuous, than the publication of a book, which, without any laboured diſplay of profound and uſeleſs erudition, tends merely to promote the welfare of mankind in general.

Princes, for the moſt part, in all quarters of the world, are but moderately inſtructed in the knowledge of what is really their duty. Amidſt the Luxury and Splendor of a Court, a thick darkneſs eclipſes even thoſe who might be expected to ſhine out with the cleareſt light. Falſe politics, and a heart dazzled with imaginary glory, have always produced diſturbers of the public repoſe, and tyrants who have wantonly laviſhed human blood: as if greatneſs conſiſted in deſolating nations and enſlaving the inhabitants.—But in this piece a Prince is what he ought to be: he teaches the only true way to gain reſpect and eſteem: his greatneſs is not a grievance to others; nor can his lenity be termed weakneſs. In all his reflections he ſhews a deep knowledge of the human heart; and it ſeems as if the honour of inſtructing Sovereigns how to reign as they ſhould do, was reſerved for him alone; for he that would govern well, ought to be thoroughly acquainted with the nature of Mankind.

The firſt leſſon that a Prince ſhould be taught, is to behave himſelf in ſuch a manner, as to be deſervedly eſteemed Wiſe and Juſt. This is the touchſtone by which Poſterity will form their opinion of him: and what a glorious progreſs may not be expected from ſuch a beginning? Nobody certainly is better qualified to give thoſe leſſons, than the Author of this work: nor can any body in fact expect to ſucceed ſo well, as one who has given the whole world ſuch convincing proofs

[*a*] No. LXX. Thurſday, 8 December, 1740.

[*b*] This paſſage may ſeem borrowed, perhaps, from the foregoing Extract, out of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*; as that Journal was publiſhed about a month before this.

of the clearneſs of his head and the goodneſs of his heart. We will take upon us to propheſy, that whenever this book is mentioned in future times, it will likewiſe be well rembered, that the Prince who wrote it for the Inſtruction of Sovereigns, far ſurpaſſed, in his own conduct, the excellent Maxims that are contained in it.

N. B. *There are ſeveral Letters from Mr. Voltaire to his Bookſeller at the Hague, inſerted at the end of the Edition printed there in* 1743. *But as the main purpoſe of them is to aſcertain the Author of the* Examen *or* Critical Eſſay, *and that point has been long ſince cleared up to every one's ſatisfaction, it does not ſeem worth while to treſpaſs any further upon the Reader's patience, by bringing more evidence to ſupport a fact, which is now no longer diſputed.—It may not be amiſs, however, perhaps, to obſerve that Mr. Voltaire, after belabouring Machiavel ſo heartily in his Preface to the* Examen, *ſays to his Bookſeller in on of theſe Letters* [c], " *Faites vos efforts, Je vous prie, pour trouver un Machiavel d'Amelot de la Houſſaye. Si vous n'en trouvez pas, envoyez-le moi imprimè avec l'Italien a coté de la refutation. C'eſt un Livre fait pour etre eternellement lû par tous les Politiques & par tous les Miniſtres; ils entendent tous l'Italien, &c.*" " *I beg you will endeavour to procure me Amelot de la Houſſaye's tranſlation of Machiavel's* Prince: *but if you can't meet with that, print the original Italian on the ſame page, in a different column over againſt the* Refutation." *It is a book that will be read by all Politicians and Miniſters of State, as long as the World laſts. They all underſtand Italian, &c.*"

NUMBER IV.

Typographi Præfatio ad Machiavelli Principem, *a Sylveſtri Telio Fulginate latinè redditum, & nunc emendatius typis iterum mandatum* [d]

RECTE Sallüſtius profectò, Lector humaniſſime, inquit, Majorum ſplendorem poſteris quaſi lumen eſſe, et neque eorum benefacta, neque malefacta in occulto pati. Nam quorum virtus ſingularis aliqua fuit,

[c] Letter V.

[d] The edition here mentioned was printed in the year 1589: but neither the name of the Printer, nor the place where it was printed, are ſpecified. The preface itſelf indeed is far from being either pure or elegant Latin, as the Reader will eaſily perceive: but when he conſiders that it was written (as it is profeſſed) by a Typographer only, perhaps he may be candid enough to excuſe the ſtile, as the matter is pertinent. The language of the tranſlation is ſomething better, though not very claſſical. Another Latin one appeared in the year 1699, printed at Amſterdam: the Tranſlator's name was (as he ſigns himſelf) *Gaſpard Langhenhert, Philoſopher*; who likewiſe added a Commentary upon the *Prince*. He took this taſk upon himſelf, merely becauſe, in his opinion, the old

fuit, eorum quoque recens memoria quàm diutiſſimé ſolet conſervari: cujus reſpectu dijudicari poſtea ſolent omnium illorum facta atque dicta, quos ſcimus ab illis excellentibus viris eſſe prognatos. Id ipſum quoque evenit omnibus in univerſum rebus magnis, illuſtrium præſertim virorum dictis factiſque; imprimis vero iis quæ a ſummis ingeniis inventa & excogitata fuerunt; quæ nequeunt ullâ ratione in occulto contineri, ſed palam propoſita ſunt univerſo orbi, ceu ſcopus quidam, in quem multi tela ſua jacturi collimant. Quamobrem nemini mirum videri debet ſi de Nicolao Machiavello tam variæ & multiplices ſpargantur ſententiæ, & de eodem tam variæ ſint hominum ſententiæ; uſque ad eo ut poſtea, hominum Memoriâ, nullum extitiſſe tantum exiſtimo, cum quo Machiavellus ſuo quodam modo conferri requiverit. Hiſtoriarum omnium tantam cognitionem habuit, ut ceu rebus omnibus gerendis inter ſuiſſet, cauſas, conſilia, progreſſus eventuſque omnium in animo promptos haberet: quæ res illi unà cum acutiſſimo ingenio conjuncta, ad Reipublicæ adminiſtrationem, univerſumque vitæ politicæ uſum tantum momenti attulit, quantum ratio cum experientiâ conjuncta, unquam alicui in aliquâ arte aut exercitatione prodeſſe potuerit. In conſiliis capiendis ac rerum ſuſpiciendarum deliberatione, ſolus videtur Hiſtoriæ uſum intellexiſſe: tanta ſcilicet fuit ejus ſolertia & induſtria in conferendo domeſtica exempla cum peregrinis, præſentia cum futuris & præteritis, ſimilia cum ſimilibus; ut ex præteritis, rerum futurarum eventus prævidere perſæpe potuerit. Quid multis opus eſt? Unum ſufficit nobis argumentum, ejus *Diſputationes* nempe, quas *Diſcurſus* appellavit, de rebus in Titi Livii primâ Decade Scriptis. In quibus antiquiſſimam illam veterum Romanorum virtutem, tanquam in compendio comprehenſam expreſſit, ad imitandam propoſuit, & ob quas cauſas noſtrâ ætate hujus modi præclare facinora nulla paterentur, tam evidenter demonſtravit, ut totius Hiſtoriæ ſuccum in iis comprehendiſſe videatur. Adeo ſcilicet, ut ex earum lectione induſtrius Lector qui vir bonus eſſe velit, ad vitæ politicæ uſum, plus utilitatis, cognitionis, ac experientiæ, brevi temporis ſpatio ſibi comparare poſſit, quam ſi multos annos in evolvendis libris *de Republicâ* ab aliis quibuſcunque authoribus ſcriptis, ſeſe maceraverit.—Quæcum ita ſint, tantumque fuit Machiavelli ingenium atque *virtus* [*a*]; quid mirum ſi aliqui ejus errores deterioraque conſilia a toto propemodum mundo reprehendantur, omneſque clamitent, ſi quid callidiori conſilio aut perfidiâ in orbe Chriſtiano

old one was defective. *See Journal des Sçavans, for March* 15, 1700, p. 211, *edit. Holland.* But as the Editor of this Engliſh tranſlation of Machiavel's works has not had the good fortune ever to meet with that work (though he has taken much pains to get a ſight of it) he cannot pretend to give any account of it.

[*a*] It is ſuppoſed that the Printer [illegible] word *virtus*, here means the *acumen ingenii*, or, *great intellectual facultys* of his [illegible]

geſtum

gestum esse videatur, *arcana ista esse Machiavelli?* Equidem omne vitium tanto sit conspectius in se, quanto major qui peccat habetur [a]; atque hinc fit, ut Magistratus omnes, cum cætera vitia, tum crudelitatem maximè evitare ac fugere debeant. Sed idem ego contendo posse etiam fieri, ut Subditi magis intueantur Principum ac Magistratuum errores, quam eorum impellentes causas, quæ non nunquam etiam ab ipsismet possunt dependere. Non dico Subditorum delicta, quamvis maxima, Principum ac Magistratuum tyrannidem aut crudelitatem excusare; nam debet omnis Magistratus talis esse qualem describit Homerus Agamemnonem suum, Ποιμενα λαων, id est, Pastorem populi: ut sicuti Pastor omnes suas cogitationes atque consilia eò dirigit, ut pascantur rectè greges, & tuti sint a lupis cæterisque feris animalibus; ita Magistratus ad Subditorum pacem tranquillitatemque conservandam & utilitatem promovendam noctes atque dies intentus sit. Sed interim tamen hoc affero, quod sicuti Medici neque igne neque ferro utantur quamdiu spes est per leniora medicamenta morbum posse curari, cum id desperant, misericordiâ potius quam crudelitate ad urendum & secandum permoventur. Quâ in re, etsi quid vehementius aliquando fit quam necessitas postulare videbatur, tamen totum id attribuimus humanæ imbecillitati. Quod si quid tale igitur etiam in administrandâ Republicâ evenit, cum delicta puniuntur, ignoscendum est perinde ac Medicis, & humanæ imbecilitati tribuendum: quæcunque aliter aut alio animo institutoque patrantur, crudelia sunt & meritò abominanda. Neque vero in eum finem isthæc a nobis hîc dicuntur, quod Machiavelli viri clarissimi laudes ex professo persequi cupiamus, multoque minus ut errores ipsius, quos in libro de Principis institutione habet non parvos, aut defendere aut excusare ullo modo velimus; aut Antagonistas ejus refutare in animum unquam induxerimus, sed tantummodo ut instituti nostri reddamus rationem. Constitueramus, Lector humanissime, ante aliquot annos, virorum quorundam eruditissimorum instinctu & operâ Nicolai Machiavelli Scripta omnia, quæ sunt partim politica, partim historica, partim denique de ratione bellum gerendi, in Latinam linguam ex Italicâ transferre. Et cum, sumptu non parvo, præcipuam ferè ejus operis absolvissemus, & in reliquis pergeremus, visi sunt viri quam plurimi, & ex iis quoque aliqui doctissimi, editis libris omnium calamitatum quibus hodie Christianus orbis afficitur in unum Machiavellum transferre; quod is solus ad hujusmodi malas artes & astuta perfidaque consilia instituat, quibus Principes & Magistratus quosdam uti contendunt ad hujusmodi turbas, bella, & alias calamitates in orbe Christiano excitandas. Nos vero, etsi ex doctissimorum virorum (quorum operâ in

[a] Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quanto major, qui peccat habetur.
Juv. Sat. 8.

edendis

edendis libris utimur) institutione, existimemus summam illius viri prudentiam fuisse, longo rerum usu comparatam, eamque scripta legendo non admirari nequeamus, præsertim in *Disputationibus de Republicâ*, quarum prius fecimus mentionem: interim tamen errores ipsius, præsertim quos habet in libro de educatione Principis, nullo modo excusamus neque defendimus. Attamen sæpe venit in mentem, quod aliis in rebus accidere solet, hic quoque per multis hominibus evenire; ut nempe antequam videant, legant, lectaque judicent, sententiam pronuntient, vulgi famam potius sequentes, quam certam rationem & argumenta. Nam quam prompti sint homines, præsertim hoc nostro sæculo ad calumniandum et maledicendum, notius est quam ut multis argumentis comprobari oporteat. At oportet, ut Caius Cæsar apud Sallustium recte docet, eum qui de re aliquâ sententiam ferre velit, ab omni odio & amicitiâ, itemque ab omni invidiâ esse allienum. Nunc vero cernimus invidia multos bonos viros opprimi, maledictis lacerari & traduci tantoperé ut admiratione dignum sit, eos qui nihil injuste patrârunt, solâ malorum hominum invidiâ & calumniis in magnas sæpe calamitates incidere. Quæ cum sint nostro hoc sæculo admodum vulgaria, non existimavimus ab incepto opere desistendum; quoniam speramus si vel omnia vel præcipua hujus scriptoris opera in publicum prodierint, fore ut qui nunc pauca quædam certis de causis vituperant, ii postea laudent quam plurima. Cum igitur hoc tempore tam multa variaque in hunc Scriptorem ultro citroque jactarentur, hunc modum esse putavi longé optimum ad parandam editionem omnium Machiavelli operum, si eam partem illorum de quâ maxima est concertatio inter eruditos conjunctam cum disputationibus contrariis eorum qui illum maximè oppugnârunt, primo omnium in lucem ederemus: videlicet, *Principis institutionem*, quæ controversa est maximè, & proinde ipsi Machiavello apud plurimos eruditissimos viros maximam peperit invidiam atque odium. Edimus ergo illam nunc, non quidem ex novâ quam paramus omnium Machiavelli operum translatione, sed ex antiquâ & accurate emendatâ Sylvestri Telii Fulginatis translatione. Et ut omnes intelligant nos hîc nihil aliud spectare quam ut Machiavelli scripta dijudicanda proponamus; huic operi maxime controverso conjunximus quæcunque invenire licuit ejusdem argumenti scripta doctissimorum virorum cum Machiavello in hoc doctrinæ genere dissentientium, videlicet, ut ingeniosus lector utriusque partis argumenta ponderans, commodius de hâc controversiâ totoque Principum ac Magistratuum in subditos suos jure sententiam suam ferre ac dicere posset [*c*]. Atque hæc res

eo

[*c*] The pieces here referred to, are the two speeches of Agrippa and Mecænas, to Augustus, (in which one persuades him to resign, and the other to maintain the Imperial Dignity) taken from the fifty-second book of Dion Cassius.

judicio

eo pertinet, ut calumniis nullus locus esse possit; sed justæ tantummodo accusationi simul et defensioni: in quâ accusatione & defensione, si evincere causam Machiavellum intellexerimus, doctrinam ipsius sive universam, sive partem illius aliquam amplectemur: sin causâ cadere eum videamus, eandem repudiabimus. Idque in Republicâ semper observandum, quantum fieri potest, ut accusare quidem legitimè liberum sit, calumniæ verò impediantur. Differunt etiam accusationes a calumniis, quòd calumniari potest unusquisque quemcunque & ubicunque voluerit; neque ad id probandum quod impingit adversario probatione ullâ aut testibus utitur. Legitimè accusare difficile est, neque id ab unoquoque præstari potest: nam in legitimis accusationibus requiruntur testes & probationes. Præterea, non possunt legitimæ accusationes institui nisi coram Magistratibus aut concione Populi. Calumniæ nul-

Vindiciæ contra tyrannos: sive de Principis in Populum, Populique in Principem legitimâ potestate, Stephano Junio Bruto Celta Auctore. In hoc libro infra scriptæ quæstiones explicantur. I. An subditi teneantur aut debeant Principibus obedire, si quid contra legem Dei imperent. II. An liceat resistere Principi, legem Dei abrogare volenti, Ecclesiamve vastanti. Item quibus, quomodo, & quatenus. III. An & quatenus Principi Rempublicam aut opprimenti, aut perdenti, resistere liceat. Item, quibus id, quomodo, & quo jure, permissum sit. IV. An jure possint, aut debeant vicini Principes auxilium ferre aliorum Principum subdictis, Religionis puræ causâ afflictis, aut manifestâ Tyrannide oppressis.

De jure Magistratuum in subditos, & officio subditorum erga Magistratus. Tractatus brevis & perspicuus his turbulentis temporibus, utrique ordini apprimè necessarius.

The former of these treatises is dedicated by the Editor, who calls himself Cono Supertantius Vasco, to all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors of Republics, and has the following miserable copy of verses prefixed to it, by L. Scribonius Spinter.

Contemptor superûm *Maculosi* nomine notus
Velleris * Etruscus Scurra, sophista loquax;
Arte malâ, populi Harpyas sævosque Tyrannos
Instituit, pestis maxima Christiandum.
Junius hoc Reges veros, Proceresque libello
Efformat, Populos et sua jura docet.
Nempe caput magno civili in corpore Reges,
Corporis, & Populum cætera membra, facit.
Membra sed ut languent capiti adversantia, sanum
Tusce, erit anne caput, quod sua membra premit?
Nomine reque patres, justitiæque duces
Sint igitur Reges Populis re, ut fœdere, leges,
Totus ad exemplum regis componitur orbis,
Rex quoque sic Populi se sciat esse caput.
Hunc veteri Reges referant de more triumphum,
Quod Patriæ Patres, quod Populo socii.

Concerning the author of this book, i. e. *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*, which has made a great noise in the world, the curious may see a Dissertation by Mr. Bayle, p. 317 of the last volume of the General Historical and Critical Dictionary: and a Critique upon that Dissertation, by another hand.

* *A rotten Sheep*, the Poetaster means, it is supposed.

lum

lum certum habent locum: quòd vel in foro, vel hinc inde per plateas, per fonſtrinas, & inter comeſſationes de hominibus ſpargantur; et locum habent plerumque in Rebus publicis male inſtitutis, in quibus non extat ordinata quædam ratio accuſandi. Quo fit ut qui Rempublicam recte inſtituere velit, in id præ cæteris incumbere debeat, quò liberum tutumque ſit legitimè civem quemcunque accuſare: atque id ubi legibus inſtitutum fuerit, ferri nullo modo debent calumniæ, ſed puniendi ſunt calumniatores, quòd cùm liceret eum quem calumniantur legitimè & ſine ſuſpicione accuſare, id non faciant, ſed clandeſtinas calumnias ſpargant. Quod ſi hiſce rebus in Rebus publicis non recte proſpectum ſit, multa mala patrantur, quoniam locus datur calumniis, & cives ob delicta non caſtigantur, ſed tantùmmodo perturbantur & ad calumniatores odio proſequendos incitantur; undè ſeditiones & turbæ in Republicâ ortum habent. Et in Republicâ quidem Romanorum huic rei optime erat proſpectum; quo factum eſt ut quandoque magna pericula, quæ Reipublicæ impendebant, propter calumnias excitata, juſtâ accuſatione & defenſione averſa fuerint. Exemplum proponam et libro ſexto Titi Livii. Furii Camilli virtus, liberatâ urbe a Gallorum obſidione, apud cives Romanos tantopere innotuerat, ut cæterorum nemo eſſet qui illi non honorem quovis loco & tempore deferret. Solus Manlius Capitolinus hunc honorem illi atque gloriam invidebat, putabatque ſe conſervato Capitolio æque bene de Republicâ meritum, neque etiam virtute bellicâ illo eſſe inferiorem. Eâ invidiâ commotus cum apud Patres illum in odium trahere non poſſet, ad Plebem ſe convertit, & apud eam de Camillo cæteriſque Patribus varia conqueri cæpit. Inter cætera autem aſſerebat, aurum quod civitas contribuiſſet ut ſe a Gallis redimerit, Gallis rurſum ademptis, apud primores Patrum conſervari; quod quidem ſi recuperaretur, ſufficere ad liberandam ære alieno plebem. Quibus verbis fides a multitudine habebatur, augebaturque Manlii exiſtimatio tantopere, ut ad illum jam concurſus fierent, liberèque per urbem tumultuari inciperet. Quâre cum Patres vehementer commoti eſſent, ac ſuſpicarentur nequid inde gravius oriretur, creant Dictatorem, eique mandant ut cognitâ eâ cauſâ Manlii impetum coerceret. Dictator viatore ad Manlium miſſo illi diem dicit. Comparuit ille ad tribunal ingenti plebis agmine comitatus. Cumque jam conveniſſent, ſenatuſque Dictatorem, Plebs Manlium, ut ducem ſuum in comitiâ intuerentur; Dictator, ſilentio facto, ex Manlio quæſivit, apud quem et patribus theſaurus ille cuſtodiretur? ſenatum enim æque atque Plebem id cognoſcere velle. Ad id vero cum Manlius nihil certi reſponderet, ſed ſubterfugia quærendo aſſereret non eſſe opus ut ea quæ ipſe ſciret publicè aperiret, a Dictatore in vincula juſſus eſt: atque ita ipſius calumnias compeſcens, tumultus excitatos ſedavit, & inſontes Patres ſuſpicione liberavit. Quod certè non tam facile præſtitiſſet, ſi non fuiſſet Romæ

hoc

hoc liberæ accuſationis generi præſidium. E contra autem in Florentinorum Republicâ, quæ olim & libera & præpotens fuit, nunc Ducum Florentinorum imperio paret, neglecta iſthæc liberè accuſandi præſidia, & calumniis conceſſa libertas, teſte eodem hoc noſtro Machiavello, plurimum ſemper nocuit, & eam Rempublicam tandem etiam evertit. Nam quicunque e civibus Florentinis aliquid magni pro patriâ geſſiſſent, ii omnes propter invidiam inimicorum calumniis obnoxii fuerunt; et de uno ſpargebatur, quod pecuniam publicam in ſuos uſus convertiſſet; de alio quod corruptus muneribus hoſtem non viciſſet; aut quod ambitionis cauſâ hoc aut illud perpetraſſet. Ex quibus clandeſtina odia, & ex odio inimicitiæ factiones, & tandem ſeditiones & tumultus orti, quibus tandem everſa fuit Republica. Quæ omni evitari potuiſſent, ſi Florentiæ ſtatuta quædam atque leges extitiſſent per quas legitime accuſare reos & calumnias vitare licuiſſet. Nam quicunque accuſati rei, ſive damnati, ſive abſoluti fuiſſent, Rempublicam certè non evertiſſent: neque tutum fuiſſet tot inſtituere accuſationes, quot calumniæ de variis civibus ſparſæ fuerunt. Exemplum unum idem Machiavellus adducit de Joanne Guicciardino, qui copiarum Florentinarum ductor Luccam obſedit, eamque re malè aut imprudenter geſtâ, nequivit occupare. Quo factum eſt ut de eo ſparſa fama fuerit, quod a Luccenſibus corruptus urbem expugnare lubens noluerit. Quæ calumnia ab ejus adverſariis aucta atque approbata, Guiociardinum furiis propemodum exagitavit. Nam etſi ſe ipſum in vincula tradere vellet, ut ſe purgaret a crimine quod impingebatur, tamen eam ſuſpicionem a ſe removere non potuit; ob eam ſcilicet cauſam, quod Florentiæ non eſſet ratio quædam legitima audiendarum accuſationum & defenſionum & calumnias puniendi. Itaque ortæ indignationes & odia inter ipſius familiares, qui erant totius Reipublicæ potentiſſimi, & eos qui tales, calumnias ſpargebant, eo uſque proceſſerunt, ut cum ob hanc rem, tum ob alia quædam, Reipublicæ ruina ſubſecuta ſit. Itaque orandus Deus Optimus Maximus ut nos a calumniatoribus conſervet & cuſtodiat. Vale.

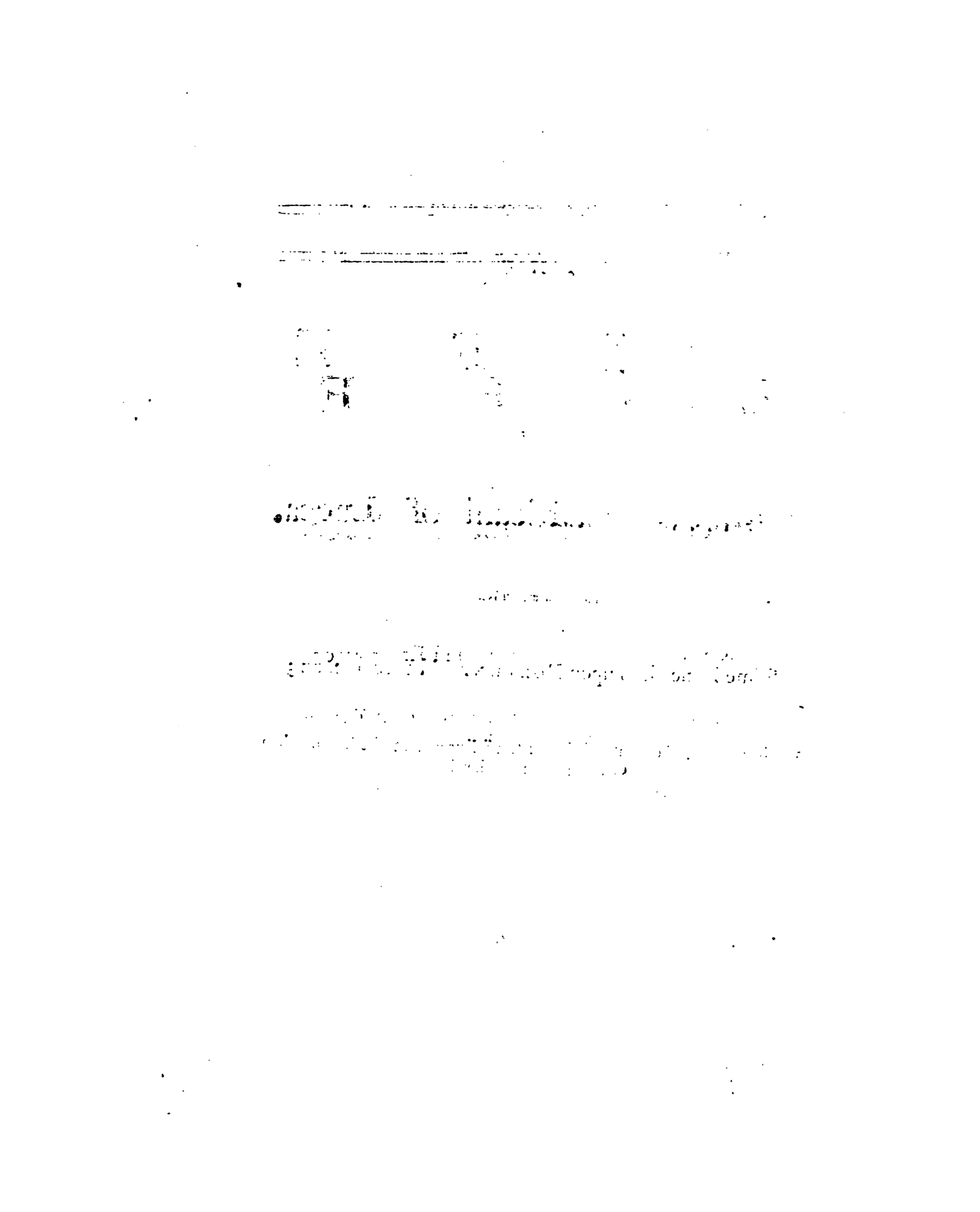
THE

THE LIFE OF Castruccio Castricani of Lucca.

To which are prefixed,

Some Reflections upon FORTUNE and PRUDENCE;

With a Short Account of the State of Europe, at the Time when CASTRUCCIO flourished.



THE

LIFE

OF

Caſtruccio Caſtracani of Lucca.

To which are prefixed

Some Reflections upon FORTUNE and PRUDENCE;

With a ſhort Account of the State of Europe, at the Time when CASTRUCCIO flouriſhed.

REFLECTIONS upon FORTUNE and PRUDENCE.

AS the words *Fortune* and *Prudence* have already frequently occurred in a ſort of contradiſtinction to each other, and will often occur again in the courſe of Machiavel's works, it may not be amiſs here, once for all, to give the Reader a ſketch of what the greateſt men have ſaid and thought upon thoſe Subjects: and this cannot be done in a better or more conciſe manner than in Mr. Bayle's remarks upon the Article *Timoleon*, as laid down by the Authors of the General Dictionary, which though very uſeful, is yet ſo expenſive a work, and in ſo few hands, that it may not be judged altogether impertinent,

pertinent, perhaps, nor entertaining, to make that curious article more public, and to collect some other strictures of the same kind into one point of view: how can such reflections be inserted anywhere more properly, than before the Life of a person, in whose actions, conduct, and success, both Fortune and Prudence seem to have had so considerable a share, as in those of Timoleon Camillus?

Mr. Bayle, therefore, speaking of Timoleon, says, "We must not forget his acknowledgement that his great exploits were the work of the Gods, in favour of Fortune, a piece of good luck, and not the effect of his prudence [a]." This will give us an opportunity of introducing some Collections relating to what the Ancients have said concerning the influence of Fortune: and we shall particularly refute those who maintain, that there is no other source of prosperity than Prudence, nor of adversity than Imprudence. But it must not be imagined that I refute this by arguments which may not be contested. It is not possible in a subject of this nature, to carry the Reader to evidence or demonstration. The most we can arrive at are strong probabilities; and it is no small objection to the point which I defend, that Cardinal Richlieu, whose abilities were astonishing, would not allow of any other cause of ill success but Imprudence."

Upon this passage, Mr. Bayle observes from Plutarch, "That Timoleon, both in his familiar letters to his friends at Corinth, and in the several speeches he made to the people of Syracuse, always returned thanks to the Gods, for that they being determined to deliver Sicily from slavery, had been pleased to make use of him as an instrument for that purpose, to give him the glory of it: and having built a Chapel in his house, he not only consecrated it to Fortune, but sacrificed to that Deity, and what is more, dedicated his whole house to *Sacred Fortune*" [b]. Cornelius Nepos relates the same thing, "Nihil unquam neque insolens, neque glorioſum, ex ore ejus exiit: qui quidem, cum suas laudes audiret prædicari, nunquam aliud dixit, quam se eâ re maximas Diis gratias agere atque habere, quòd cum Siliciam recreare constituissent, tum se potissimum ducem esse voluissent. Nihil enim rerum humanarum sine Deorum numine agi putabat. Itaque suæ domi sacellum αὐτομάτου constituerat, idque sanctissimè colebat" [c]. i. e. "He never uttered the least insolent or boasting expression; and when he heard himself commended, he only said, he thanked the Gods in the most grateful manner, that when they had decreed to deliver Sicily, they thought him worthy of being at the head of that Enterprize.

[a] Plutarch in the Life of Timoleon.
[b] Ibid.
[c] Cornel. Nepos in the Life of Timoleon.

For

For he was of opinion, that nothing was done in the World without their direction; and therefore he erected a Chapel to Fortune in his own house, and paid the highest reverence to her.

This Chapel which he built to Fortune in his own house, and the strict devotion he paid to that Deity, ought to convince us, that he spoke according to his perswasion; when he ascribed his successes, not to his own Prudence, but the favour of Heaven. It is highly probable, on the other hand, that several others, who have made the same acknowledgements, had no view to the duties of Religion, I mean, the gratitude with which we ought to attribute our happiness to Divine Providence, and not to our own wisdom. Many have spoken in this manner merely out of Policy, and either with a view to soften envy, or to inspire their friends with more confidence in them [*d*]. Let us quote an Author that was capable of making very judicious reflections. "The greatest obstacles, says he [*e*], which the Founders of Sects and Empires have met with in their designs, is this natural aversion that men have to submit to one another, in owning any superiority of merit or abilities. It has always been a certain occasion of a man's being excluded from all kinds of pre-eminence, if he should pretend or shew any opinion that he merited it. Thus these great men have at all times taken especial care not to boast of the extraordinary qualities, which they have received from the bounty of nature: and have observed this rule with so much caution, that whilst others have admired them, they seemed to be the only persons that were ignorant of their own desers. But the most happy artifice which they have made use of to avoid provoking the pride of mankind, or seeming to trespass upon their independence, whilst they were reducing them to slavery, was, when these celebrated Impostors led the people to ascribe whatever was excellent and extraordinary in them, to some secret communication which they had with the Gods. By this address their superior qualities did not disgust any one, because they were not regarded any longer as personal merit in them, which men are naturally shy of owning in others, but as the effect of good Fortune and chance, or the favour of Heaven, which is bestowed equally on the worthy and unworthy, and is no disparagement to any other person. It was upon this consideration, no doubt, that Cicero finding himself under a necessity of entering into a detail of his conduct with regard to Catiline, in order to justify some person, who had been accused of

[*d*] See Plutarch, *in præceptis Reipup. gerend.* where he particularly mentions Timoleon.

[*e*] Abbé St. Real *de l' usage de l' histoire. Disc.* VII. p. 223.

being

being engaged in his conſpiracy; and perceiving clearly that an account of that matter, ſo glorious to himſelf, would be nauſeous if it came from his own mouth, and more likely to alienate the affections of his audience than to gain them, endeavoured to make that relation leſs odious, by aſcribing, at his very entrance upon the Subject, all the wonderful things he had done on that occaſion to Divine Inſpiration." "O Dii immortales, (vobis enim tribuam quæ veſtra ſunt, nec vero poſſum meo tantum ingenio dare, ut tot res, tantas, tam varias, tam repentinas, in illâ turbulentiſſimâ tempeſtate Reipublicæ meâ ſponte diſpexerim) vos profecto animum meum tunc conſervandæ patriæ cupiditate incendiſtis; vos me ab omnibus cæteris cogitationibus ad unam ſalutem Reipublicæ contuliſtis; vos denique in tantis tenebris erroris & inſcientiæ lumen prætuliſtis menti meæ." i. e. "O immortal Gods! (for to ye alone I aſcribe all the glory, as I moſt juſtly ought to do, and preſume not ſo much upon my own abilities, as to think that I could of myſelf have provided againſt ſo many, ſo great, ſo different, and ſuch unforeſeen accidents, as attended that dreadful ſtorm with which this State was then agitated) ye alone inſpired my Soul with that vehement deſire of ſaving my country; ye alone diverted me from all other purſuits, that I might apply myſelf wholly to the ſafety of the Republic; ye, laſtly, darted into my mind that ray of light, in the midſt of darkneſs, and error, and ignorance [*f*]." If theſe reflections of the Abbé St. Real be judicious, thoſe of Coſtar are no leſs ſo, when he examines the reaſons that induced Sylla to take the name of *Fortunate*. He does not approve of the opinion of Girac, who ſays, "In truth it was great moderation in ſo illuſtrious a General, to aſcribe to Fortune ſo many great victories, which might have been attributed to his own abilities. However, it was an inſtance of conſummate prudence and excellent policy in him to elude envy, which commonly attacks thoſe that raiſe themſelves above others. The wiſe men amongſt the Ancients always feared the Goddeſs Nemeſis, who diverted herſelf in reducing and deſtroying every thing that ſeemed too much exalted [*g*]." Let us hear Coſtar's reflections upon his Antagoniſt. "As for Sylla, it was not the defeat of Mithridates, that made him take the name of *Fortunate* [*h*]. After he had ſubdued all the enemies to his grandeur and perſon, and created himſelf Dictator by his own authority, he made in public a long and ample recital of the felicities, which had always attended his actions, both civil and military; and afterwards declared, that as an acknowledgement of the favours which Heaven had beſtowed upon him, he was reſolved for the future to add the title of *Fortunate* to his other

[*f*] Pro Sylla.
[*g*] Girac, *Remarques ſur les Entretiens de Coſtar*, *p.* 255.
[*h*] Plutarch, *in the Life of Sylla.*

names.

names. That this aroſe from his moderation and deſire to ſoften envy, as Mr. Girac thinks, I cannot perſuade myſelf to believe. I imagine rather that it was in order to inſpire his party with more confidence, and his enemies with greater terror. In ſhort, we are apt to be more apprehenſive of a great man's good Fortune, than of his virtue: for virtue is a cauſe merely human, the extent and meaſure of which we know; but Fortune is a Divine cauſe, the power of which hath no bounds. It is likewiſe for this reaſon, that we truſt more to the protection of the fortunate than the virtuous; and the Lord Chancellor Bacon was of opinion accordingly, that Julius Cæſar could not have inſpired ſo much courage into his Pilot, who was terrified at the ſtorm, by ſaying to him, *Fear nothing, thou carrieſt Cæſar and his virtue*; as he did by this confident expreſſion, "*Fear nothing, thou carrieſt Cæſar and his Fortune* [*i*]." The beſt way, in my opinion, is to impute to Sylla, both the motives that are mentioned by Girac, and rejected by Coſtar, as well as that aſſigned by the latter: for it is certain the Goddeſs Nemeſis was much feared amongſt the Pagans, and deemed to be the enemy in particular of thoſe that were elated with pride and ſucceſs. People were perſuaded, that the reverſe of fortune in the General Timotheus, aroſe from his not acknowledging the obligations which he lay under to his Stars. Let us quote what Plutarch ſays upon this occaſion. "Timotheus the Son of Conon, (as thoſe that envied him and wiſhed him ill, aſcribed his great actions to the favour of Fortune, and made pictures of Fortune bringing him cities ready taken in her nets, whilſt he lay aſleep) was extremely diſpleaſed and exaſperated at thoſe that did it, as they deprived him, he ſaid, of the glory that was due to him: upon which occaſion, one day when he returned from a war, in which he had been ſucceſsful, after he had publicly given the people an account of what he had done in that expedition, he ſaid, "*Athenian Lords, Fortune had no ſhare in what I have related to you.*" The Gods were ſo offended, at this fooliſh and ungrateful piece of vanity in Timotheus, that he never afterwards performed any action of importance, but every thing turned againſt him in ſuch a manner, that he became generally hated by the people, and at laſt was baniſhed the City [*k*]." Let us cite alſo, what the ſame Author informs us of concerning the contrary affectation in Sylla. The facts are curious. "Sylla not only bore patiently with thoſe who repreſented him as ſingularly favoured by Fortune, but likewiſe encouraged that opinion, and boaſting of it as a ſpecial favour of the Gods, aſcribed the glory of all his actions

[*i*] Coſtar Apologie, p. 317, 318.
[*k*] Plutarch, *in the Life of Sylla.*

to

to Fortune only [*l*]: but whether he did it out of vain glory, or whether it was his real opinion, that the Gods guided him in every thing, perhaps is not an eaſy matter to determine; though he himſelf ſays, in his Commentaries, that of the enterprizes which he ſeemed to have well deliberated upon, thoſe which he hazarded according as opportunity offered, contrary to what had been before reſolved in his Council, were the moſt ſucceſsful. Beſides, when he ſays, that *he was born rather for Fortune than war*, he ſeems to own that he owed his ſucceſſes more to Fortune than to his own merit. It appears then, that he entirely ſubmitted himſelf to Fortune upon all occaſions, and acknowledged that he wholly depended upon her; ſince he aſcribes to a ſingular favour of the Gods, the union and harmony in which he lived with his father-in-law Metellus, who was a man equal to him in dignity and authority [*m*]." See likewiſe ſome other particulars in Plutarch [*n*], which he extracted from the Commentaries of that Roman General; and obſerve that he ſuppoſes, that a man, out of rhotomontade, may aſcribe to Fortune whatever great actions he performs. " Whether, ſays he, Sylla ſaid this out of vanity, *or* really had that opinion of Providence [*o*]." But I do not clearly ſee the propriety of ſuch a disjunctive: for if this great General did not believe in effect, that the Gods were favourable to him, it muſt be owned, he might ſtill ſay ſo for the political reaſons above-mentioned. However, I cannot think he could ſpeak thus out of vanity and rhodomontade, ſince he was not one of thoſe inſolent and vain-glorious Romancers, who ground their boaſts on mere extravagancies, and are well ſatisfied if they do but talk. Such a man as Sylla could not be ignorant that he leſſened the merit of his prudence and valour, in proportion as he confeſſed that Fortune was the cauſe of his victories. How then could he acknowledge this out of a principle of vanity, ſuppoſing he was guilty of falſity? I add this, becauſe Plutarch's disjunctive ſuppoſes, that Sylla would not have ſpoken in this manner out of vain glory, if he was perſuaded of what he ſaid. It ſeems, therefore, as if the Hiſtorian ſhould have joined the two things which he has ſeparated. He ſhould have ſaid, that Sylla being perſuaded, that Heaven had favoured him with its choiceſt bleſſings, affected to boaſt of it, and made it a matter of bravado: for as all things are abuſed, it is certain, that if, on one hand, wiſe men humble themſelves in acknowledging they were only the inſtruments of Providence;

[*l*] Though Salluſt ſays, " atque illi feliciſſimo omnium ante civilem victoriam, nunquam ſuper induſtriam fortuna fuit; multique dubitavêre fortior an felicior eſſet." *de Bello Jugurth.*

[*m*] Plutarch, in the Life of Sylla.

[*n*] Ibid.

[*o*] " Ειτε κομπῳ χρωμενος, ειτ' οντως ιχων τῃ δοξῃ προς τον θειον." *ibid.*

on

on the other hand, proud men are puffed up, when they think God was pleaſed to make uſe of them for the execution of his deſigns. They regard themſelves as his favourites, and thence forward imagine, they are ſuperior to the reſt of mankind. Conſider, that St. Paul had occaſion for a great corrective, and a ſharp mortification, to prevent him from being puffed up with the excellence of the Revelations, which had been communicated to him by a ſpecial privilege. Let us, however, ſay ſomething in favour of Plutarch. Perſons who believed nothing of what they ſaid of Fortune, might nevertheleſs aſcribe their greateſt exploits to it; and this out of vain-glory and preſumption. They might be influenced by the general opinion, that thoſe who believe God is the director of all things, will admire his favourites, and put confidence in them. A modern author affirms, that "a certain boaſt of Tiberius [*p*], was rather politic than vain: for it is of great importance to a Prince, either to be fortunate or to be thought ſo. And this ſtood him inſtead of virtue or merit amongſt his Subjects [*q*], and ſo much the rather, as they thought their felicity depended upon his. Thus Tiberius, who perfectly underſtood all the arts of government, loudly proclaimed this piece of good fortune that had befallen his family, and ſaid, that nothing like it had ever happened before to any Roman Emperor. By this means he endeavoured to procure himſelf the greater reverence from the people, by inducing them to believe that he was a favourite of the Gods [*r*]."

If one was inclined to collect here all that the Ancients have ſaid concerning the influence of Fortune, one might write a whole book, and a large one too, upon this Subject: but I only propoſe to gather ſome gleanings in this ſpacious field. One may ſay, that there is nothing better eſtabliſhed in the books of the Ancients, than this hypotheſis, that the induſtry and prudence of mankind have leſs ſhare in events, than their good or bad Fortune; that is, an unforeſeen concurrence, or a diſpoſition of circumſtances which does not depend upon us. *Sunt in his quidem virtutis opera magna, ſed majora fortunæ; In theſe things the force of Virtue is great, indeed, but that of Fortune greater.* Thus Pliny ſpeaks [*ſ*], after he has recited a number of great events: but who doubts but he would have ſaid the ſame thing concerning an infinite number of other particular hiſtories? He aſſerts pretty much the ſame thing a little after, though in a more concealed manner, *Plurimum*

[*p*] The Wife of Druſus, the Son of Tiberius, being delivered of two ſons, Tiberius ſaid in a full Senate, that ſince the beginning of the Empire, no perſon of his rank had been favoured with the like good fortune.

[*q*] "Quibuſdam fortuna pro virtutibus fuit." *Tacit. Hiſt.* 2.

[*r*] "Cœlæſtis favor & quædam inclinatio numinis oſtenderetur." *Hiſt.* 4. See Mr. Amelot de la Houſſaye in his *Tiberius, Cap.* 83.

[*ſ*] Lib. VII. Cap. 28.

refert in quæ cujuſque virtus tempora inciderit; *It is of great importance in what times the virtue of any man happens to appear.* Though Quintus Curtius had not expreſsly told us, " that the victories of Alexander were not ſo much the reſult of valour, as the work of fortune [*t*], his narration alone would have ſufficiently proved it. Cornelius Nepos affirms that, in the diviſion of military glory, Fortune has the greateſt ſhare. " Jure ſuo nonnulla ab imperatore miles, plurima verò fortuna vindicat, ſeque his plus valuiſſe, quam ducis prudentiam verè poteſt prædictare [*u*]." i. e. " The Soldiers have a juſt claim to ſome part from the conduct of their General, but Fortune to a much greater; ſince ſhe may truly ſay, her influence has more effect than the General's prudence." Spanheim thinks [*x*] theſe words are only an imitation of the following. " Nam bellicas laudes ſolent quidam extenuare verbis, eaſque detrahere ducibus, communicare cum militibus..... maximam vero partem quaſi ſuo jure fortuna ſibi vindicat, & quicquid eſt proſperè geſtum id pene omne ducit ſuum." i. e. " For ſome are wont to extenuate the glory of war, and to deprive the Generals of it, and communicate it to the Soldiers..... but Fortune claims the greater part of it, as it were by right, and challenges as her own almoſt all that is proſperouſly and happily effected [*y*]." Cicero, who ſpeaks thus to Cæſar, had no reaſon to fear offending him; for no perſon had more ſtrongly acknowledged the dominion of Fortune than Cæſar. We ſee in Spanheim, what Livy, Diodorus Siculus, and ſome others, have owned concerning that dominion, either in expreſs words, or by declaring that we ought to judge of the merit of perſons, not by the ſucceſs of their actions, which is entirely under the power of Fortune, but by means which they made uſe of. None of the Poets have ſpoken more to the purpoſe, than Juvenal on this head;

> Si fortuna volet, fies de rhetore Conſul;
> Si volet hæc eadem, fies de Conſule Rhetor.
> Ventidius quid enim? quid Tullius? anne aliud quam
> Sidus & occulti miranda potentia fati? *Sat.* vii. v. 197.

i. e. " If Fortune pleaſes ſhe will make a Conſul of a Rhetorician, or a Rhetorician of a Conſul. For what raiſed Ventidius or Tully, but their Stars and the wonderful power of fate?"—The ſame Poet ſays, elſewhere,

[*t*] " Fatendum eſt quum plurimum virtuti debuerit, plus debuiſſe fortunæ, quam ſolus omnium mortalium in poteſtate habuit." *Quint. Curt. Lib.* X. *Cap.* 5.
[*u*] In the Life of Thraſybulus.
[*x*] Spanheim ſur les Cæſars de Julien, p. 428.
[*y*] Cicero pro Marcello.

Plus

Plus etenim fati valet hora benigni,
Quam ſi nos Veneris commendet epiſtola Marti,
Et Samiâ genetrix quæ delectatur arenâ. *Sat.* xvi. v. 4.

i. e. "One lucky hour is worth more than a letter of recommendation to Mars from Venus or his mother."—The opinion of Princes is of greater weight here than that of poets. Let us quote an anſwer, therefore, of the younger Dionyſius. "Why did not you maintain yourſelf in the Kingdom which your father left you?" ſaid Philip of Macedon to him. "Do not be ſurprized at that, replied he, for my father who left me every thing elſe, did not leave me his Fortune, by which he acquired it [z]."

To theſe quotations I might add the ſentiments of ſeveral modern authors, but ſhall content myſelf with a paſſage from Montaigne: "It is generally obſerved in the actions of mankind, ſays he, that Fortune, to ſhew us how great a power ſhe has in affairs, and that ſhe takes pleaſure in humbling our preſumption, not being able to make weak men wiſe, make them proſperous in ſpite of virtue, and is moſt ready to favour thoſe deſigns, where the ſcheme is more entirely her own." Hence we daily ſee that perſons of the ſmalleſt abilities amongſt us, accompliſh very great enterprizes both public and private. And as Sirannez, the Perſian, made anſwer to thoſe who were aſtoniſhed how his affairs ſucceeded ſo ill, when his deſigns were laid with ſo much prudence, "that he was the ſole maſter of his deſigns, but that Fortune was miſtreſs of the ſucceſs;" ſo theſe men might anſwer in the ſame manner, but in a contrary ſenſe; moſt of the things in this world are done of themſelves,

Fata viam inveniunt,
Fate finds the way.

The event often authorizes a very abſurd piece of conduct. Our interpoſition is, as it were, but a thing of courſe, and more commonly in conſideration of cuſtom and example, than any reaſon. When I have been amazed at the greatneſs of an action, and informed by thoſe who brought it about, of their motives and means, I have found only very common counſels, which are, perhaps, the moſt ſecure and adapted to practice, if not for ſhew..... Good or ill luck are, in my opinion, two Sovereign powers. It is imprudence to ſuppoſe that human wiſdom can do the work of Fortune; and vain are his attempts, who preſumes to ſecure both the cauſes and conſequences, and to conduct the progreſs

[z] Ælian, Div. Hiſt. Lib. XII. cap. lx.

of the action; vain more eſpecially in warlike undertakings [*a*].—Notwithſtanding all the authorities I have cited, it may yet be ſaid, that ſeveral writers have maintained that every man is the artificer of his own Fortune, and that he is happy or unhappy as he acts wiſely or imprudently. Plautus has laid down this Maxim:

LY. Ne opprobra pater. Multa eveniunt homini quæ volt quæ ne volt.
PH. Mentire ædepol gnate: atque id nunc facis haut conſuetudine.
Nam ſapiens quidem pol ipſe fingit fortunam ſibi.
Eo ne multa quæ nevolt eveniunt niſi fictor malus.

LY. Don't reproach me, father. Many things happen whether we will or not. PH. You aſſert a falſity, ſon, contrary to cuſtom: for a wiſe man makes his own fortune. And therefore many diſagreeable events cannot befal a man, except he is a bad artiſt.—*Plaut. in Trinum. Act.* II. *Scen.* 2. *v.* 80.

This maxim is likewiſe cited, as from an ancient Poet, in a diſcourſe aſcribed to Salluſt, and entitled *Oratio I. ad Cæſarem de ordinandâ Republicâ.*—" Res docuit id verum eſſe quod in carminibus Appius ait, *fabrum eſſe ſuæ quemque fortunæ*, i. e. " The thing ſhewed that to be true which Appius ſays in his poems, viz. that every man is the Artificer of his own Fortune." Cornelius Nepos has cited it twice in the Life of Pomponius Atticus. " Itaq; hic fecit ut verè dictum videatur, *ſui cuique mores fingunt fortunam* . . . . . quantum poterimus rerum exemplis lectores docebimus, ſicut ſupra ſignificavimus, *ſuos cuique mores plerumque fortunam conciliare.*" i. e. " He ſhewed therefore the truth of that ſaying, *every man's conduct forms his fortune.* . . . . . We ſhall convince the Reader, as far as we are able by examples, of what we intimated above, *that every man's conduct for the moſt part makes his Fortune.*—Thoſe who have exclaimed ſo much againſt Theophraſtus [*b*] for commending the Maxim, *that Fortune, and not Wiſdom, is the directreſs of Life*, did not differ much in opinion from Plautus. And what ſhall we ſay of Juvenal, who, after he has ſo ſtrongly preached up the omnipotence of Fortune in his ſeventh Satire, ſays in his tenth, that all depends upon Prudence?

Nullum numen abeſt, ſi ſit Prudentia; ſed te
Nos facimus Fortuna Deam, cœloque locamus.

[*a*] Montaigne's Eſſays, Book III. Chap. 8.

[*b*] Vexatur idem Theophraſtus & libris & ſcholis omnium philoſophorum, quod in Calliſthene ſuo laudaret illam ſententiam, *vitam regit fortuna, non Sapientia.* Cicero. Tuſc. Diſput. Lib. V.

Fortune

Fortune was never worſhip'd by the wiſe;
But ſet aloft by fools, uſurps the ſkies. DRYDEN.

Some moderns have approved what Plautus ſays. Galeotto degli Oddi made an Oration upon this Subject before the Academy of the *Inſenſati* at Perugia [c]. Regnier maintains the ſame opinion in one of his Satires.

Nous ſommes du bonheur de nous meſmes artiſans,
Et fabriquons nos jours ou faſcheux ou plaiſans.
La fortune eſt à nous, & n'eſt mauvaiſe ou bonne,
Que ſelon qu'on la forme, ou bien qu' ſe la donne.

i. e. "We are the artificers of our own fortunes, and make our days either pleaſant or diſagreeable ourſelves. Fortune is ſubject to us, and is good or bad accordingly as we think proper to make her [d]." Monſieur de Calliere in his treatiſe concerning the fortune of perſons of quality, affirms that, *our good and bad Fortune depends upon our conduct* [e]. He declares in his Dedication, "that he deſigns to break down the Idols of Fortune, to demoliſh her temples and altars, and to deprive her of the ſounder part of her Devotees." Though Mr. Silhon ſays, "that Fortune is a Phantom which Religion has aboliſhed, and the invention of which was not uſeleſs; ſince the unhappy and imprudent impute the cauſes of their miſery, and the effects of their ill conduct, to it [f]; yet I ſhall reckon him as one of thoſe who approve of Plautus's Maxim: for he does not pretend, that in order to ſucceed in an enterprize, it is ſufficient to act according to the rules of Prudence, and to have a good cauſe. He acknowledges a mixture of good and evil Fortune diſperſed by the hand of Providence, without any neceſſary connection with our meaſures or intentions. There has lately been publiſhed a curious book, entitled, *Reflections upon Lotteries* [g]: the Author of which is undoubtedly of Plautus's opinion; or, to ſpeak

[c] See Lancilotti in his book intitled, *Chi l'indovina e Savio*, p. 231.
[d] Regnier. *Sat.* XIV. *Verſ.* 96. And yet he had ſaid before

Or ce n'eſt point pour eſtre eſleve de fortune,
Aux ſages, comme aux foulx c' choſe aſſez commune.
Elle avance un chacun ſans raiſon & ſans choix,
Les foulx ſont aux echecs les plus proches aux Rois.

[e] This is the title of the firſt Chapter.
[f] Silhon *Miniſtre d'Etat. Liv.* I. *Cap.* 1. *at the beginning.*
[g] It was printed at Amſterdam in 1696.

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more properly, he does not believe that fortuitous lots favour or run croſs to certain perſons without diſtinction. It is not therefore a general opinion, that there is ſomething, I know not what, which favours or croſſes certain perſons, without any regard to their good or ill qualities, and to the means which they make uſe of to obtain their ends. But it muſt be owned that the greater number of ſuffrages is for the affirmative. Now as this is not a proof of the truth of an opinion, I wiſh ſome man of parts would examine this matter a little further, and diſcuſs what may be alledged on each ſide of the queſtion. I hope ſomebody or other will undertake this taſk; in the mean time, I ſhall here venture on a few reflections.

I. I obſerve then in the firſt place, that we muſt not believe the Pagans repreſented Fortune as a Being which diſtributed good and evil without knowing what ſhe did. They call her blind indeed [*b*]; but it was not with a view to deprive her abſolutely of knowledge: it was only to ſignify that ſhe ſhould not act with a juſt diſcernment. Thus we may ſay a Prince is blind in the diſtribution of his favours, when he either beſtows or takes them away through caprice, and without regulating himſelf according to the qualities of his Subjects. We do not pretend to ſay that he gives or takes away ſuch or ſuch a poſt from ſuch or ſuch perſons, without knowing that he does good or ill to thoſe perſons. We only intend to ſay, that he does not govern himſelf according to the rules of reaſon and juſtice, and that he determines raſhly through the impulſe of his unſettled paſſions. This is the idea which the Pagans had of Fortune. They were univerſally perſuaded, except a few Philoſophers, that the Divine Nature was a kind of Being ſplit into ſeveral individuals. They aſcribed great power to each Deity; but they did not exempt it from the imperfections of our nature; they believed it ſuſceptible of reſentment and jealouſy, literally ſpeaking; they made no ſcruple of aſſerting in their moſt ſerious writings, that a malignant and ſecret envy of the Gods oppoſed their good Fortune. "Hinc ſive invidiâ Deûm, ſive fato, rapidiſſimus procurrentis imperii curſus parum per Gallorum Senonum incurſione ſupprimitur . . . . . Indignantium voces exaudiebantur tam viridem & in flore ætatis fortunæque invidiâ Deûm ereptum eſſe rebus humanis (Alexandrum)" [*i*]. They particularly aſcribed a conduct to the Deity whom they called Fortune, which was raſh, unſettled, and capricious to the laſt degree. For that reaſon they erected an infinite number of Temples to her, and honoured her in a peculiar manner, in order to avert the fatal effects of her capricious humour. They did not believe that ſhe wanted eyes, ears, or thought. The Philoſophers who acknow-

[*b*] Spargitque manu, munera cæca, pejora fovens, &c. *Seneca.*
[*i*] L. Florus, *Lib.* I. *Cap.* 13. & Q. Curt. *Lib.* X. *Cap.* 5.

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ledged the unity of the Godhead called it Fortune, when they conſidered it only as a diſpenſer of good and evil, which did not conform itſelf to what we call merit, conſtancy, or reaſon. But the wiſeſt amongſt them conſtantly owned, that God never acted contrary to abſolute juſtice, or without good reaſons, which he perfectly underſtood. In ſhort he tells us himſelf, that *his ways are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts.*

II. My ſecond Reflection is, that under the Goſpel diſpenſation we aſcribe all the defects to earthly goods, which the Pagans attributed to their Deity Fortune. We ſay, that the poſſeſſion of theſe goods is not a mark of merit; that it is precarious and periſhable, and greatly diſappoints thoſe that truſt in it, &c. It is eaſy to ſhew the riſe of this different manner of ſpeaking. Chriſtians acknowledge but one God, and underſtand by that word a nature Sovereignly perfect, who governs all things, and diſpenſes all events. But the Pagans laviſhed the name of God on an infinite number of Beings which were limited, imperfect, and full of ſcandalous paſſions. For this reaſon they made no ſcruple of repreſenting them as anſwerable for the irregularities of human life, when they did not diſcover the cauſe in the voluntary actions of men. Chriſtians, on the contrary, transfer to the creature all that they obſerve defective in the univerſe: they aſcribe to the quality of the benefit, what the Pagans aſcribed to the Benefactor.

III. I remark thirdly, that we cannot deny there are fortunate and unfortunate perſons; that is, according to the language of the Pagans, that there are ſome perſons with whom Fortune plays a thouſand tricks in the courſe of their affairs; whilſt ſhe ſmooths the way to others, and gives them a thouſand favourable opportunities. Trade, gaming, and the court, have always furniſhed us with inſtances of theſe things: but nothing ſhews them ſo evidently as the matter of war. Here Fortune reigns more deſpotically than in any other Province: Timoleon, Alexander [*k*], Sylla, Cæſar, and many other ancient warriors acknowledged this in the moſt ſerious manner: the moderns own it likewiſe either in their memoirs or converſation. I heard a perſon of quality ſay, that the Conſtable Urangel told him that nothing was more raſh than to hazard a battle, ſince it may be loſt by a thouſand unforeſeen accidents, even when all the meaſures have been moſt exactly obſerved to ſecure ſucceſs, which the moſt conſummate ſkill in war could ſuggeſt. Girard, Secretary to the Duke of Epernon, recites, in the long life which he wrote of that favourite, ſo many fortunate events, inde-

[*k*] Rex juſſum conſidere fecilitati ſuæ remiſit, ſibi enim ad alia gloriam concedere Deos. *Q. Curt. Lib.* VII. *Cap.* 7.—Rex fortunæ ſuæ & conſiliis ſuorum ſe uſurum eſſe reſpondet, nam & fortunam cui confidat, & conſilium ſuadentium ne quid temerè & audaciter faciat ſecuturum, *Idem ibid. Cap.* 9.

pendent

pendent of all precaution, that it is ſcarce poſſible not to own the truth of the popular opinion with relation to the fortune of certain perſons. After this, ſays the Hiſtorian, it is not to be thought ſtrange, that this Duke, amidſt the misfortunes which he laboured under in his old age, never complained of Fortune: on the contrary, ſome of his friends having once put him upon this Subject, he told them he ſhould be very ungrateful for the favours of Fortune, who had conſtantly ſmiled upon him for above Sixty years, if he ſhewed any diſcontent that ſhe left him for the ſhort time he had to live; that he had ſcarce ever ſeen a whole life fortunate, not even a life much ſhorter than his own: and that amidſt the inconſtancy of human affairs, it was no ſmall advantage to be reſerved to experience thoſe diſgraces at a time when it was ſcarce poſſible any longer to reliſh proſperity.

IV. My fourth Reflection is, that it ſeems very falſe, that what is called *good luck* depends upon prudence, and what is called *ill luck* upon imprudence. I frankly own the aſſertion of the author above cited [*l*] does not appear to me well grounded. It is not true, that a Gameſter who gains always plays better than he who loſes. It is not true, that a Merchant who grows rich, always ſurpaſſes thoſe who do not grow rich, in induſtry, care, and knowledge of trade. Every one ſees that in games of hazard, there is ſomething, they know not what, which contributes more to the winning and loſing than what depends upon the ſkill of the gameſter. There are ſome days in which the gameſter wins a great deal, not becauſe he plays with more application, or with perſons leſs ſkilful; but he has a good game, he gets the cards he wants, or the dice turn up as he deſires. Another day he meets with quite the reverſe. At the ſame ſitting he ſometimes finds a change of Fortune; he is lucky at firſt, and unlucky afterwards; he loſes in the laſt hour more than he had won in all before. Some perſons immediately diſcover whether they play with good or ill luck, and when they perceive the day is not favourable to them, they are prudent enough not to continue at play, but retire in good time.—They do this without any diſtruſt of their ſkill or abilities; but they are diffident of ſomething that does not depend upon their powers. This ſomewhat, I know not what, does not prevail ſo evidently in trade: it is certain, however, that perſons of ſmall capacity and judgment ſometimes make a vaſt profit by ſuch a trade as a man of more ſagacity and experience would not engage in. It may be ſaid in general, that thoſe who gain the greateſt wealth in trade, are not more laborious or ſkilful than many others, whoſe profits are but ſmall. The latter therefore are not ſo much favoured by Fortune as the former: conſequently

[*l*] Monſ. Calliere in his treatiſe *de la fortune des gens de qualité.*

there

there is a good and ill Fortune in human life, independent on prudence or imprudence. I do not believe that the author, whoſe opinion I am examining, would deny this with reſpect to gaming and trade: he had the Fortune only in view which perſons of quality may make in the ſervice of their Prince. If he meant only to adviſe a Gentleman always to chuſe the ſide of Prudence, I have nothing to object to his opinion; but he proceeds further: he inſiſts upon it that thoſe who are ſucceſsful, are obliged for their promotion to their prudent conduct; and that thoſe who do not make their Fortune, ought to impute it to their imprudence. This is what I do not believe. I agree that he may call that wiſe conduct which is agreeable to certain circumſtances, as to be a debauchee, a buffoon, a wag, &c. when it is the ſureſt method of pleaſing, or to ſeem to be mad, when one cannot avoid great dangers without it [*m*]. I agree that he may call every thing imprudence which is done contrary to the humour of the times; as to be a very honeſt man in a corrupt age, when there is nothing to be done but for knaves. Notwithſtanding all this, I aſſert, that the advancement or fall of great men are not generally the reſult of prudence or imprudence. Chance, fortuitous circumſtances, and fortune have a great ſhare in them. Occurrences, which were neither prepared nor foreſeen, open the way and quicken our pace. Caprice or Jealouſy, which was never dreamt of, ſtop us on a ſudden, and throw us entirely out of our way.

V. The better to confute Mr. Calliere, I muſt here introduce my fifth Reflection. It ought not to be ſaid that, all events being connected with a determinate cauſe, Fortune is a chimerical Being, and therefore we are happy or unhappy, only becauſe we foreſee, or do not foreſee, the chain of cauſes and natural effects. To ſhew that this objection has no force, I will ſuppoſe a fact not only very poſſible, but of which ſome inſtances may be produced.—A Prince lays ſiege to a town in the depth of winter: if rains, ſnow, or froſt happen, he will not take it; but if the weather be dry, and the froſt gentle, he will take it. There happen to be ſome weeks of dry weather, no rain, or ſnow; the Siege advances every day, and the town capitulates before the froſt comes.—Another Prince lays ſiege to a place in the midſt of Summer; if the Seaſon continues its ordinary courſe, he will take it: but if it rains hard for ſeveral days, if the nights are ſevere, if the Soldiers catch cold, and the bad weather occaſions diſtempers in the camp, he

[*m*] According to the old Maxim,

Inſipiens eſto cum tempus poſtulat aut res,
Stultitiam ſimulare loco prudentia ſumma eſt.

David and Brutus, and ſeveral others were of the ſame opinion. *Cornel. a Lapide in Lib.* I. *Regum Cap.* 2.

will not take it. There happens a change of the Seaſons; the Summer is cold and rainy, the trenches advance but ſlowly, the army is daily weakened by diſtempers occaſioned by the rigour of the weather, and they are obliged to raiſe the Siege. Can it be ſaid that the good ſucceſs of the firſt Siege is the reſult of prudence, and the ill ſucceſs of the ſecond of imprudence? This would be affirming two abſurdities; for in the firſt caſe, the good weather was not foreſeen, nor the bad in the ſecond: and conſequently it was not through prudence that the former was undertaken, nor the latter through imprudence. The good ſucceſs of the one therefore was owing to good Fortune, and the bad ſucceſs of the other to ill Fortune. I know well enough that if men were capable of foreſeeing rain and fair weather, it would have been an act of imprudence to attempt the ſecond Siege. Ill ſucceſs in that caſe would have been owing to a groſs blunder, and not a piece of ill Fortune. But the Sagacity of mankind does not extend ſo far, and it is not imprudence that they do not know the ſummer will be rainy. Obſerve, that there are a thouſand fortuitous circumſtances as impoſſible to be foreſeen as that, and as capable of diſappointing the beſt concerted ſchemes of war. Now as there are ſome Generals that are croſſed much oftener than others by ſuch ſort of occurrences, we may eaſily acquieſce in the popular opinion, that there are fortunate and unfortunate Generals: but let us not pretend to affirm, that the fortunate Generals are always, or almoſt always, more prudent than the unfortunate. Let us believe, on the contrary, that the latter ſometimes ſurpaſs the former in prudence and valour [*n*]. Conſult Forſterus in his notes upon a paſſage where Tacitus aſſures us, that human affairs are a continual joke [*o*]. The Commentator will there furniſh you with ſeveral illuſtrious examples, which prove that the beſt concerted ſchemes are confounded by an inviſible force, which human prudence cannot obviate. This appears more particularly in Conclaves [*p*]. And as for thoſe who pretend that every man is the Artificer of his own Fortune, you will find them ſolidly and amply confuted in a book written by Lancilotti [*q*].

Attend carefully to what I am going to ſay. Princes commonly judge of things by the ſucceſs. A man gains their favour who ſucceeds in a military enterprize; but, if he does not ſucceed, he loſes their

[*n*] One may ſay of ſeveral great Generals what Florus ſays of Sertorius, *Lib.* III. *Cap.* 22. "Vir ſummæ quidem, ſed calamitoſæ virtutis."

[*o*] "Mihi quanto plura recentium ſeu veterum revolvo, tanto magis ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obſervantur." *Annal. Lib.* III. *Cap.* 18.

[*p*] See the *Melanges de Vigneul Marville*, *tom.* II. p. 330, 331. *Dutch Edition.*

[*q*] Entitled, *Chi l'indovina e Savio, overo, La Prudenza humana fallaciſſima.* The Author, in the third Diſapanno of the ſecond book, refutes the Oration of Galeotto degli Oddi.

friendſhip

friendſhip and eſteem. Even when they know that a victory was a piece of good Fortune, and a defeat not occaſioned by the General's fault, they are more diſpoſed to prefer the conqueror to the conquered: for it is a great ground of recommendation to them, that a man is fortunate; and, on the contrary, a diſagreeable quality, to have great merit attended with misfortune. —— Since then battles are loſt and gained by unforeſeen accidents, it is evident that men fall into misfortune independently on imprudence, and make their Fortune independently on prudence. A lucky raſhneſs, you will ſay, does not deſerve the name of raſhneſs; for ſince it ſucceeded, it is a ſign that it was fitted to produce that effect. Now in what does Prudence conſiſt? Is it in making uſe of the means that are capable of conducting us to the end we aim at? My anſwer is, that in order to act prudently, we ought to *know*, that the means employed are proportioned to the end. A lucky raſh man did not know this proportion; he engages through an impetuous fury: there is nothing in this conduct which is not to be found in that of unfortunate raſh men; we cannot therefore aſcribe the ſucceſs of the attempt to Prudence, but to Fortune.——Obſerve likewiſe another thing.——It is not imprudence not to be able to arm one's ſelf beforehand againſt things, which the ſagacity of the human mind cannot diſcover; and conſequently, if a man does not riſe at Court, or if he loſes all the fortune he had made, it is not always occaſioned by imprudence. Is it poſſible to diſcover all the caprices, diſguſts, and jealouſies that are formed in the mind of a Monarch, or in that of his Miſtreſſes and favourites? Is it poſſible to unravel all the grimaces of falſe friends, to prevent their calumnies and falſe reports, which hurt without threatening? See here the conceſſion of a great Miniſter, whoſe genius was equal to his authority. " In the poſt which you are in, *ſaid Cardinal Richlieu one day to a Captain of the guards* [*r*], it is eaſy for you to know both your friends and your enemies. No diſguiſe prevents you from diſcovering them. But with regard to mine, in the poſt which I hold, I cannot penetrate into their ſentiments. They all ſpeak the ſame language to me; they all pay their court to me with the ſame zeal; and thoſe that would ruin me, if it was in their power, give me as many marks of friendſhip as thoſe that are moſt ſincerely attached to my intereſt" [*ſ*]. Hear what Regnier ſays in his fourteenth ſatire above quoted.——

" La faveur eſt bizarre, à traicter indocile,
Sans arreſt, inconſtante, & d'humeur difficile,

[*r*] Monſieur de Fabert, afterwards a Mareſchal of France.
[*ſ*] Hiſtoire du Mareſchal de Fabert, p. 51.

Avec diſcretion il la faut careſſer;
L'un la perd bien ſouvent pour la trop embraſſer,
Ou pour s'y fier trop; l'autre par inſolence,
Ou pour avoir trop peu ou trop de violence,
Ou pour ſe la promettre, ou ſe la deſnier;
En fin c'eſt un caprice eſtrange à manier.
Son amour eſt fragile, & ſe rompt comme verre,
Et fait aux plus matois donner du nez en terre."

i. e. " Favour is capricious, difficult to be managed, and inconſtant. She muſt be treated with great precaution: for ſome loſe her by careſſing her too cloſely, ſome by too much confidence, others by inſolence, or by uſing too much or too little violence, or by promiſing themſelves her good graces, or by refuſing them. In ſhort, ſhe is a capricious Being, and very hard to be managed, her love is as brittle as glaſs, and makes the wiſeſt men kiſs the ground."

VI. Let us lay it down, therefore, as a certain thing (which is my ſixth Reflection) *that Prudence is not the Sole, nor even the Principal cauſe of a man's Fortune.* There are ſome perſons fortunate, who act imprudently; and others unfortunate, though they act with prudence. The difficulty, therefore, is to know what that Fortune is, which favours certain perſons, and perſecutes others, without any regard to their merit, or the meaſures which they take. It is not removing the difficulty, to have recourſe to God: for, acknowledging him to be the general cauſe of all things, it will be aſked, whether he diſpoſes immediately, and by particular acts of his will, thoſe unforeſeen occurrences, which give ſucceſs to the deſigns of one man, and render thoſe of another abortive? If you anſwer in the affirmative, you will lay yourſelf open to all the Philoſophers, and particularly to the Carteſians, who will maintain that the conduct which you aſcribe to the Supreme Being, does not ſuit an infinite agent. He ought, they will tell you, to eſtabliſh a few general laws, and by that means to produce an infinite variety of events, without having recourſe every moment to exceptions or particular acts, which muſt unavoidably be Miracles, but yet would not be ſtiled miracles, becauſe they would be ſo frequent [*t*]. You may reply to them, that occurrences favourable to thoſe that are fortunate, and contrary to thoſe that are unfortunate, are natural conſequences of general laws: but this will not be eaſily believed. You will never perſuade me that chance produces what I am going to men——Let an hundred tickets well ſealed, be placed upon a table: let

[*t*] There are other objections drawn from morality, which may be ſeen in the words of Pontanus quoted below. See alſo *Reflexions ſur le bonheur & malheur des Lotteries, Cap.* VIII. p. 92, *& ſeq.*

ten

ten of them be blank, ten others marked with the letter A, and upon all the reſt let ſome ſentence be written. Then let two men be brought in, and ſay to one, take the firſt, the fifteenth, the twenty-firſt, the thirty-ſeventh, the forty-fourth, the ſixty-eighth, the eightieth, the eighty-third, the nintieth, and the ninty-ninth tickets. Say to another, take the third, ſixth, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, fiftieth, ſeventy-third, eighty-eighth, eighty-ninth, ninety-fifth, and hundredth. Now tell me, if the former of theſe men ſhould draw out the ten blank tickets, and the other the ten tickets marked A, can you hope to make me believe, that this is done in conſequence of the general laws of the communication of motion? Do you not perceive yourſelf that theſe twenty tickets muſt have been placed by a premeditated deſign in ſuch a certain order, that the one might fall into the hands of the firſt of theſe two men, and the other into thoſe of the ſecond?——I obſerve likewiſe, that ſtating the caſe, that certain Gameſters had always, or almoſt always, the beſt cards [*u*], and that in general, certain perſons were almoſt always favoured by fortuitous occurrences: this requires ſomething elſe beſides the natural conſequence of the communication of motion; it muſt ariſe from a particular direction and deſtination: and I ſhould chuſe rather to deny this diſtinction of good and ill fortune, with ſome learned men, than to explain it by the laws of nature only. But we reaſon here upon the hypotheſis, that there are fortunate and unfortunate perſons.

Cannot we have recourſe to occaſional cauſes, I mean to the deſires of ſome created Spirits? The Platonic Philoſophy would eaſily ſuit with ſuch an explication: but it is oppoſed by ſeveral ſtrong arguments, according to the notion which Divinity gives us of the Angelic nature. That informs us, that ſome Angels are perfectly good, and others extremely wicked, both of them endued with almoſt unlimited knowledge and power, under the general direction of God. This idea is not eaſily reconciled with the particular train of lucky or unlucky occurrences. But by confining ourſelves within mere philoſophical hypotheſes, it is eaſier to anſwer objections, if we ſuppoſe, for inſtance, that inviſible ſpirits [*x*] are more different from each other, than men are from one another; that there is a great ſubordination amongſt theſe Spirits; that there are ſome which are ſometimes good, and ſometimes bad, ſometimes in a benevolent, ſometimes in a malevolent humour,

[*u*] Obſerve this clauſe: for though there was no Providence, but only an effuſion of good and evil by chance in the Univerſe, it would happen that certain men would be in favourable circumſtances, and others in the contrary.

[*x*] They are here ſo called, in oppoſition to the human Soul, which is a ſpirit united to a viſible body.

and

and that they are fantaſtic, inconſtant, jealous, envious, and croſs each other; that their power is limited in certain reſpects, and that if they can do a very difficult thing, it does not follow that they can perform what is more eaſy. Do we not ſee country women who are ignorant of the Alphabet, and yet know a thouſand excellent ſecrets for the cure of diſeaſes? Could Archimedes, who contrived ſuch admirable machines, either ſew or ſpin? However that may be, there is no Fortune without the direction of ſome intelligent cauſe; and I cannot ſufficiently admire, that a learned man has pretended to affirm, that Fortune is neither God, nor Nature, nor Intelligence, nor Reaſon, but a certain natural and irrational impulſe [y]. "Licet diſputatum ſit, fortunam a naturâ prorſus eſſe aliam non defuere tamen qui aſſererent, etſi a naturæ moribus inſtitutiſque longe plurimum fortunâ abhorreat, ſitque ipſa inconſtans admodum & lubrica, non continua, non eadem ubique, non eorundem ſemper effectrix, non ſimiles ſibi retinens progreſſiones, non diſcriminata ſervans tempora, denique improvida ſit, repentina, inordinata, temeraria, qui ſive mores, ſive impulſus, neque naturæ conveniunt, neque rationi, quarum utriuſque propria ſit conſtantia, maturitas, ordo, menſura, regula, diſcriminatio item rerum, temporum, effetuum; non, inquam, defuere, fortunam qui aſſerant irrationalem quandam eſſe naturam, nec aliud illam denique quam naturæ impetum quendam, hoc eſt, ratione carentem agitationem naturæ quandam, in iis ipſis videlicet, quæ nec rationi ſubjiciantur naturæ, neque hominum electionibus ac conſiliis. Impetum itaque eam eſſe cenſent, quod ſit abſque ratione, feraturque ſuopte tantum agitatu atque impulſu, quodque ubi impetus dominetur, illic rationi nullus omnino relictus ſit locus, nulla prorſus autoritas aut penſitatio earum quæ gerantur rerum." i. e. "Though it be diſputed, that Fortune is wholly different from nature, yet ſome have aſſerted, that although ſhe differs very widely from the methods and laws of nature, is extremely inconſtant, fickle, unſettled, and not the ſame every where, nor productive of the ſame effects, not obſerving the ſame progreſſion or meaſure of times; in ſhort, is improvident, ſudden, diſorderly, raſh, which, whether they are laws or impulſes, are not agreeable either to nature or reaſon, the properties of both which are conſtancy, maturity, order, meaſure, rule, and diſtinction of things, times, and effects; I ſay, that notwithſtanding theſe things, ſome have aſſerted that Fortune is a certain irrational nature, in ſhort, a certain impulſe of nature, that is, a certain agitation of nature void of reaſon, in thoſe things eſpecially which are not ſubject to reaſon, or to the determination of the human will. They think it an impulſe therefore, becauſe it is void of reaſon, and always carried on by its own

[y] Jovian Pontanus *de Fortunâ*, Lib. I. p. 129, & ſeq.

power

power and weight, and becauſe where this impulſe governs there is no room nor authority left for reaſon, nor any conſideration of what is doing [z]." The reader, perhaps, will ſee for what reaſon he deprives God and nature of the acts of Fortune; and therefore, as his books are become ſo rare, I ſhall here inſert what he has ſaid upon that ſubject, viz. *Fortunam non eſſe Deum*, i. e. *that Fortune is not God*, which is the title of one of his Chapters: Here follows the Chapter itſelf.——" Quomodo enim Deus erit, ſi hæc tam ſæpe, tam inconſideratè, tam etiam iniquè, atque ex inopinato extollit ignavos, locupletat immeritos, vexat atque affligit inſontes, bonos in calamitatem adducit ac ſervitutem, pravos ſtatuit in ſolio, liberat a periculo perverſos, moderatos & honeſtos viros laboribus, periculis, ærumnis, ac miſeriis conficit? Tyrannorum hæc ſunt, non Dei, cujus eſt ſumma bonitas, abſoluta juſtitia, rectiſſimum judicium, æquiſſima rerum omnium diſpenſatio." [a] i. e. " For how can that be God, which ſo frequently, ſo inconſiderately, and even ſo unjuſtly and ſuddenly, exalts the indolent and pitiful, enriches the undeſerving, perſecutes and afflicts the innonocent, reduces the good to ſlavery and diſtreſs, raiſes the wicked to a throne, frees the vicious from danger, and overwhelms modeſt and virtuous men with labour, pain, grief, and miſery? Theſe are the actions of Tyrants, not of God, who is a Being of perfect and infinite goodneſs, abſolute juſtice, exact judgment, and governs all things in a moſt equitable manner." The following Chapter is entitled, *Fortunam non eſſe naturam*, i. e. *That Fortune is not Nature*; it contains amongſt other things, what follows, " Naturam quoque non eſſe eam hæc ipſa liquido ſatis docent, quod fortuna ipſa quidem inconſtans eſt, inordinata, varia, repentina, incerta. Contra verò, quid naturâ ipſâ ordinatius, conſtantius, certius? Cujus is eſt ordo, ea lex, ac regula, ut non niſi certis conſtitutiſque e principiis, ſuo tempore, ſuis progreſſionibus menſuriſque, tum univerſa proveniant, tum etiam ſingula quarumcunque ipſa rerum, effectionum, operum, author eſt & cauſa. Pergit natura ordine ſuo, graditur ſuis paſſibus, diſpenſat actiones ſuas cum temporibus, viribus, opibuſque ſuis utitur cum menſurâ & penſo, non fluitat, non nutat, ſtabilis eſt in officio ſuo, ſibique ſemper conſtat" [b]. i. e. " That Fortune is not nature, is ſufficiently evident from hence, that Fortune is inconſtant, diſorderly, various, ſudden, and uncertain. On the contrary, what is more conſtant, orderly, and certain than Nature? Whoſe rules and laws are ſuch, that not only all things are produced at certain ſeaſons from certain principles in their proper progreſſions and meaſures, but even every particular

[z] Jovian Pontanus *de Fortunâ*, Lib. I. p. 150, 151.
[a] Idem ibid.
[b] Idem ibid.

thing

thing with its effects, of which ſhe is the author and cauſe. Nature goes on in her own order, purſues her own courſe, diſpenſes her acts in their proper ſeaſons, makes uſe of her powers and riches with due weight and meaſure; ſhe does not fluctuate or waver, but is ſteady in her office, and always conſiſtent with herſelf" [c].

VII. My laſt Reflection is, that men are too licentious in their murmurs againſt Fortune: for they frequently impute to her what they ought to impute to their own imprudence. Homer was not ignorant of this; for he introduces his Gods complaining of this injuſtice in mankind. Read the following paſſage in Aulus Gellius, [d] " Propterea negat (Chryſippus) oportere ferri audirique homines aut nequam aut ignavos & nocentes & audaces; qui cum in culpâ & in maleficio revicti ſunt, perfugiunt ad fati neceſſitatem, tanquam in aliquod Aſylum; & quæ peſſemè fecerunt, ea non ſuæ temeritati ſed fato eſſe attribuenda dicunt. Primus autem Homerus ſapientiſſimus & antiquiſſimus poetarum dixit in hiſcæ verſibus:

Ωπποτοι οιον δη νυ Θροτοι αιτιοωνται.
Εξ ημεων γαρ φασι κακ' εμμεναι. οιδε κ' αυτοι
Σφῆσιν ατασθαλιησιν υπερ μορον αλγε' εχουσιν [e].

i. e. " Chryſippus therefore affirms, that the bad or indolent ought not to be borne with, or heard; who, when they are detected in any evil action, recur to the *neceſſity of fate*, as it were to a ſanctuary, and pretend that the horrible deeds which they have committed, ought not to be aſcribed to their own vicious conduct, but to fate. Homer, the wiſeſt and moſt ancient of all Poets, firſt remarked this, in the following verſes:

" Perverſe mankind, whoſe wills created free,
Charge all their woes on abſolute decree:
All to the dooming Gods their guilt tranſlate,
And follies are miſcalled the crimes of fate."——POPE.

La Fontaine has elegantly deſcribed this injurious manner of proceeding, in his *Reflections*, and ſome others may be found in a work

[c] Girolamo Garimberto, who lived in the ſixteenth century, wrote a treatiſe in Italian, *della Fortuna*, in which he maintains, in the tenth chapter of the firſt book, " *Che la Fortuna è un impeto naturale privo di ragione negli huomini*," i. e. " *That Fortune is a natural impulſe void of reaſon:*" and in the following chapter, " That the *fortunate man* is one who is puſhed on by a certain natural inſtinct towards an effect which he does not foreſee, and without any foundation in reaſon.

[d] Lib. VI. cap. 22.

[e] Odyſſ. Lib. I. v. 32.

which

which I have before quoted [*f*]. But may it not be pretended, that upon ſeveral occaſions, a perſon unhappy through his own fault, has no leſs right to complain of Fortune, than an unhappy man, who has done his duty? May it not be ſaid, that this power, which is called *Fortune*, cauſes miſery two ways? She ſometimes allows a man to make uſe of all the means which prudence can ſuggeſt, and yet deprives him of the good ſucceſs which he might have expected. She takes pleaſure in this, to ſhew her ſuperiority, and the inſufficiency of our reaſon and of human wiſdom. Sometimes ſhe likewiſe precipitates men into miſery, by preventing them from employing the means which might preſerve them; ſhe diſturbs their judgment, and forces them to commit irreparable errors. It was thus probably that ſhe irrecoverably ruined the affairs of Pompey. She declared for Julius Cæſar, and procured him his triumphs, by permitting him to act according to the utmoſt ſkill of the moſt accompliſhed General, and eclipſed in Pompey's mind all the eminent qualities of which he was maſter before. For they never appeared at the battle of Pharſalia: Pompey there ſeemed a very weak man, and a moſt unſkilful General. Was not this eclipſe ſupernatural? Was it not the act of ſome ſuperior power, who intended to raiſe Cæſar upon the ruins of his Competitor? Velleius Paterculus ſays, that when the Fates have determined to ruin a man, they deprive him of prudence. "Sed profecto quando ineluctabilis fatorum vis cujuſcunque fortunam mutare conſtituit, conſilia corrumpit [*g*]. . . . . Sed prævalebant jam fata conſiliis, omnemque animi ejus [*h*] aciem præſtrinxerant. Quippe ita ſe res habet, ut plerumque fortunam mutaturus Deus, conſilia corrumpat, efficiatque, quod miſerrimum eſt, ut quod accidit, id etiam merito accidiſſe videatur, & caſus in culpam tranſeat." [*i*] i. e. "But it is certain, that whenever the irreſiſtable power of the Fates is determined to change the fortune of any man, it corrupts his counſels. . . . . But the Fates prevailed over his counſels, and blinded the eye of his judgment. For this is the caſe, that when God deſigns to change the fortune of men, he commonly corrupts their counſels, and what is the moſt miſerable circumſtance of all others, he ſo brings it about, that what happens ſhall appear to have fallen out deſervedly, and that chance ſhall be turned into guilt." The opinion of this grave Hiſtorian was common amongſt the Pagans, and we may ſay every day proverbially, *Quos*

[*f*] Reflexions ſur ce que l'on apelle Bonheur & Malheur en matiere du Lotteries. Chap. VII. p. 79. See alſo Regnier, *Sat.* XIV. p. 13.

[*g*] Lib. II. cap. 57.

[*h*] That is to ſay, of Quintilius Sarus.

[*i*] Idem, ibid. cap. 118.

Jupiter vult perdere dementat, i. e. *Jupiter infatuates whom he reſolves to deſtroy*. A certain writer being to prove, that it is poſſible for two authors to have the ſame thought without borrowing from each other, cites Philip de Commines [*k*], who without ever having heard the name of Velleius Peterculus, yet ſays as well as the latter, "That when God determines to chaſtiſe Princes, he firſt begins to deprive them of part of their ſenſes, and makes them fly the advice and converſation of the wiſe." Let us quote an excellent paſſage from Ammianus Marcellinus, "Ut ſolent manum injectantibus fatis hebetari ſenſus hominum & obtundi, his illecebris ad meliorum expectationem erectus, egreſſuſque Antiochiâ numine lævo ductante, prorſus ire tendebat de fumo, ut proverbium loquitur vetus, ad flammam." [*l*] i. e. "As the ſenſes of men are uſually obſcured and ſtupified when the Fates lay hold on them, being allured by theſe temptations to the expectation of greater things, and leaving Antioch under the conduct of an evil genius, he paſſed, according to the old proverb, out of the ſmoke into the fire." And a little after, ſpeaking of Nemeſis, he ſays, that ſhe turns the deſigns of men out of their proper courſe and aim. "Hæc ut regina cauſarum & arbitra rerum ac diſceptatrix, urnam ſortium temperat, accidentium vices alternans; voluntatumque noſtrarum exorſa interdum alio, quam quo contendebant, exitu terminans, multiplices actus permutando convolvit." i. e. She is the Sovereign of cauſes, and arbiter and diſpoſer of things, directs the lots, and varies accidents, and by turning the purpoſes of our wills ſometimes from the point to which they were directed, blends and confounds things together." She does not always do this by means of error, but ſometimes employs mere ignorance. I mean by error, the falſe judgment which our mind makes of things, by comparing them together, and chuſing the worſt; and I mean by ignorance, the ſituation we are in, when the neceſſary ideas do not offer themſelves to our imagination. Now, whether we take the wrong ſide, by rejecting the proper means actually preſent to our mind, or by the abſence of the ideas which ſhould preſent thoſe means to us, we paſs for imprudent: but it is certain, that in the former caſe, the imprudence is more voluntary, and conſequently more to be condemned, than in the latter. Several Philoſophers maintain that *pure omiſſion* is never voluntary. Who would venture to aſſert that we are maſters of our memory; and that it is a moral fault not to remember certain things, as often as we have occaſion to think of them, in order to regulate ourſelves in our deliberations? Thoſe that acknowledge the Empire of Fortue, would be unreaſonable, I think, if they ſhould ſuppoſe

[*k*] Ogier, Apologie pour Balzac. p. 34.
[*l*] Lib. XIV. cap. 11.

ſhe

ſhe does not influence our omiſſions or forgetfulneſs: for, on the contrary, it is by this that ſhe moſt frequently occaſions our ill ſucceſs. She removes the ideas that would naturally preſent themſelves, and prevent us from running into errors. How often has it happened that a man of judgment has done himſelf great prejudice by the anſwers which he has given to ſeveral queſtions propoſed to him? All thoſe to whom he gives an account of the queſtions, aſk him, why did not you anſwer in ſuch a manner? He preſently perceives that he ought to have done it, he owns it, is ſurprized he did not think of it; he would ſwear that upon any other occaſion that idea would have come into his head, as it appears to him ſo natural, ſo eaſy, and agreeable to common ſenſe. However, he is convinced that he never in the leaſt thought of it, and that it never once offered itſelf to him even in a confuſed manner. Why would you not have him believe that his ill fortune influenced his memory and purpoſely obſcured it? Divines do not deny that Providence ſometimes renders men blind both with regard to omiſſions and actual judgment. Plutarch would allow them this doctrine: for he recommends it very ſtrongly to thoſe that read the Poets, to correct all thoſe paſſages in which it is intimated that the Gods deceive and urge us to evil. This is what he obſerves, particularly with reſpect to thoſe verſes of Euripides [*m*] which Mr. Amyot has thus tranſlated:

"Les Dieux puiſſans trop plus que nous ne ſommes,
Vont abuſant nous autres pauvres hommes
Par pluſieurs tours de ruſe trompereſſe."

that is, "the Gods who are much more powerful than we, impoſe upon us poor mortals by many kinds of fraud." Plutarch is ſo far from owning that a Divine Power is the cauſe of our chuſing wrong, when we know the right, that he would have us aſcribe this to brutal paſſion,

Αι αι τοσ' ηδη θεῶν, ανθρωποις κακον,
Οταν τις ειδῃ τ' αγαθον, χρηται δ' ε μη,
Θυμῷ δ' ες μεν ουν κ' αλογον, κ' οικτρον, ειδοτα το βελτιον υπο της χειρονος, εξ ακρασιας και μαλακιας αγεσθαι. [*n*]

"Evil alas! deſcends from heav'n on mortals,
Who ſee what's good, though not allowed to chuſe it."

[*m*] Πολλαῖσι μορφαις οι θεοι σοφισματων
Σφαλλουσιν ημας κρειττονες πεφυκοτες.
Euripides apud Plutarchum, de audiendis poetis.

[*n*] Idem, ibid.

" Nay, but this evil is not from heaven, but brutal and wretched, that a man who knows better ſhould be hurried by intemperance and luxury into what is worſe." But however ſolid theſe reflections of Plutarch may be in ſome reſpects, we muſt always remember that our Divinity and the common language of all Chriſtians, founded on many paſſages of Scripture, lay it down as a very certain principle, that the blindneſs of man, his raſhneſs, folly, and cowardice, are frequently the occaſion why he is puniſhed by a particular Providence; and that his prudence, his proper anſwer to queſtions, his reſolution and underſtanding, are favours inſpired by Providence, which would ſave him or make him proſperous. The Pagans were acquainted with this Doctrine; for we find that Manlius declared to the Citizens of Rome, that if the Gods would prevent his ruin, they would do it, not by deſcending upon earth, but by inſpiring good reſolutions into the Romans, as they had inſpired him with that valour and courage which had preſerved the Commonwealth. "Bene facitis quod abominamini; Dii prohibebunt hæc: ſed nunquam propter me de cælo deſcendent: vobis dent mentem oportet, ut prohibeatis: ſicut mihi dederunt armato togatoque, ut vos a barbaris hoſtibus, a ſuperbis defenderem civibus" [o]. i. e. " You do well to avert the omen; the Gods will prevent theſe things: but they will never come down from heaven for my ſake: they muſt give you a diſpoſition to prevent them, as they gave me reſolution both in war and peace, to defend you from barbarbarian enemies and haughty Citizens."

I ſhall not conclude without remarking, that if, on one hand, we call that misfortune, which is ſometimes the effect of imprudence, we give the title of good fortune, on the other hand, to what ſometimes is the effect of prudence. We have ſeen ſome perſons guilty of ſo raſh a conduct, that we could not doubt of its being attended with ſome ſevere mortification: they have attacked and abuſed all the world; and if the firſt encounter ſhewed them to be men of wrong heads, the following was only a ſeries of raſh actions and irregular and furious ſallies. According to all rules, ſuch perſons muſt have been cruſhed with diſgrace: and yet we have ſeen them triumph, or at leaſt retire from the battle without any mark of infamy. But it is certain that artifice and ſubtle policy had no more ſhare in theſe good ſucceſſes than Fortune. Theſe pretended raſh men had long before taken their precautions with great prudence; they had made themſelves neceſſary to perſons who were capable of reſcuing them from every preſſure. They had found the ſecret of being uſeful to them with regard either to their private pleaſures or their ambition.

[o] Livy, Lib. VI.

The

The circumſtances of time were favourable to them; the buſineſs of being perhaps Director of Spies, or ſome other private employment, was of wonderful uſe. They were aſſured therefore of ſucceſs in their unreaſonable conteſts, and conſequently did not act raſhly.

Cardinal Richlieu, as we have obſerved before, would not allow of any other cauſe of ill ſucceſs but imprudence. Auberi informs us of this particular. He tells us "that Cardinal Richlieu and Count Alivarez, Prime Miniſters, the former of France, and the latter of Spain, were rivals and Antagoniſts [p]; that their authority had almoſt the ſame duration; that they were compared to two Stars of the firſt, or at leaſt of the ſecond magnitude, which drew towards themſelves the attention, eſteem, and admiration of all Chriſtendom. That the Cardinal was the firſt eclipſed by a natural death on the fourth of December 1642, and that the other did not enjoy his authority above five or ſix weeks after, being diſgraced on the ſeventeenth of January 1643. The motive or pretence of his diſgrace, was the ill fortune which attended all his undertakings. This was in effect accuſing him of imprudence. In the opinion of Cardinal Richlieu, imprudent and unfortunate were the ſame [q]. Thus he readily put in practice one of his own moſt conſtant maxims, which was, to uſe his own words, "that in affairs of State, one can never take too many precautions, nor ſeek out for too much ſecurity; that it is neceſſary, if poſſible, to have two ſtrings to one's bow: that to ſucceed well, a Stateſman ought not to take his meaſures too exactly, but in order to do a great deal, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to do more. That in ſhort, in all great affairs, if he does not take ſuch meaſures as may appear too large, they will be found in effect too ſhort" [r]. It is difficult to believe that the Cardinal did not ſometimes acknowledge upon occaſion of unſucceſsful enterprizes, that he had notwithſtanding taken all the meaſures which Prudence could ſuggeſt to him. If he thought himſelf guilty therefore of ſome imprudence at thoſe times, he gave more extent to the idea of Prudence than he ſhould have done: for if he believed that thoſe who truſt a man that deceives them, are not prudent, he ſuppoſed that Prudence includes the certainty of events which depend upon free-will. Now this is a miſtake. There are ſome perſons

[p] Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal Mazarin, *Liv.* I, p. 100.

[q] This is very different from the ſentiments of the above-cited Garimberto; who maintains in the eighteenth Chapter of his book *della fortuna*, that we ought not to call him fortunate who acts according to the rules of prudence: and in the nineteenth Chapter, that a man is not fortunate by art, or prudence, or the favour of God, but by a natural impetuoſity excited in the Soul: and in the third and fourth Chapters of the fourth book, that Fortune favours the bold, and is the friend of the preſumptuous, and often of the raſh.

[r] See Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richlieu, *Liv.* vii. *Chap.* 4. *p.* 383.

who

who have been found faithful in many ſucceſſive inſtances, and in ſuch a manner that we may truſt them in affairs of the laſt importance, without the leaſt imputation of imprudence; yet they afterwards acquit themſelves very ill, and begin to betray us, and render our affairs abortive. It would be requiring more knowledge of a Prime Miniſter than human nature is capable of, to pretend he relied raſhly on that man; that it was through misfortune, but not through his fault that the enterprize miſcarried, ſince he muſt have been acquainted with the inward change of that perſon. The Reader ſees, therefore, that a great many equivocations and diſputes about words may enter into this queſtion. The miſcarriage of an enterprize is always attended with ſome defect of knowledge. If you give the name of imprudence to that defect, and would reaſon conſequentially from that definition, you may maintain Cardinal Richlieu's theſis fully and without reſerve: but your definition would be falſe; and at the bottom you would agree with your adverſary [*f*].

[*f*] The curious Reader may ſee a great deal more upon this Subject, if he pleaſes, under the Articles, Antoniano, Ahab, Alvarez de Luna, Apaſi, Dominic Baudius, Julius Cæſar, Charles V. Epictetus, Lucretius, Mahomet II. Nicholas Perrot, and Ruffi, in the General Dictionary; in Mr. Cowley's ode upon Deſtiny; in the firſt volume of Montaine's Eſſays, and Book II. Chap. 29. of Machiavel's *Political Diſcourſes*.

The END of the Reflections upon Fortune and Prudence.

An Account of the State of Europe, at the time when CASTRUCCIO CASTRACANI flouriſhed.

THE two factions of the Guelfs and Ghibelines were in the height of their emulation about the year 1320, which was near the time that Caſtruccio was in his proſperity; and the affairs of Europe were circumſtanced in this manner.

The Popes (driven from Rome by the violence of the Emperors of the Weſt) had transferred the Pontifical Chair to Avignon in France. In the year 1320, it was filled by John XXII. who by the precipitate counſels of other people, had excommunicated the Emperor Lewis, of the Houſe of Bavaria, and been too buſy with his fulminations againſt five other Italian Princes, whom he treated in ſuch a manner, that they entered into a confederacy againſt him: their names were Caſtruccio, Sovereign of Lucca; della Scala, Lord of Verona; the Marquis d'Eſte, Lord of Ferrara; Viſconti, and Gonzaga, the former Sovereign of Milan, and the latter of Mantua; which excited great commotions in Italy.

The

The Empire of the Eaſt was at that time diſtracted by the ambition of the Palæologi and others; whilſt in the mean time the Sultan Archan, Son of Ottoman, ſtripped the Greeks of Lycaonia, Phrygia, and all the coaſt of the Helleſpont.

The Empire of the Weſt was then in diſpute betwixt Frederic of Auſtria and Lewis of Bavaria, whom Machiavel, either by miſtake or inadvertency, has called Frederic. But Lewis, after long and bloody wars, overcame his Competitor, and made ſeveral voyages into Italy to invigorate and reinforce Caſtruccio and the Ghibelines.

France was governed by Philip *the long*, who, at the Sollicitation of Pope John, marched an army into Italy to the relief of the Guelfs; which army was commanded by Philip de Valois, afterwards King of France. But this expedition did not anſwer expectation: for either the Ghibelines diſpelled the ſtorm, with which thoſe preparations had threaten'd Lombardy, by bribes; or the French forces were recalled upon ſome ſecret apprehenſion of a new war with the Engliſh; or with a deſign to make another Expedition into the Holy Land.

Spain was divided into five Kingdoms; each of which had its own King: four of them were Chriſtians, and one a Mahometan.

Navarre had the ſame King with France. Philip *the long*, found a way to extend the Salique Law into that country, and defeat his niece Jane of France, daughter of Lewis Hutin, of both Kingdoms at once.

Alphonſo XI. as Mariana calls him (or XII. according to Garibay) at that time was King of Caſtile; but his minority transferred the conduct of affairs into the hands of the two Infanti, Don Pedro, and Don John: ſo that the Kingdom was expoſed by the jealouſy and diviſions betwixt thoſe two Regents, to ſuch diſorders as uſually attend the minority of Princes. At laſt, however, they were both killed in the year 1320, in a battle with the Moors, which they loſt by their raſhneſs under the walls of Granada.

Arragon was governed by James the ſecond of that name. He was brother to Frederic, who reigned in Sicily, to the prejudice of Robert, a Prince of the Houſe of Anjou. This Robert, who was King of Naples, ſided with the Guelfs, and entered into ſeveral confederacies with the Florentines againſt Caſtruccio. James, King of Arragon, deſigning to eſtabliſh himſelf in Italy, and judging that the conqueſts which he meditated upon the Iſles of Corſica and Sardinia, would depend much upon the concord of his ſubjects at home, cauſed a general aſſembly of the States to be held in the year 1320, in which an Union was concluded betwixt the Kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia, and the Principality of Catalonia.

Don

THE

LIFE

OF

Caſtruccio Caſtracani of Lucca,

Written by NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL, and inſcribed to his particular friends ZANOBI BUONDELMONTI, and LUIGI ALAMANNI.

IT ſeems very ſtrange, my deareſt friends, when we conſider the thing maturely, that almoſt all, or at leaſt the greater part of thoſe who have performed the moſt heroic actions, and ſhone with the greateſt luſtre in their paſſage through the world, have either been born of very mean and obſcure parents, or ſuch as have been remarkably perſecuted by Fortune: ſome of them having been expoſed to wild beaſts in their infancy, and others ſo aſhamed of their nativity, that they have pretended to be the Sons of Jupiter, or ſome other Deity: of which it is needleſs, and perhaps would be invidious, to recite inſtances, as many will naturally occur to every one's memory. But it ſeems by this, as if Fortune had a mind to ſhew the World, that it is ſhe alone, and not Prudence, that makes men great, by exerting her power at a time when Prudence cannot poſſibly be ſaid to have any ſhare in it [a].

Caſtruccio Caſtracani of Lucca then was one of thoſe, who, conſidering the place where he was born, and the times in which he lived, performed very great and extraordinary things: for he was neither more happy nor eminent in his birth, than many other Heroes, as I ſhall ſhew in the Hiſtory of his life, which I intend to write; as I think there are many inſtances in it both of great courage and virtue, and of good fortune, which highly deſerve to be made public: and upon that account,

[a] See the *Reflections upon Fortune and Prudence* prefixed to this piece.

I have taken the freedom of addreſſing it to you, as perſons that take more delight in virtuous actions, than any others that I know.

The Caſtracani were reckoned amongſt the Nobility of Lucca; though indeed (according to the courſe of all worldly things) that family is now extinct. The laſt male of it was one Antonio, who, devoting himſelf to a religious life, became Canon of St. Michael's in Lucca, and out of reſpect was called Meſſer' Antonio. He had no relations left but one Siſter, who had been married to Buonaccorſo Cenami; but her huſband dying, and ſhe being left a widow, had returned to live with her brother, with a reſolution not to marry again. Meſſer' Antonio had a vineyard at the back of his houſe, which was ſurrounded by ſeveral of his neighbour's gardens in ſuch a manner, that one might get into it on any ſide without much difficulty. It happened one morning a little after ſun-riſe, that Madam Dianora (for that was the Siſter's name) going to gather ſome fruit in the vineyard, perceived a ruſtling under the leaves of one of the vines, and looking more attentively that way, at laſt thought ſhe heard a ſort of a cry. Upon which, running as faſt as ſhe could to the place, ſhe diſcovered the hands and face of a new-born infant almoſt covered over with leaves, which ſeemed to cry out for help; and though ſhe was ſurprized and frighted at ſo unuſual a ſpectacle, ſhe took it up tenderly in her arms, and carried it into the houſe; and after ſhe had waſhed it, and wrapped it in clean linen, ſhe preſented it to her Brother at his return from his devotions. Antonio, being informed of theſe circumſtances, and ſeeing the child, was no leſs aſtoniſhed and moved with compaſſion than his Siſter had been; and conſidering with themſelves what was beſt to be done upon ſuch an occaſion, they determined at laſt to adopt it, as he was an Eccleſiaſtic, and ſhe had no children: for which purpoſe, having taken a nurſe into the houſe, they had it baptized by the name of Caſtruccio (after their Father) and educated it with as much tenderneſs as if it had been their own Son.

In the mean time, Caſtruccio became more and more graceful in his perſon every day as he grew up, ſhewing a poignancy of genius, and quickneſs of apprehenſion, much beyond his years, in learning anything that Antonio thought fit to teach him: ſo that the good man deſigning to make him a Prieſt, and to reſign his Canonry and other preferments to him at a proper time, gave him ſuch an education, as was moſt ſuitable for one that was intended for that profeſſion. But when Caſtruccio arrived at the age of fourteen, he began to ſhew but little reliſh for a ſpiritual life, and laying aſide the awe he had till then ſtood in of his benefactors, he threw away his godly books, and diſcovered a greater inclination to arms, which he would often handle with great pleaſure, whenever he had an opportunity; delighting himſelf likewiſe in running, leaping, wreſtling, and ſuch like exerciſes, in all which

which he ſhewed a degree of courage, dexterity, and bodily ſtrength, far ſuperior to all other boys of his age. As to reading, he did not trouble himſelf much about it, except now and then, when he met with a book that treated either of war, or the exploits of ſome great and eminent man; all which things gave Meſſer' Antonio much uneaſineſs.

There was at that time a Gentleman in Lucca, called Franciſco Guinigi, who far excelled all the reſt of his fellow Citizens in riches, intereſt, and gentlemanlike accompliſhments. He followed the military profeſſion, and had ſerved a conſiderable time under the Viſconti, Dukes of Milan: and as he was a Ghibeline, he was looked upon as the Head of that party in Lucca. This Gentleman happening to be then at Lucca, as we juſt now ſaid, uſed to take a walk every morning and evening, with other Citizens, before the Governor's houſe in St. Michael's Square, where he could not help often taking notice of Caſtruccio, who uſed to exerciſe himſelf there, amongſt other boys, in the manner we have already related: and becauſe he ſeemed not only to ſurpaſs them all, but to aſſume a ſort of authority over them, which they readily ſubmitted to, as they ſeemed both to love and admire him, he became very curious to know who and what that youth was. Being informed of thoſe circumſtances, therefore, by the by-ſtanders, he grew more deſirous to have him near his perſon; and calling him to him one day, he aſked him, "whether he ſhould not like to live in a Gentleman's houſe, who would teach him to ride the great horſe, and to handle his arms like a Soldier, rather than with a Prieſt, who would tire him to death with prayers and preaching?" Upon the mention of *horſes and arms*, Caſtruccio was almoſt tranſported out of his Senſes; but Franciſco perceiving that his modeſty would not ſuffer him to ſpeak out, encouraged the boy to declare his mind frankly and openly. Upon which, he at laſt told him, "that if he had the liberty of chuſing for himſelf, he had much rather be a Soldier than a Prieſt." Franciſco was ſo pleaſed with this anſwer, that in a few days the Canon Antonio was prevailed upon by his importunites to put Caſtruccio under his protection; eſpecially as he found his natural inclination to a military life was ſo ſtrong, that it was impoſſible to maſter it.

Caſtruccio then having taken leave of his old friend the Canon, went home with Franciſco Guinigi; under whoſe tuition it is almoſt incredible in how ſhort a time he made himſelf a perfect maſter of all thoſe exerciſes and accompliſhments, which are requiſite in a Gentleman. For in the firſt place, he had learnt to ride and manage the higheſt ſpirited horſe with the utmoſt grace and dexterity; and in tilts and tournaments, he far excelled all the youth in the City, though he was ſo young: ſo that in all the exerciſes, which required either courage, or ſkill, or agility, he had no equal. With all theſe advantages he had a

moſt engaging addreſs, and never either did or ſaid any thing that was rude or diſagreeable to any body. He always treated his ſuperiors with great reſpect, and was no leſs modeſt amongſt his equals, than complaiſant and familiar with his inferiors. Such a behaviour ſoon gained him the affections and eſteem, not only of the Guinigi family, but of the whole City of Lucca.

When he was about eighteen, it happened that the Guelf faction drove the Ghibelines out of Pavia: upon which occaſion, the Duke of Milan being deſirous to re-eſtabliſh them there, ſent Franciſco Guinigi to their ſuccour, who took Caſtruccio along with him, as a perſon of whom he had conceived very great hopes, and in whom he much confided: and indeed he gave ſo many proofs of his prudence and courage in that expedition, that he acquired the higheſt reputation, and became talked of, not only in Pavia, but all over Lombardy, with great honour and reſpect. He returned to Lucca, therefore, with ſtill more glory than he left it, and had the ſatisfaction to find that he had prodigiouſly increaſed the number of his friends; as indeed he had neglected no means, that were neceſſary, to conciliate to himſelf the affections of the people. Soon after, his friend Franciſco Guinigi falling ſick, and finding his illneſs was likely to prove mortal, left Caſtruccio tutor and guardian to his only ſon Paolo, a youth of about thirteen years of age; having called him to his bed-ſide before his death, and prayed him to take the ſame care of his child that he had taken of him, and that if he thought there was any ſort of gratitude due to the father, he would ſhew it to the Son. After Franciſco was dead, and Caſtruccio thus ſettled in his truſt, his power and reputation became ſo great in Lucca, that the favour and eſteem which his fellow citizens had ſhewn him before, at laſt turned to envy; and many went ſo far as to calumniate him, as a man that was much to be ſuſpected of harbouring tyrannical deſigns, and ambitious to enſlave his country. The chief of theſe was Georgio delli Opizi, Head of the Guelf faction in Lucca, who having entertained ſome hopes of making himſelf, in a manner, Prince of that City after the death of Guinigi, quickly found Caſtruccio had gained ſuch an intereſt, by the importance of the truſt he was left in, and the influence which his other good qualities gave him, that he would be a great impediment to his Schemes, and therefore took all opportunities of ſpreading ſuch reports to his prejudice wherever he went. Caſtruccio, therefore, began to be alarmed at theſe Calumnies, and ſtill more ſo after a while, as he apprehended Opizi's intention was to diſgrace him by this means, in ſuch a manner, with the Lieutenant whom Robert, King of Naples had ſet over them, that the latter might at laſt, perhaps, take it into his head to drive him out of the city.

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The town of Piſa was then under the government of Uguccione della Fagiuola, originally a native of Arezzo, who having been at firſt appointed by the Piſans to command their forces, after a while became their Lord, and having given protection to certain Ghibelines, who had been baniſhed from Lucca, Caſtruccio entered into a ſecret correſpondence with theſe exiles to reſtore them, if poſſible, by the aſſiſtance of Uguccione, and even communicated his deſign to ſome of his friends at home, who were as jealous as himſelf of the power of Opizi. Having ſettled proper meaſures, therefore, for this purpoſe, Caſtruccio ſecretly began to fortify a certain tower in the City, called *la Torre delli Oneſti*, into which he conveyed a ſufficient quantity of amunition and proviſions; in order, if there ſhould be occaſion, to defend himſelf there for ſome days. On the night agreed upon with Uguccione, for the execution of their enterprize, the latter did not fail to be at the place of Rendezvous betwixt Lucca and the neighbouring mountains; from whence upon the proper ſignal being made, he advanced towards St. Peter's Gate, and ſet fire to the Portcullis. Caſtruccio, on the other hand, raiſed a tumult in the town at the ſame time, and calling the people together to arms, broke down the gate on the inſide; after which, Uguccione having entered with his men, not only ſcoured the whole town, but killed Georgio Opizi and all his family, with many others of his friends and partizans; and having driven out the former Governor, reformed the State as Uguccione directed, after a terrible deſolation made in it, as he baniſhed above an hundred other families out of that City; part of whom took refuge at Florence, and the reſt at Piſtoia, two Cities of the Guelf faction, and for that reaſon enemies to Uguccione, and the prevailing party in Lucca.

The Florentines, therefore, and ſome other States of the Guelf party, perceiving the Ghibelines began to gain ground very faſt in Tuſcany, entered into a confederacy to reſtore the Lucheſe exiles; and having raiſed a powerful army, they cauſed it to enter the Vale of Nievole, where they took Monte Catini, and afterwards ſat down before Monte Carlo, in hopes, if they could reduce that place, of opening themſelves a free paſſage to Lucca. Uguccione in the mean time, having aſſembled all the Piſan and Luccheſe forces, and drawn a good body of German cavalry out of Lombardy, went to beat up the Florentine's quarters, who having notice of his approach, immediately raiſed the Siege of Monte Carlo, and encamped betwixt Monte Catini and Peſcia. Uguccione, on the other hand, took poſſeſſion of the poſt, which they had quitted, near Monte Carlo, at the diſtance of about two miles from the enemy; where there was ſeldom a day paſſed without a ſkirmiſh betwixt the cavalry of the two armies, though they were not ſupported with much vigour: for Uguccione being taken ill, the Piſans and Luc-

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theſe did not care to hazard a general engagement. But his indiſpoſition increaſing, he was forced to retire into the town of Monte Carlo, to take more effectual means for his recovery, and left the command of the army to Caſtruccio.

This retreat animated the Guelfs indeed at firſt, but proved the ruin of their army in the end: for as they ſaw the enemy's forces without a head, as they thought, they began to grow careleſs and ſecure, and to deſpiſe them. Upon which, Caſtruccio perceiving how much they were elated, endeavoured for ſome days to flatter them in their ſecurity; pretending to be in great fear of them, and not ſuffering any of his men to ſtir out of their entrenchments. The Guelfs, on the other hand, became every day more inſolent, as the enemy appeared more fearful of them, and at laſt grew ſo bold, that they preſented themſelves in order of battle before Caſtruccio's camp, on purpoſe to provoke him to an engagement if poſſible. When he had thus in a manner decoyed them into his net, and ſufficiently diſcovered the diſpoſition of their army, he reſolved to give them battle; and having made a ſhort ſpeech to animate his own troops, he told them he would enſure them a certain victory, provided they would behave themſelves like men, and carefully obey his orders.

He had obſerved, that the enemy had poſted their chief ſtrength in the center, and were weakeſt in the wings: for which reaſon he did quite the contrary, placing his beſt men in the wings, and his worſt in the center; and marching out of his entrenchments in this order, as ſoon as he came near the enemy, who were approaching to brave him with their uſual inſolence, he ordered the Squadrons in his center to move very ſlowly forwards, and his two wings to advance as quick as they could; ſo that when they came to action, the wings only of each army were engaged, whilſt the main body on both ſides was at a conſiderable diſtance from one another: for Caſtruccio's center having advanced but very ſlowly, as it was ordered, that of the enemy had a great way to march before they could charge it; by which it came to paſs, that Caſtruccio's beſt troops were engaged with the weakeſt of the enemy; and their main ſtrength, which conſiſted in the center, was wholly unemployed, being neither able to charge the center of the Ghibelines, nor to ſuccour their own wings. Thus both the wings of the Guelfs were ſoon defeated, and thoſe in the center ſeeing themſelves left utterly naked on each flank, were likewiſe forced to turn tail, without having had any opportunity of giving the leaſt proof of their courage. Great was the rout upon this occaſion, and the ſlaughter very conſiderable; for above ten thouſand men were killed on the Guelf ſide, with many general officers and gentlemen of the moſt eminent quality in Tuſcany, beſides ſeveral Princes, who came to their aſſiſtance; amongſt

amongſt whom were Peter and Charles, (one the brother, and the other nephew to Robert King of Naples) and Philip, Lord of Taranto. On Caſtruccio's ſide, the number of ſlain did not amount to three hundred: but unfortunately, Franciſco, Uguccione's Son, was one of them, a gallant young Cavalier, who was killed fighting bravely in the firſt attack.

This victory increaſed Caſtruccio's reputation to ſuch a degree, that Uguccione, beginning to grow exceedingly jealous of him, reſolved to deſtroy him by any means, as he thought the late advantage which the other had gained, was more likely to be of prejudice than any ſervice to his affairs. Whilſt he was thus meditating his ruin, and waiting for a fair opportunity of effecting it, it happened that Pietro Agnolo Micheli, a man of conſiderable rank and eſteem in Lucca, was aſſaſſinated there by a perſon, who fled to Caſtruccio's houſe for refuge after he had committed the fact: but the Officers of juſtice purſuing him thither, were forcibly driven out again by Caſtruccio; ſo that the murderer eſcaped. Uguccione, who was then at Piſa, being informed of this, and thinking he had a plauſible pretence for puniſhing him, ſent orders to his Son Neri, whom he had entruſted with the government of Lucca, to invite Caſtruccio to ſupper, and when he had him ſafe in his houſe, to ſieze upon him and put him to death. Caſtruccio, therefore, coming to ſup with Neri, according to his invitation, without either fear or ſuſpicion of any kind, was immediately made priſoner. But as Neri was afraid of putting him to death, without bringing him to a trial, leſt it ſhould provoke the people to rebel, he deferred his execution till he had ſent to acquaint Uguccione with what he had done, and to deſire his further orders how to proceed in the matter: upon which, Uguccione was ſo vexed at his Son's timidity and delay, that he inſtantly ſet out for Lucca, with four hundred horſe, to ſee Caſtruccio diſpatched himſelf. But before he got as far as Bagni, the Piſans took up arms, and not only killed his Deputy, but all the reſt of his family who were then in that City, and made Count Gaddo della Gherardeſca their Sovereign.

Uguccione was not yet arrived at Lucca when he heard of this revolt, but he reſolved not to turn back again, leſt the Luccheſe ſhould follow the example of the Piſans, and ſhut their gates againſt him, if they ſhould know what had happened before he got thither. Nevertheleſs, though the Luccheſe did not hear of it till after his arrival, they thought the conjuncture ſo favourable for Caſtruccio's releaſe, that they began firſt to aſſemble in little Cabals, where they talked of the matter without any ſcruple or reſerve; after which, they raiſed the mob, and at laſt took arms, and inſiſted that Caſtruccio ſhould be ſet at liberty, which Uguccione was obliged to comply with, for fear of worſe conſe-

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quences. Caſtruccio, therefore, was no ſooner freed from his impriſonment, but he aſſembled all his friends, and taking advantage of the favourable diſpoſition of the people, attacked Uguccione and his forces; who, having no other reſource left, was obliged to quit the City with all his friends, and fled to ſeek protection in Lombardy, under the Lords of Scala, where he died not long after in a miſerable and forlorn condition.

Caſtruccio, who but juſt before had been a priſoner, becoming as it were Prince of Lucca in this manner, found means by the aſſiſtance of his friends, and the continuance of popular favour, to get himſelf appointed General of their forces for the enſuing year; and being ambitious to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome warlike enterprize, he reſolved to attempt the reduction of ſeveral towns, which had revolted from the Luccheſe, after the expulſion of Uguccione. For this purpoſe having entered into a confederacy with the Piſans, he marched, in conjunction with their forces, to beſiege Serezana: and, in order to make himſelf maſter of it the ſooner, he built a fortreſs upon an eminence that commanded the town, which he took in leſs than two months. This fortreſs having been ſince much altered and enlarged by the Florentines, is now called Serezanella. After which, he reduced Maſſa Carrara, Lavenza, and all the Country of Lunigiana, with the ſame good fortune and reputation: and, in order to ſecure the paſſes that lead from thence into Lombardy, he ſeized upon Pontremoli, and drove Anaſtatio Palavicini, the late lord of it, out of that town. At his return to Lucca from this ſucceſsful expedition, he was met by all the City at his entrance, and thinking it a proper conjuncture to aſſume the Sovereign Authority himſelf, eſpecially as he had corrupted Pazzino dal Poggio, Pucinello dal Portico, Franciſco Boccanſacchi, and Cacco Guinigi; all men of very great credit and reputation in Lucca, he took the government into his own hunds, and was ſolemnly declared their Prince, though with the voluntary approbation and choice of the people.

About this time, Frederic [*b*] of Bavaria, King of the Romans, coming into Italy to receive the Imperial crown, Caſtruccio, in order to ingratiate himſelf with that Prince, went to meet him upon the road with four hundred horſe; leaving Paolo Guinigi, his Lieutenant Governor there, whom he loved as tenderly as if he had been his own ſon, out of gratitude to the memory of his father. Caſtruccio was received with much honour by Lewis; who likewiſe granted him many privileges, and made him his Lieutenant in Tuſcany. And

[*b*] This is a miſtake in Machiavel. He ſhould have ſaid Lewis of Bavaria.

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as the Piſans had now not only mutinied againſt their new Governor, Gaddo della Gherardeſca, but driven him out of the town, and were ſtill in ſuch fear of him, that they applied to Lewis for protection, he made Caſtruccio their Governor, whom they willingly accepted, as they were in hopes he would be able to defend them againſt the reſentment of the Guelfs, and particularly of the Florentines, of which they were very apprehenſive. But, when Lewis returned into Germany, having left a perſon at Rome to ſuperintend his affairs in Italy, all the Ghibelines in Tuſcany and Lombardy, that adhered to the Emperor's party, had recourſe to Caſtruccio as their Chief, promiſing him the Sovereignty over their Country, if he would reſtore them to it, amongſt whom were Matteo Guidi, Nardo Scolari, Lapo Uberti, Gerozzi Nardi, and Pietro Buonaccorſi, all Ghibelines, and exiles from Florence. Caſtruccio, therefore, aſpiring to make himſelf Lord of all Tuſcany by this addition to his own ſtrength, confederated with Matteo Viſconti, Prince of Milan, to give himſelf ſtill more weight and reputation by ſuch an alliance, and enrolled every man as a ſoldier, both in Lucca, and the territory round about, that was capable of bearing arms: and as there were five gates in that City, he divided the town and adjacent country into five diſtricts, diſtributing the inhabitants under different officers and colours: ſo that he could preſently aſſemble twenty thouſand men upon any emergency, excluſive of the ſuccours which he could draw from Piſa.

Whilſt he was thus fortifying himſelf with alliances, and other military proviſions, it happened that Matteo Viſconti was attacked by the Guelfs of Placentia (after they had expelled the Ghibeline party there) in conjunction with the forces of the Florentines, and others, ſent to their aſſiſtance by Robert, King of Naples: upon which, Matteo ſollicited Caſtruccio to fall upon the Florentines; that ſo, when they were invaded at home, they might be obliged to recal their troops out of Lombardy. Caſtruccio accordingly made a ſudden deſcent upon the Vale of Arno, where he took Fucecchio and St. Miniato, and ravaged the whole country in ſuch a manner, that the Florentines were ſoon forced to withdraw their troops out of that quarter. But they had hardly got back into Tuſcany, before Caſtruccio found himſelf under a neceſſity of returning to Lucca, by another extraordinary and unexpected event.

The family of the Poggi were grown exceeding powerful in that City, by having been the chief contributors to Caſtruccio's aggrandizement: but as they thought they had not been rewarded for thoſe ſervices according to their merits, they engaged in a conſpiracy, with ſeveral other families, to excite a revolt and depoſe him. In conſequnce

of this reſolution, they and their followers, having raiſed the populace early one morning, took arms, and ran in a tumultuous manner to the perſon's houſe, whom Caſtruccio had appointed chief Juſtice in his abſence, and immediately knocked him on the head. But, in the midſt of their rage, Stephano Poggio, a man in years, and of a pacific diſpoſition, who had not been at all concerned in the conſpiracy, interpoſed his authority, and prevailed upon thoſe of his family, that were at the head of the tumult, to lay down their arms; which they preſently did, at his requeſt; eſpecially as he promiſed to be a mediator betwixt them and Caſtruccio, and to procure them any reaſonable ſatisfaction they ſhould deſire. But Caſtruccio being informed of what had happened, immediately returned to Lucca, with part of his forces, leaving the reſt under the command of Paolo Guinigi; and, finding the tumult already compoſed, contrary to his expectation, thought he had then a fair opportunity of eſtabliſhing himſelf more firmly in his new power: for which purpoſe he, in the firſt place, took care to ſecure all the ſtrong places in the town, in which he planted parties of his ſoldiers and friends ſufficient to maintain them. Stephano Poggio, however, depending upon the obligations under which he thought Caſtruccio lay to him, preſently went to wait upon him at his Palace, and told him, he was come, not to aſk any favour for himſelf, as he had done nothing to offend him; but hoped he would pardon the raſhneſs of ſome of his relations, when he conſidered their youth, the friendſhip that had ever ſubſiſted betwixt them, and the obligations he lay under to their family. To all which, Caſtruccio made anſwer in terms of the higheſt gratitude, and told him, he was much more pleaſed with the pains he had taken to compoſe thoſe troubles, than he had been offended at their temerity in raiſing them; exhorting him to be of good courage, and fear nothing, but to come to him again, and bring all his relations with him, as he ſhould take a particular pleaſure in ſhewing, not only his clemency, but his liberality to them. Upon theſe aſſurances, and the confidence they had in Stephano's merits, the whole family of the Poggi came accordingly to wait upon Caſtruccio: but he, without any regard to his promiſes, cauſed them all to be ſent to priſon, with Stephano amongſt the reſt, and afterwards to be put to death.

In the mean time, the Florentines had recovered St. Miniato, which determined Caſtruccio to put an end to the war he was engaged in with them; as he thought he could not hope for any great ſucceſs abroad, till he had ſettled his affairs more effectually at home. With this deſign, he firſt endeavoured to diſcover how the Florentines ſtood affected to a truce; and finding they were tired of the expences

expences of the war, and as much inclined to a truce as himſelf, they concluded one for two years, each ſide being allowed to keep what they were then poſſeſſed of. Being thus freed from this embaraſſment, he began to take all poſſible precautions to guard againſt ſuch dangers for the future, as he had ſo lately eſcaped; putting all thoſe to death, upon one pretence or other, who he thought were moſt likely to rival or oppoſe him in the goverment; and this he did without mercy: others he baniſhed, and ſome he deprived of their eſtates; affirming that he had found by experience, that he could truſt none of them. And for his ſtill greater ſecurity, he built a Citadel at Lucca, out of the materials of thoſe Citizens houſes, whom he had baniſhed, or put to death.

Whilſt the truce continued with the Florentines, and he was thus employed in fortifying himſelf at Lucca, he neglected no other ſteps that could be taken for the further increaſe of his power, without entering into an open war: and as he was very deſirous to get poſſeſion of Piſtoia, out of a perſuaſion that if he could effect that, it would be the ſame as if he had one foot already in Florence, he made all the people of the mountains in Tuſcany his friends, by one means or other, and behaved in ſuch a manner towards the heads of both parties in Piſtoia, that each ſide put great confidence in him. That City was then divided (as it long had been) into the two factions of the Bianchi and Neri: Baſtiano di Poſſente, head of the former, and Neri da Gia of the latter, both held a ſtrict correſpondence with Caſtruccio; and as one of them wanted to get rid of the other, after much jealouſy, and many bickerings betwixt them, they at laſt came to an open rupture. Jacopo poſted himſelf, with his followers, at the gate that leads to Florence; and Baſtiano with his, at that which looks towards Lucca; and neither of them putting ſo much confidence in the Florentines as in Caſtruccio, (whom they looked upon as more expeditious and experienced in warlike enterprizes) each faction ſent to him in a private manner to ſollicit his aſſiſtance, which he readily promiſed them both; aſſuring Jacopo that he would come in perſon to ſuccour him, and Baſtiano, that he would ſend his Lieutenant Paolo Guinigi to his relief. A time being fixed upon accordingly, he diſpatched Paolo with part of his forces round about by the way of Peſcia, whilſt he himſelf marched directly to Piſtoia with the reſt: and both of them arriving there about midnight, as had been agreed betwixt Caſtruccio and Paolo, were received as friends, though at different gates. When they had thus gained admittance, upon a ſignal given by Caſtruccio to Paolo, one of them fell upon Jacopo da Gia, and the other upon Baſtiano di Poſſente,

and killed them both, with many of their partizans, making priſoners of the reſt. After which, they ſcoured the town without the leaſt oppoſition, and having driven the former Magiſtracy out of the town-hall, Caſtruccio eaſily prevailed upon the people to acknowlege him for their Sovereign, partly by engaging to diſcharge all their debts, and partly by promiſes of other future benefactions. In the ſame manner he likewiſe ingratiated himſelf with the inhabitants of the adjacent territory; great numbers of whom had flocked in out of a curioſity of ſeeing their new Prince: ſo that every man returned to his own houſe, not only well ſatisfied with the hopes of further kindneſſes, but in admiration of Caſtruccio's conduct and valour.

Soon after, there happened to be ſome tumults at Rome, upon the account of a ſcarcity of proviſions in that City, occaſioned by the removal of the papal chair to Avignon, and the averſion the people had to a German adminiſtration: and theſe commotions daily increaſed to ſuch a degree, that at laſt nothing was to be ſeen or heard of there, but riots, and murders, and other enormities, which it was not in the power of Henrico, the Emperor's Lieutenant, by any means to remedy: ſo that he began to grow exceedingly apprehenſive they would call in Robert, King of Naples, to drive him out of the City, and reſtore the government of it to the Pope. And ſince he had no other ally, to whom he could have ſo immediate recourſe as Caſtruccio, he ſent to deſire he would not only ſend him ſome ſupplies, but come with them in perſon to his aſſiſtance. Upon which, Caſtruccio conſidering, that ſuch an opportunity ought not to be neglected, of eſtabliſhing himſelf in the Emperor's favour, by the merit of ſerving him when he was at ſuch a diſtance, and could have no other help; left Paolo Guinigi, his Lieutenant, at Lucca, and marched directly to Rome, with two hundred horſe, where he was received by the Governor with the higheſt honours, and ſoon retrieved the Emperor's reputation there, and compoſed all tumults and diſſatisfaction, merely by his prudence, without bloodſhed, or the leaſt violence of any other kind. For he cauſed a great quantity of corn to be tranſported by ſea from the territories of Piſa to Rome, and thereby put an end to all complaints and murmurs: after which, partly by exhortation, and partly by threats of puniſhment upon any future miſbehaviour, he reduced the principal Citizens and ringleaders of the late ſedition to their former obedience. Out of gratitude for theſe merits, he received many diſtinguiſhing marks of favour from the Citizens of Rome; and amongſt the reſt, was created ſenator of their City: which office he took poſſeſſion of with great

great pomp and ſolemnity, being cloathed in embroidered robes, with two devices wrought in them, the one before, and the other behind; the firſt of which was, *He is what God has been pleaſed to make him*, and the other, *And ſhall be what God will have him to be.*

In this interval, the Florentines being nettled that Caſtruccio had made himſelf maſter of Piſtoia in ſo inſidious a manner, during the time of the truce, reſolved, if poſſible, to get it into their hands again; which they thought would be no difficult matter to effect, whilſt he was otherwiſe employed.——Amongſt the Piſtoian exiles who had taken refuge at Florence, were Baldo Cecchi and Jacopo Baldini, both men of great intereſt and authority, and ready to engage in any enterprize that was likely to reſtore them to their country. Theſe two held a correſpondence with ſome friends in Piſtoia, by whoſe management, and the aſſiſtance of the Florentines, they got into that City in the night, where they killed many of Caſtruccio's officers and partizans; and having driven out the reſt, reſtored the citizens to their former liberty. The news of this event arriving at Rome, ſo mortified Caſtruccio, that he immediately took leave of the Governor, and marched away with his forces, as faſt as he could to Lucca. But the Florentines hearing of his return, imagined he would not long remain quiet there, and therefore, reſolving to ſtrike the firſt blow, advanced with a body of forces into the Vale of Nievole, before he was ready to take the field; in hopes, if they could ſecure that paſs, they ſhould be able to prevent him from ſending any ſuccours for the recovery of Piſtoia: and for this purpoſe, having aſſembled all their friends of the Guelf party, they fell with a very conſiderable army into the territories of that City. Caſtruccio, on the other hand, marched with his troops to Monte Carlo, and being informed where the enemy was encamped, determined to avoid any engagement with them, either in the plains of Piſtoia, or thoſe near Peſcia, but to draw them to an action, if poſſible, in the ſtraights of Serravalle; which if he could do, he made no doubt of defeating them, notwithſtanding their army conſiſted of forty thouſand men, and his of twelve thouſand only, but they were the flower of his troops. And though he confided much in their valour and his own abilities, yet he was afraid, if they engaged in an open country, of being ſurrounded by a force ſo much ſuperior to his own.

Serravalle is a Caſtle betwixt Peſcia and Piſtoia, ſituated upon a hill, which on that ſide cloſes the Vale of Nievole, not directly in the high road, but about two muſket ſhots above it. The paſs is rather narrow than ſteep; for the aſcent is very gradual on both ſides, but it is ſo ſtreight, eſpecially on the top of the hill, where a river divides

divides itſelf into two branches, that twenty men a-breaſt would fill the whole ſpace from one ſide to the other. In this place Caſtruccio deſigned to engage the Florentines; that ſo he might not only give his ſmall army all the advantage he could, but prevent them from diſcovering the number of the Enemy before they came to action, which he thought, perhaps, might diſcourage them. One Manfredi, a German by birth, was then in poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of Serravalle, who had held it (before Caſtruccio made himſelf maſter of Piſtoia) by the common conſent of the Piſtoians and Luccheſe, as a place to which they both claimed a right: and as he had not offended either ſide, but obſerved a ſtrict neutrality betwixt them, without ſeeming to adhere too partially either to one or the other, he was ſtill ſuffered to continue in it; eſpecially as the place was ſo ſtrong, that he could not eaſily be forced out of it. But upon this occaſion, Caſtruccio knowing the importance of that fortreſs, was very deſirous to get it into his own hands, and being well acquainted with one of the garriſon, he prevailed upon him to diſpatch the Governor, and admit four hundred of his men the night before he intended to fight the enemy. Having made theſe preparations, he ſtill continued in his camp, near Monte Carlo, without ſeeming inclinable to move from thence, in order to encourage the Florentines to purſue their march into the Vale; who being eager to remove the war out of the territores of Piſtoia into that quarter, had encamped at the bottom of the hill, under Serravalle, with a deſign to paſs it the next day. But Caſtruccio having made himſelf maſter of the Caſtle, without any noiſe or tumult in the night-time, ſilently decamped from Monte Carlo about midnight, and arrived with his forces early in the morning, at the foot of the hill, on the other ſide of Serravalle: ſo that, as it happened, the Florentines began to march up the ſkirt of it on one ſide, at the very ſame time that his men were aſcending the other. Caſtruccio had ordered his infantry to advance along the common road, and detached a body of four hundred horſe to take poſt on the left near the Caſtle. The Florentines, on the other hand, had ſent an advanced guard of four hundred horſe likewiſe to take poſſeſſion of the top of the hill, which was followed by all their infantry, not at all expecting to find Caſtruccio there, as they did not know the Caſtle was in his hands: ſo that they never diſcovered his infantry, till they were ſo near together, that they had ſcarcely time to lace on their helmets, before they were attacked by them. Being ſurpriſed in this manner, therefore, and taken at ſuch a diſadvantage by an enemy that was drawn up in good order, and ready prepared for them, they made but a feeble reſiſtance, before their whole army was thrown into confuſion; the cavalry falling foul upon the infantry, and

and the infantry recoiling upon the carriages and baggage; the paſs being ſo ſtreight and crouded that the officers could neither get to their proper poſts, nor tell what to do in ſuch an extremity, nor have put it in execution, if they had known: ſo that the horſe which were engaged with the enemy's foot, were all ſoon cut off; and what little ſtand they did make, was owing rather to the ſituation they were in, than to any bravery of their own; for having the mountains on each flank, their own friends all in confuſion in the rear, and the enemy in front, they could not poſſibly run away. But Caſtruccio perceiving it would be a long time before he could cut his way through them in that narrow defile, cauſed a thouſand of his foot to march round by the Caſtle, who having joined the four hundred horſe, which he had ſent that way before, came down the hill, and fell upon the enemy's flank with ſuch fury, that they could not ſtand the ſhock, but were totally routed, rather by the incommodiouſneſs of the ground, than the number of the enemy. Thoſe that were in the rear, therefore, began to fly, and make room for the reſt; and diſperſing themſelves over the plain betwixt Serravalle and Piſtoia, every man provided for himſelf as well as he could.

This defeat was great and bloody. Many general officers were taken priſoners; amongſt whom were Bandino de Roſſi, Franciſco Brunelleſchi, and Giovanni della Joſa, three noble Florentines, with a great number of other Tuſcans and Neapolitans of diſtinction, whom King Robert had ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Guelfs. Upon the firſt news of this overthrow, the Piſtoians immediately drove all that were friends to that party out of the city, and voluntarily ſubmitted to Caſtruccio, who purſuing his ſucceſs, ſeized upon Prato, and all the Caſtles upon the plain, on both ſides of the Arno, and encamped with his army on the plain of Perettolo, about two miles from Florence; where he continued ſeveral days to divide the ſpoil, coining money in contempt of the Florentines, making horſe and foot races, and exhibiting other ſpectacles and diverſions to entertain his ſoldiers after ſo great a victory: whilſt, in the mean time, he was tampering with ſome of the principal Citizens in Florence, to open him one of the gates of that city, and to let him into it in the night-time; but the conſpiracy being diſcovered, thoſe that were concerned in it were ſeized and put to death, amongſt whom were Tomaſo Lupacci and Lamertuccio Treſcobaldi. The Florentines, therefore, being diſmayed at this defeat, began to deſpair of preſerving their liberties; and ſeeing no other remedy, ſent Ambaſſadors to the King of Naples, with an offer of the Sovereignty over their city, if he would take it under his protection: which he readily accepted, not only upon account of the great honour they did him, but

but becauſe he knew of what conſequence it was to his own affairs, that the Guelfs ſhould ſtill be ſupported in ſuch a manner, as to be able to maintain their ground in Tuſcany: upon which conſideration, he ſent his ſon Carlo with four thouſand horſe to their relief, on condition that they ſhould pay him the yearly ſum of two hundred thouſand florins.

In the mean time, however, they were in ſome meaſure freed from the terror of Caſtruccio's arms, he being obliged to quit their territories, and march with his army directly to Piſa, in order to ſuppreſs a conſpiracy hatched againſt him there, by Benedetto Lanfranchi, one of the heads of that city; who, not being able to bear that his country ſhould be in ſubjection to a Luccheſe, formed a deſign of ſurprizing the Citadel, and when he had driven out the garriſon, to kill all Caſtruccio's friends in that City. But as the number of perſons that are truſted with ſecrets of that kind is generally too ſmall to carry ſuch undertakings into execution, whilſt he was endeavouring to engage more accomplices in the conſpiracy, he found that ſome of them had betrayed him, and diſcovered the whole to Caſtruccio; of which perfidy Boniſacio Cerchi and Giovanni Guidi, two Florentine exiles then at Piſa, were ſtrongly ſuſpected. However that might be, Benedetto was apprehended and executed for it, all the reſt of his family ſent into baniſhment, and many others of the principal Citizens beheaded. Caſtruccio, therefore, perceiving that he could not depend upon the affections, either of the Piſans or Piſtoians, began to take all poſſible means, both gentle and violent, to ſecure himſelf againſt ſuch machinations for the future; which gave the Florentines time to recruit their forces, and receive the ſuccours they had been promiſed from Naples: after the arrival of which, under the conduct of Prince Carlo, they reſolved not to loſe a moment; and having called in almoſt every Guelf in Italy to their aſſiſtance, they formed a very conſiderable army, conſiſting of above thirty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. After their forces were thus aſſembled, their firſt deliberation was, whether they ſhould begin with the ſiege of Piſa or Piſtoia: at laſt, the former was agreed upon, as they thought they were more likely to ſucceed in that enterprize than the other, conſidering the late conſpiracy there, which was ſo recent, that in all probability, it had left ſome ſeeds of diſcontent and revenge, which might produce a revolt in their favour, and that the reduction of Piſa muſt neceſſarily be attended with that of Piſtoia.

In purſuance of this reſolution, their army took the field at the beginning of May, in the year 1328; and having preſently made themſelves maſters of Laſtra, Signa, Monte Lupo, and Empoli, they

they ſat down before St. Miniato. Caſtruccio, on the other hand, having received intelligence how great a force they had raiſed againſt him, was ſo far from being daunted, that he thought the time was now at hand, when Fortune deſigned to make him maſter of all Tuſcany; being perſuaded the Florentine army would make no better proof in their expedition againſt Piſa, than they had done at Serravalle, and that, if they were defeated again, they would not be able to repair their loſs as ſoon as they had done before, if ever they did at all. Full of theſe hopes, he aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, and encamped near Fucecchio; having firſt thrown a ſuccour of five thouſand foot into Piſa, under the command of Paolo Guinigi.

Fucecchio is naturally one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the territories of Piſa, being ſituated betwixt the Arno and the Guſciana, and upon an eminence which is a good deal higher than the plain: ſo that whilſt he kept poſſeſſion of that poſt, the enemy could neither prevent him from being ſupplied with proviſions from Lucca or Piſa, (except they divided their forces) nor could they either come to attack him there, or march towards Piſa, without manifeſt diſadvantage. For in the latter caſe, they muſt put themſelves betwixt Caſtruccio's army and the forces that lay at Piſa; and in the former, they could not paſs the Arno, (as they muſt do to give him battle) whilſt he occupied thoſe quarters, without expoſing themſelves to very great danger. Caſtruccio, therefore, in order to draw them into a ſnare, had encamped with his army, not immediately upon the banks of the Arno, but nearer the walls of Fucecchio; leaving a conſiderable ſpace void betwixt his camp and the river, in hopes that would allure them to attempt a paſſage.

After the Florentines had taken St. Miniato, they conſulted for ſome time, what was next to be done, and whether they ſhould lay ſiege to Piſa, or march directly to fight Caſtruccio: at laſt, after they had thoroughly conſidered both ſides of the queſtion, they determined upon the latter. The Arno, at that time, was ſo low, that it might be forded, though not without ſome difficulty; for the water was ſtill high enough to take the infantry up to their ſhoulders, and the cavalry to their ſaddle ſkirts. On the morning of the tenth of June, however, the Florentines having drawn up their army in good order, began to paſs the river with part of their horſe, and a body of ten thouſand foot. Upon which, Caſtruccio, who was ready prepared for this event, and had narrowly obſerved their motions, immediately advanced, and fell upon them with five thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, before one half of them had paſſed it; having firſt placed a thouſand of

his light-armed infantry a little higher up the ſtream, and as many more at ſome diſtance upon the banks below. The Florentine infantry found themſelves ſo embarraſſed in the ford by the depth of the water, and the weight of their arms, that many of them could not gain the oppoſite ſide: and the horſe, which had already got over, had broke up the bed of the river in ſuch a manner, that it made it exceeding difficult to be forded by the reſt, ſome of them plunging in the water and throwing their riders, and others ſticking ſo faſt in the mud, that they could not diſengage themſelves: ſo that the Florentine Generals perceiving it was impoſſible their whole army ſhould paſs at that place, ordered the remainder of their forces to march higher up the river, in hopes of finding a ſhallower and more convenient ford. But there they were encountered again by the foot, which Caſtruccio had poſted in that place before, who, being lightly armed with targets and lances, ſo galled their horſes about their heads and breaſts, and ſet up ſuch ſhouts, that they were frighted, and inſtead of advancing, recoiled upon each other, and threw every thing into confuſion.

In the mean time, the conflict betwixt Caſtruccio's forces, and thoſe that had paſſed the river, was very ſharp and obſtinate; many were killed on both ſides, whilſt every man exerted his utmoſt efforts to overpower his enemy. Caſtruccio wanted to drive the Florentines back again into the Arno; and they, on the other hand, were no leſs eager to gain as much ground upon him, as might make room for the reſt of their troops to form in, as ſoon as they could get out of the water. The leaders likewiſe, on each ſide, did not a little contribute to this obſtinacy, both by their exhortations and example. Caſtruccio told his men, that the enemy's army was compoſed of ſuch ſort of ſoldiers as they had beaten but a little while before at Serravalle: whilſt the Florentine officers repreſented to their forces, how infamous it would be for ſo numerous an army to be worſted by one that was every way inferior to it. But Caſtruccio perceiving that each ſide maintained their ground, though both began to grow equally faint and tired with the length of the battle, and had many killed and wounded, cauſed another body of five thouſand foot to advance; and having led them up to the rear of thoſe that were engaged, ordered the latter to open, and wheel off to the right and left, which gave the Florentines an opportunity of puſhing forwards, and gaining a little ground indeed, at firſt; but when thoſe that were already wearied out, came to be engaged with freſh men, they could not ſtand before them, but were obliged to retreat, and throw themſelves into the river. There was yet no great advantage gained on either ſide betwixt the cavalry of the two armies: for, as Caſtruccio well knew the enemy was much ſuperior to him in

that

that reſpect, he had ordered his officers to act upon the defenſive only againſt their horſe, in order to gain time till he had beaten their foot, which he made no doubt of, and then he thought he ſhould be more able to cope with their cavalry. And this ſucceeded according to his wiſhes: for when he ſaw their infantry repulſed, and puſhed back again into the river, he preſently joined his own cavalry, and falling upon that of the enemy with the united force of his horſe and foot together, ſoon put them to the rout. The Florentine Generals, therefore, perceiving the obſtacles their cavalry had met with in fording the river in that place, endeavoured to find a paſſage for a body of their infantry a little lower, in order to attack Caſtruccio in flank: but as the banks were high and difficult of aſcent there too, and occupied by Caſtruccio's forces, they failed in that attempt alſo: ſo that their whole army was defeated, with great glory and reputation to Caſtruccio; for out of ſo large a number, hardly a third part eſcaped. Many of the Florentine Commanders were taken priſoners: Prince Carlo, indeed, had the good fortune to ſave himſelf by flight, and got ſafe to Empoli, together with Michel' Agnolo Falconi, and Taddeo delli Albizi, the Florentine Commiſſaries. Great was the booty, and greater the ſlaughter, as may well be ſuppoſed upon ſuch an occaſion: for of the Florentine army, twenty thouſand two hundred and thirty two men were left dead upon the ſpot, and of Caſtruccio's, about fifteen hundred and ſeventy.

But Fortune now beginning to grow jealous of his glory, put a ſtop to his career, at a time when he would certainly have accompliſhed the great deſigns he had long been revolving in his mind. For being over-heated and fatigued with the length of a battle, which had laſted a whole day, he rode, all covered with duſt and ſweat, as ſoon as it was over, to the gate of Fucecchio, where he ſtopped, partly to receive his Soldiers at their return from the field of battle, and to congratulate them upon a victory which was owing to their valour; and partly that he might be near at hand to remedy any ſudden accident or diſorder, if the enemy ſhould chance to rally and make head again; as it had always been his cuſtom to be the firſt on horſeback, and the laſt that diſmounted. But whilſt he was waiting there, and expoſed to an unwholſome South wind, which often ariſes from the waters of the Arno, he was ſuddenly ſeized with cold all over, attended with a ſhivering fit; of which he made ſo little account, having been long uſed to all manner of hardſhips and fatigues, and miſchances of that kind, that for want of proper care it proved fatal to him. For the night following he was attacked with a ſmart fever, which increaſed every hour to ſuch a degree, that his Phyſicians had no hopes of his recovery: upon which, Caſtruccio himſelf being ſenſible of the danger he was in, ſent for Paolo Guinigi, and ſpoke to him in this manner. "Could I have foreſeen,

foreſeen, dear Son, that Fortune would thus have cut me off in the middle of my courſe, and at a time when I flattered myſelf with immortal glory and renown in my future undertakings, from the uncommon ſucceſs with which my arms have hitherto been crowned, I would not have been ſo ſollicitous to extend my conqueſts. For if I had left you in poſſeſſion of a ſmaller territory, I ſhould, likewiſe, have left you fewer enemies, and leſs expoſed to envy. Had I been content with the Sovereignty of Lucca and Piſa, without aſpiring to that of Piſtoia, and provoking the Florentines by ſo many injuries and inſults as I have done, I might have made both thoſe States my friends, and not only have led a more peaceable and quiet, if not a longer life, but have left you poſſeſſed of a dominion, not ſo extenſive, perhaps, but certainly more ſecure and better eſtabliſhed. But Fortune, who takes upon herſelf to govern all worldly affairs, neither gave me penetration ſufficient to ſee into her wiles, nor time enough to get the better of her malevolence. You muſt have heard from many (and I was never ſo ungrateful as to deny it) how I came into your Father's houſe, whilſt I was yet but a boy, and deſtitute of all means that could inſpire me with any hopes of ever gratifying the impulſe of a generous mind; and that I was educated and cheriſhed by him, in as tender a manner as if I had been his own child; ſo that it is wholly owing to his tuition and example, that I have been able to exert any virtues, which I may have been thought to poſſeſs, and to advance myſelf to that degree of reputation and grandeur, in which you have ſeen me. When he lay upon his death-bed, he committed both your perſon and fortune to my care and good faith; and I have always diſcharged both thoſe truſts with that honour and fidelity to which I thought myſelf ſo highly obliged. I have not only preſerved to you the inheritance of your father, but that I might alſo leave you the fruits of my own labours and ſucceſs, I never engaged in matrimony; leſt if I ſhould have children of my own, my natural affection for them might either impair my attachment to you, or diminiſh the gratitude which I owe to his bounty. But if it gives me great pleaſure to leave you in poſſeſſion of a very conſiderable State, it fills me with no leſs concern, when I reflect at the ſame time, that I leave you but weak and unſettled in it; for you may aſſure yourſelf, that Lucca will not bear much longer to live in ſubjection to you: and as for Piſa, the inhabitants are naturally ſo fickle and perfidious, that though they have been long accuſtomed to ſervitude, they will always diſdain the yoke of a Luccheſe. The Piſtoians, likewiſe, are as little to be depended upon; becauſe they are not only divided amongſt themſelves, but exceedingly exaſperated at the injuries we have ſo lately done them. Your neighbours the Florentines alſo, though not a little irritated at the war I have been carrying on againſt them, are yet very

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far from being ſubdued; and I make no doubt but they will rejoice as much at the news of my death, as if they had conquered all Tuſcany. The Prince of Milan and the Emperor are at ſo great a diſtance, ſo ſlow in their motions, and ſo dilatory in their Succours, that you can put no great confidence in them. You have nothing to truſt to but your own conduct, the memory of my atchievements, and the reputation we have gained by our late victories; of which if you make a prudent uſe, they will be of no ſmall ſervice to you in concluding an honourable peace with the Florentines; who being daunted at preſent by ſo recent a defeat, will naturally deſire an accommodation. I indeed took all means to provoke them to a rupture, becauſe I thought nothing could contribute ſo much to my advancement: but let it be your principal endeavour to make them your friends, as nothing can ſo effectually conduce to your intereſt and ſecurity, as a good underſtanding with them. It is a matter of great importance in human affairs, for a Prince to know himſelf, and to weigh his own abilities as well as the ſtrength of his State; that ſo, if he finds he is not qualified for warlike undertakings, he may apply himſelf to learn the art of ruling in peace. It is my advice, therefore, that you would well conſider this, and endeavour by thoſe means to enjoy the fruit of my labours and perils (as you eaſily may if you follow theſe precepts) in ſafety and tranquility: and then you will lie under this double obligation to me, that I have not only left you a flouriſhing State, but ſuch inſtructions alſo as will not fail to ſecure it to you."

When he had finiſhed theſe exhortations, he ſent for ſuch of the Citizens of Lucca, Piſa, and Piſtoia, as had fought under his banners, and after he had both recommended Paolo Guinigi to them, as their Sovereign, in the ſtrongeſt terms, and obliged them to take an oath of allegiance to him, he departed this life; as much admired by his very enemies, and lamented by his friends, as any Prince that ever lived. His exequies were celebrated with great pomp and ſolemnity, and his corpſe interred in the Church of St. Francis at Lucca. Paolo Guinigi, ſucceeded him indeed in his dominions, but his abilities were not equal to thoſe of Caſtruccio, nor was his fortune ſo favourable; for he ſoon loſt Piſtoia, and afterwards Piſa, and with great difficulty kept Lucca, which, however, continued in his family to the fourth generation.

From this ſhort account of Caſtruccio's life and actions, it may appear, that he was not only deſervedly looked upon as a very extraordinary man in his own times, but might juſtly have been ſo eſteemed in former ages. His ſtature was higher than ordinary, and his limbs admirably proportioned to each other: beſides which, he had ſomething ſo engaging in his countenance, and received every body with ſo much complaiſance and affability, that no one ever went diſſatisfied out of his preſence.

preſence. His hair, which he always wore cropt ſhort above his ears, rather inclined to red, and he conſtantly went bare-headed in all ſorts of weather. He was grateful to his friends, terrible to his foes, an impartial diſtributor of juſtice amongſt his Subjects, full of wiles and Stratagems when he had enemies to deal with, and ſeldom had recourſe to open violence, when he could carry his point by craft or circumvention; as he uſed to ſay, that ſucceſs, by what means ſoever procured, was equally glorious. No man ever took wiſer meaſures to prevent difficulties and dangers, or behaved with more intrepidity and preſence of mind when they could not be avoided: for it was a maxim with him, that a man ought to try all things, and be diſmayed at nothing; ſince it was plain that God was a friend to the brave, by employing them as inſtruments to chaſtiſe cowards. He was very quick, and ſometimes rather ſatirical in his jokes and repartees; and as he never ſpared any one, ſo he never was offended when others took the ſame liberties with him: ſome of his witty ſayings are ſtill remembered [c]. He bought

[c] It is well if the Reader can find much *wit* in theſe *ſayings*; for certainly ſome of them appear very flat, and others to be of much higher date than Caſtruccio's time. Might not one, therefore, very well apply to Caſtruccio (or perhaps more truly to Machiavel himſelf) what Gnatho ſays to Thraſo in Terence? "Tuumne, obſecro te, hoc dictum erat? vetus credidi. Plus millies jam audivi." "Pray Sir, is this your own joke? I thought it had been an old one, for I have heard it above a thouſand times."——The paſſage mentioned in the *Life of Machiavel*, relating to the fineſſe which he made uſe of in compoſing the *Life of Caſtruccio Caſtracani*, and referred to by Mr. Bayle in the *Suite du Menagiana*, is as follows. "Leonard Aretin etoit un des ſavans qui ſe ſont le plus diſtinguez dans le temps du repouvellement des lettres: mais il a fait un choſe qui ne lui eſt pas honorable. Il trouva un manuſcrit Grec da Procope *de bello Gothico*. Il le traduiſit en Latin, & fit paſſer cet ouvrage comme s' il eut eté de lui. Mais depuis on trouva d'autres manuſcrits du même ouvrage de Procope, & la ſupercherie de Leonard Aretin fut decouverte. Machiavel s'y prit plus adroitement dans une ſemblable affaire. Un manuſcrit des Apothegmes des anciens de Plutarque lui etant tombé entre les mains, il en prit ce qui lui plut davantage, & ne croyant pas qu' une ſimple traduction lui fit aſſez d'honneur dans le monde, & ne s' accommodant pas d'ailleurs d'une impoſture auſſi groſſiere & auſſi facile à decouvrir que celle de Leonard Aretin, il agit à la verité plus finement que lui, mais non pas plus conſciencieuſement. Il entreprit la Vie de Caſtruccio Caſtracani, & là mit dans la bouche de ſon Heros la plus part des bonnes choſes que Plutarque rapporte des Anciens: encore a-t-il deguisé ſa mauvaiſe foi, & n' a pas pouſsé l'impudence ſi loin que Leonard Aretin l' a pouſſé." "Leonard Aretine was one of the *Literati*, that diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt at the reſurrection of Letters. He was guilty of an action, however, that did him but little honour. For happening to meet with a Manuſcript Hiſtory of the Gothic war, written in Greek, by Procopius, he tranſlated it into Latin, and publiſhed it as his own work. But unfortunately for him, ſeveral other manuſcripts of the original were found ſoon after, and the theft was detected. Machiavel took a more adroit way upon a like occaſion. A manuſcript of Plutarch's *Apothegms of the Ancients*, falling into his hands, he picked out ſuch as he liked beſt: but as he thought a mere tranſlation of them would gain him no great degree of reputation in the world, and probably was afraid to venture at an impoſture ſo groſs and eaſy to be diſcovered as Aretine's, he acted more cunningly, though not more conſcientiouſly, than the other had done. For having undertaken to write the Life of Caſtruccio Caſtracani,

bought a bird one day for which he gave a crown; and one of his acquaintance laughing at him, and ſaying, he would not have given above a penny for it himſelf. Very likely, anſwered Caſtruccio; and if you had given no more, you would have paid dearer for it than I have done; for I do not value a crown ſo much as you do a penny.—He grew ſo tired of the importunities of a flatterer, who teazed him every day to grant him a particular favour, that at laſt he ſpit in his face, and bid him go about his buſineſs. The Flatterer, however, was ſo far from being daunted at this rebuff, that he calmly wiped his face, and ſaid, "A Fiſherman is often dabbled up to the neck in mire and dirt to catch a pitiful chub; and ſhall I be aſhamed of a little clear ſpittle, who am catching a whale?" Upon which, Caſtruccio, either in admiration of his patience and perſeverance, or perhaps, to get rid of ſo troubleſome

cani, he put moſt of the ſmart things, which Plutarch reports to have been ſaid by the Ancients, into the mouth of his Hero: ſo that he threw a little ſort of diſguiſe over his plagiariſms, and was not quite ſo impudent and barefaced in his roguery as Aretine. *Suite du Menagiana. p.* 100, 101. The Edition of the Menagiana, from which this paſſage is extracted, is in four Volumes, printed at Amſterdam in 1713. The ſecond is called *Suite du Menagiana.* The two laſt have a different title, and are called *Menagiana*, ou, *Les Bons Mots & Remarques hiſtoriques, morales, & d' erudition du Monſieur Menage, recueillies par ſes amis.* But they are rather remarks upon Menage's remarks, and very often corrections of them made by his friends: from whence we may ſee that he was frequently miſtaken. For the two laſt Volumes are merely corrections of the two firſt: ſo that the corrections equal Menage's obſervations, at leaſt in bulk, though not in number. Indeed the two firſt, (and the firſt eſpecially) conſiſt of ſo many frivolous articles, that moſt of them are not worth reading, much leſs being remarked upon. The corrections are ſaid to be, (though not ſolely, yet chiefly) by Bayle's great friend at Geneva, Monſieur Monnoye, to whom he was obliged for many curious articles and remarks in his Dictionary. Let us ſee what he ſays of the above quoted paſſage concerning Machiavel, in the fourth Volume of the Menagiana, page 86. "Les Apothegmes de Plutarque etoient connus, traduits, & imprimez, long tems avant que Machiavel eut ecrit. L'emploi qu' il a fait de ces bons mots n'a eté que dans la vue de divertir ſes lecteurs & d' embellir ſon ouvrage, à peu pres comme a depuis fait le Manſo dans la vie du Taſſe, quoique ç' ait eté juſtement ce qui a rendu ces deux Ecrivains ridicules. Il eſt de plus à remarquer, que quand Machiavel auroit eté le premier à qui le Manuſcrit de Plutarque ſeroit tombé entre les mains, il n' auroit pas eté capable d' en entreprendre une traduction, lui qui à peine entendoit le Latin." "Plutarch's *Apothegms of the Ancients* were not only commonly known, but had been tranſlated and publiſhed long before Machiavel's time. The uſe that he made of them, was only to divert his Readers and embelliſh his work, as Manſo did afterwards in his Life of Taſſo; though they both expoſed themſelves to ridicule by it. Beſides, ſuppoſing that Machiavel had been the firſt perſon that got poſſeſſion of Plutarch's Manuſcript, he would not have been capable of tranſlating it, as he was ſo far from underſtanding the Greek tongue, that he could hardly read Latin."——The Editor of this tranſlation had not been able to meet with the Menagiana, when he ſent *the Life of Machiavel* to the preſs: but as he has ſince obtained this extract from them, by the kind aſſiſtance of his two learned and worthy friends, the Reverend Mr. Winter, Rector of All Saints in Derby, and the Reverend Mr. Edward Beresford, fellow of St. John's College in Cambridge, the Reader is here preſented with this Anecdote and the remark upon it; which, perhaps, he may think more properly inſerted in this place, than in the above-mention[illegible] *of Machi*[illegible] prefixed to the *Prince.*

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a ſollicitor, at laſt granted his requeſt and diſmiſſed him.—Somebody reproaching him with living in too great ſplendor, he told him he thought there could be no ſin in that; for if there was, the Saints would not ſuffer their Holidays to be celebrated with ſo much luxury and magnificence.—As he was taking a walk through the ſtreets one day, he happened to ſee a young man come out of a bawdy houſe, who yet had the modeſty to bluſh when he met Caſtruccio; Friend, ſaid he, you have more reaſon to be aſhamed when you go into ſuch houſes, than when you come out of them.—A perſon aſking him to untie a knot, that was very faſt and artfully knit together; you Simpleton, anſwered he, do you think I have nothing elſe to do but trouble myſelf about puzzling trifles [*d*]? Seeing a perſon at dinner, ſomewhere, who ſet up for a Philoſopher, he told him, that people of his profeſſion were like Dogs, that frequented the houſes of ſuch as fed them beſt. Nay, replied the Philoſopher, we are rather like Phyſicians who go to the houſes of thoſe that have moſt occaſion for them.—Returning from Leghorn to Piſa by water, he happened to be caught in a ſtorm, at which he ſeemed to be a little frighted: and ſomebody that was in the veſſel raillying him upon it, and ſaying he could not help being ſurprized, that ſuch a man as Caſtruccio ſhould betray any ſigns of fear, when he himſelf was not at all afraid; Caſtruccio ſaid, he did not wonder at that, as every man valued his life according to its worth. Being aſked what a man ought to do to gain eſteem, he anſwered, When you are invited to a feaſt, take care that you do not ſet one log of wood upon another.——A perſon boaſting how much he had read, Caſtruccio told him, it would have been more to his credit if he had remembered but one half of it.—A hard drinker bragging one day, that though he drank ever ſo large a quantity he never was drunk, Caſtruccio ſaid, Sir, you have no more reaſon to value yourſelf upon that account than a beaſt has.—— One of his acquaintance, upbraiding him with an amour that

[*d*] Turpe eſt difficiles habere nugas,
Et Stultus labor ineptiarum.

The Original here ſays, "O Sciocco, credi tu che io voglia ſciorre una coſa, che legata mi dia tanta briga." Which, perhaps, ought to have been tranſlated thus, "You Simpleton, do you think I will ever looſe a thing, that gives me ſo much trouble when it is faſt tied up?" The old tranſlation runs in this manner. "He was always of opinion, that a Conqueror ought not to give too much liberty to his new Subjects: which upon a time he explained very ſubtilly to ſome who underſtood him. Having a knot given him that was very faſt tied, he was deſired to undo it: and having tried a good while to no purpoſe, *My friend, ſaid he aloud, if a thing that is tied can give me ſo much trouble, I ſhall be much worſe when it is once looſed.*" Whether ſo large a Periphraſis is allowable in a Tranſlator (who has taken many other ſuch liberties of ſtill greater extent in this piece) I ſay not: nor do I pretend to affirm that I have hit off the Author's meaning in a better manner. The matter (which is of no great importance indeed) is left to the deciſion of others, if they think it worth their while to trouble their heads about it. *Scilicet id curat populus.*

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he was engaged in, and ſaying, It was a ſhame to be ſo bewitched by a woman; he replied, Friend, you are miſtaken, I have bewitched *her*.—Another blaming him for being too delicate and expenſive in his eating, he ſaid, I ſuppoſe then, you would not ſpend ſo much yourſelf in that article. By no means, anſwered the other. If that be the caſe, replied he, you are rather to be pitied as a Miſer, than I as an Epicure. —Being invited to dine with Taddeo Bernardi, one of the moſt opulent and elegant citizens in Lucca, he was received in a room hung with the richeſt tapeſtry, and floored with Moſaic work, which repreſented ſeveral ſorts of trees, flowers, and ſhrubs, in the moſt vivid colours; and looking about him as if he wanted to ſpit ſomewhere, but durſt not, he at laſt ſpit full in Taddeo's face: at which Taddeo being exceedingly affronted, as well he might, Caſtruccio endeavoured to excuſe himſelf by ſaying, Indeed, Sir, I could not find any place to ſpit in, that I thought would give you leſs offence.——Somebody aſking him, in what manner Julius Cæſar died? Juſt in the ſame manner, ſaid he, that I would wiſh to die myſelf.—One of his Officers inviting him to meet ſome Ladies at his houſe, where they afterwards ſpent the evening in dancing, drinking, play, and other ſuch diverſions, as ſeemed rather inconſiſtent with his dignity, he was gently reprimanded by a a friend, who told Him, He would loſe his reputation by it: to which Caſtruccio made anſwer, That a man who was reckoned wiſe all day, would never be thought a fool at night.——A certain perſon requeſting a favour of him, and Caſtruccio pretending not to hear him, the other caſt himſelf at his feet: and Caſtruccio rebuking him for his meanneſs, he replied, Sir, it is entirely owing to yourſelf; for as you did not ſeem to hear me before, I thought your ears might have lain nearer the ground: at which he was ſo far from being diſpleaſed, that he granted him more than he deſired.——Another perſon teazing him for a boon in a moſt importunate manner, at laſt added, *but I doubt I have treſſpaſſed upon your patience, Sir.* Not at all, friend, ſaid he, for I did not attend to one word that you have been ſaying.—A third Sollicitor having much diſguſted him by his awkward and impertinent manner of addreſs, he deſired him to ſend ſomebody elſe to Sollicit for him, the next time he ſhould have occaſion to aſk any favour.—He uſed to ſay, The road to hell muſt certainly be a very eaſy and ready one to hit, as it was all the way down hill, and people went thither with their eyes ſhut.—He told one that had been a very handſome boy, and was afterwards as handſome a man, That he had done too much miſchief: for whilſt he was a boy, he debauched men from their wives, and now he was a man, he debauched women from their huſbands.—Seeing an envious man laugh one day, he aſked him, Whether he laughed becauſe

things went well with himſelf, or ill with other people?——Whilſt he was under the tuition of Franciſco Guinigi, one of his companions aſking him, What he would take to let him give him a box on the ear? A Helmet, ſaid Caſtruccio.——Having put a citizen of Lucca to death who had contributed much to his advancement, he was reproached with treating *an old friend* with ſo much ſeverity. To which he made anſwer, that it was a miſtake, for he was *a new enemy*.——He uſed to ſay, That thoſe who praiſed matrimony, but never would marry, were like men that loved ſailing, but did not care to venture upon the Sea.—He often wondered that men, who would ring a glaſs or an earthen veſſel, when they bought it, to try whether it was not cracked, ſhould content themſelves with only looking at the woman they deſigned to marry.—Somebody aſking him, How he would be buried when he died? With my face downwards, ſaid he: for I am ſure this country will be turned upſide down after I am dead.——Being aſked by another perſon, Whether he had ever any thoughts of turning Monk for the Salvation of his Soul? He ſaid, He never Had: for he thought it very ſtrange if Friar Lazarone ſhould go to Heaven, and Uguccione della Fagiuola to Hell.—Happening to be preſent when it was diſputed at what time it was moſt wholeſome to eat, he ſaid, He thought it was beſt for rich men to eat when they were hungry, and for poor men when they could get meat.——As he always hated indolence, he could not forbear aſking one of his friends who uſed to make his ſervant button his cloaths for him, Why he did not likewiſe make the man cut his meat, and put it into his mouth?——A certain perſon having written over his own door, *God preſerve this houſe from rogues*, he laughed very heartily, and ſaid, Then the maſter himſelf muſt never go into it.——Paſſing by a ſmall houſe which had a very large Portal, he ſaid, If great care is not taken, this houſe will run away through the gateway.——Being engaged in a diſpute with an Ambaſſador from the King of Naples, concerning the eſtates of ſome Exiles which had been confiſcated, and growing a little warm in the matter, the Ambaſſador aſked him, If he ſtood in no awe of his Majeſty? Awe of his Majeſty, ſaid he? Pray is the King your maſter a good man, or a bad man? A good one to be ſure, anſwered the Ambaſſador. Why then, replied he, ſhould I be afraid of any good man? Many other of his ſayings might here be recited, if further proofs of his wit and greatneſs of mind were wanting; but let theſe ſuffice. He lived to the age of forty-four, and behaved with the magnanimity of a Prince in every viciſſitude of his fortune. And as there are many monuments of his proſperity ſtill in being, he likewiſe left ſome traces of adverſity behind him: for he cauſed the hand-cuffs which he had worn, when he was impriſoned by Uguccione della Fa-

giuola,

giuola, to be hung up in the moſt public room of his houſe, (where they are ſtill to be ſeen) to ſhew that he was not aſhamed to have it known that he had once been in affliction. To conclude, having equalled the great actions of Philip of Macedon, and Scipio the Roman, he died at the ſame age that they did; and if he had been born either at Rome or Macedon, inſtead of Lucca, it is very probable he would have far ſurpaſſed them both.

The End of the Life of CASTRUCCIO CASTRACANI.

A

NARRATIVE

Of the METHOD taken by

DUKE VALENTINE

To rid himſelf of

VITELLOZZO VITELLI, OLIVEROTTO DA FERMO, PAOLO URSINI,
and the Duke of GRAVINI.

A

NARRATIVE

Of the METHOD taken by

DUKE VALENTINE

To rid himſelf of VITELLOZZO VITELLI, OLIVEROTTO DA FERMO, PAOLA URSINI, and the Duke of GRAVINA.

AFTER the revolt of Arezzo, and ſome other towns in the Vale of Chiana, from the Florentines, the latter made ſuch complaints to Lewis XII. King of France, againſt Duke Valentine, that he found himſelf obliged to wait upon his Majeſty, (who was then in Lombardy) in order to exculpate himſelf: and arriving at Imola, in his return from thence, he there laid a ſcheme to diſpoſſeſs Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna, and to make it the Capital of the States which he had lately acquired in Romagna. But the Vitelli and Urſini, and their friends, having intelligence of this deſign, began to be apprehenſive that the Duke would grow too powerful, and that when he had taken Bologna from the Bentivogli, he would endeavour to ruin them alſo, and make himſelf ſole Arbiter of Italy. Upon theſe conſiderations,

tions, they thought proper to hold a Diet at Magione, in the territories of Perugia; at which place Cardinal Urſini, Signior Paolo, the Duke of Gravina, (all of the ſame family) Vitelozzo Vitelli, Oliverotto da Fermo, Gianpaolo Baglioni, Lord of Perugia, and Antonio da Venafro, Miniſter from Pandolpho Petrucci, Lord of Siena, all met together, and entered into a conſultation, what meaſures they ſhould take to curb the Duke's ambition and greatneſs, which otherwiſe muſt prove fatal to them, as well as others in the end. The reſult of their deliberations was, to aſſiſt the Bentivogli, and endeavour to prevail upon the Florentines to join them: for which purpoſe, they ſent Ambaſſadors to both; promiſing ſuccour to one, and exhorting the other to unite with them againſt their common enemy.

The news of this meeting being ſoon carried all over Italy, ſuch of the duke's Subjects as were diſcontented under his government (amongſt whom were the inhabitants of the Duchy of Urbino) began to conceive hopes of a change in their favour: and taking their opportunity, whilſt things were yet in ſuſpence, ſome of them entered into a conſpiracy to ſurprize the Caſtle of St. Leo, then in the duke's hands; which was to be executed in this manner: the Governor of the Caſtle was at that time going to repair it, and having cauſed a great quantity of timber to be brought thither for that purpoſe, the conſpirators contrived that ſome of the largeſt beams ſhould be unloaded upon the draw-bridge; by which it was ſo incumbered, that the ſoldiers of the garriſon could not poſſibly pull it up, if there ſhould be occaſion. When they had effected this, they ſuddenly entered the place in the night, and made themſelves maſters of it: which was no ſooner known, but the whole country round about it took up arms, and called in their old duke, in hopes of receiving further aſſiſtance from the members of the Diet, which had been held at Magione; who, being informed of this revolt, thought it was an opportunity not to be neglected, and having raiſed ſome forces, immediately took the field, in order to reduce any other town, that ſhould ſtill continue firm to Duke Valentine. They likewiſe ſent a new Embaſſy to importune the Florentines, in the moſt preſſing manner, to aſſiſt them in their endeavours to deſtroy the common Incendiary, to acquaint them with the advantage they had already gained, and to repreſent to them, that, if they ſlighted ſo fair an opportunity, they muſt never expect ſuch another. But the Florentines, out of the ancient hatred they bore to the Vitelli and Urſini upon many accounts, not only refuſed to join them, but ſent their ſecretary Niccolò Machiavelli to the Duke, with an offer of their protection and aſſiſtance againſt his new enemies. He was then at Imola, and in great diſtreſs, as part of his forces had mutinied and deſerted

deſerted him: ſo that he was left in a manner diſarmed, and at a time too, when a war was juſt going to break out upon him. But taking courage from the offers which the Florentines had made him, he reſolved to ſpin out the war with what few troops he had, and to amuſe the enemy with overtures of agreement; whilſt he endeavoured to raiſe more forces: for which purpoſe he ſent, in the firſt place, to deſire ſuccour from the King of France; and in the next, he raiſed all the recruits he poſſibly could, by giving large advance money, and good pay to any man, but eſpecially horſemen, that would enter into his ſervice.

In the mean time, however, the enemy had taken the field, as we ſaid before, and advanced towards Foſſombrone; where a body of the Duke's troops made a ſtand, but was ſoon routed by thoſe under the Vitelli and Urſini. The news of this defeat determined the Duke to ſtop the progreſs of the war at any rate, by a treaty of peace: and as he was a perfect maſter of diſſimulation, he left no ſort of artifice untried which might contribute to that end; inſinuating, that though they had begun a war againſt him without the leaſt provocation on his ſide, he was willing not only to forget and forgive thoſe injuries, but to make them a preſent of what he had acquired in thoſe parts; that for his own part, he deſired nothing more than the bare title of a Prince, and would chearfully give up the power to them: by which means, he wrought ſo effectually upon their credulity, that they agreed to a ceſſation of hoſtilities, and ſent Signior Paolo Urſini to treat with him of peace. Notwithſtanding theſe amicable appearances, he ſtill continued his preparations for war, raiſing forces with all poſſible diligence, and diſtributing them privately in different towns all over Romagna.

During this negotiation, he received a reinforcement of five hundred French lances; and though he found himſelf then ſtrong enough to face the enemy, yet he thought it a ſafer and better way to proceed, rather by circumvention than open violence, and therefore reſolved not to break off the treaty he had begun with them: in which he proceeded with ſo much ſeeming candour and diſintereſtedneſs, that a peace was ſoon concluded; by the articles of which, he agreed to pay them their penſions as uſual, and made them a preſent of four thouſand ducats in ready money: he likewiſe not only promiſed to give Giovanni Bentivoglio no further diſturbance at Bologna, but contracted a family alliance with him, and excuſed them all from coming at any time to wait upon him in perſon, except they pleaſed to do it voluntarily and without compulſion. On the other hand, they promiſed to reſtore the Duchy of Urbino, and whatever elſe they had taken from him, and to ſerve him in any future expedition, and never to make war upon any

other State, or enter into the ſervice of another Prince without his conſent and approbation. A peace, therefore, being agreed upon by both ſides on theſe terms, Guidobaldo, the old Duke of Urbino, was obliged to retire once more to Venice, having taken care to have all the fortreſſes and ſtrong-holds in that ſtate demoliſhed before he left it: for, as he plainly ſaw that the fidelity and affection of the inhabitants was ſtill unſhaken, he reſolved that thoſe places ſhould not fall into the enemy's hands, which he could not defend himſelf, and might enable them, if they were left fortified, to bridle and oppreſs his friends [*a*].

But Duke Valentine having concluded this treaty, and quartered all his own forces and French auxiliaries in the different towns of Romagna, left Imola about the end of November, and went to Ceſena, where he ſtaid ſeveral days, to conſult with ſome Deputies that had been ſent thither by the Vitelli and Urſini, who then lay with their forces in the Duchy of Urbino, what enterprize they ſhould go upon next: but nothing certain being determined upon, Oliverotto da Fermo was diſpatched to acquaint him, that if he approved of it they would invade Tuſcany; if not, they might probably ſucceed in an attempt upon Sinigaglia. To this the Duke made anſwer, that he could wiſh they would not think of any expedition againſt Tuſcany, as the Florentines were his good friends and allies; but that he would willingly concur with them in the other propoſal. Upon which, they ſoon after laid ſiege to Sinigaglia, and took the town in a few days; but the Caſtle ſtill held out againſt them: for the Governor of it refuſed to deliver it up to any other perſon but the Duke: for which reaſon, they ſent to deſire he would come thither himſelf. The Duke, therefore, thought this a very favourable opportunity for the execution of his ſecret deſigns; eſpecially as they could not have any ſuſpicion of them, ſince he went thither, not of his own accord, but at their particular requeſt and invitation: and to lull them into ſtill greater ſecurity, he diſmiſſed his French auxiliaries, and ſent them back again into Lombardy, except a hundred lances that were under the command of his brother-in-law, Monſieur de Candale. With theſe hopes he left Ceſena, about the middle of December, and came to Fano, where he made uſe of all the artifice he was maſter of, to prevail upon the Vitelli and Urſini to ſtay at Sinigaglia till he came thither; hinting at the ſame time, that if they behaved with ſo much reſerve and ſuſpicion, the treaty betwixt them could not be of any long duration; and that

[*a*] See Chap. XX. of *the Prince*; and Chap. XXIV. Book II. of the *Political Diſcourſes*.

for

for his own part, he was a man of that frank and open diſpoſition, that he cordially deſired to join counſels as well as arms with his friends. Vitellozzo, however, who had been ſufficiently warned from the death of his brother, how dangerous a thing it is to offend a Prince, and then to put one's ſelf in his power [b], ſeemed very averſe to any ſuch meeting; but was prevailed upon at laſt by the repeated importunities of Paolo Urſini (whoſe confidence the Duke had gained by great bribes and ſtill greater promiſes) to ſtay with him till the Duke arrived.

The Duke having gained this point before the day fixed for his departure from Fano, (which was the thirtieth of December) communicated his deſign to eight of his moſt intimate Confidents (amongſt whom were Don Michael [c] and Monſignor d' Euna, afterwards a Cardinal) who had orders to place themſelves two by two, on each ſide of Vitellozzo Vitelli, Paolo Urſini, Oliverotto da Fermo, and the duke of Gravina, when they came out to meet him; aſſigning every couple their particular man, whom they were to amuſe in converſation all the way back again to Sinigaglia, with a ſtrict injunction not to part with them upon any account till they had conducted them to the duke's lodgings, and ſeen them in ſafe cuſtody there. In the next place, he ordered all his forces, both horſe and foot, which amounted to two thouſand of the former, and ten thouſand of the latter, to rendezvous by break of day on the laſt of December, upon the banks of the Metaurus, (a river about five miles from Fano) and to wait there till he joined them.

Arriving there accordingly at that time himſelf, he drew up his army; and having firſt cauſed about two hundred horſe to advance towards Sinigaglia, he commanded the foot to move after them at ſome little diſtance, and brought up the reſt of the cavalry himſelf in the rear. Fano and Sinigaglia are two cities in la Marca d' Ancona, ſituated upon the coaſt of the Adriatic, at the diſtance of about fifteen miles from each other; in ſuch a manner, that in travelling from the former to the latter, the ſkirts of ſome mountains on the right hand are ſo near the ſea, that in ſome places they are almoſt waſhed by the ſalt water; and in others, where they are at the greateſt diſtance, they are not two miles from it. Sinigaglia itſelf is not much above a muſket-ſhot from the foot of theſe mountains, and

[b] See *the Prince*, Chap. VII. and VIII.

[c] *Alias* Michelotto. One of the moſt infamous Cut-throats of that age. He was the head of a gang of Aſſaſſins and Poiſoners that were kept in pay by Cæſar Borgia, and had been employed by him to murder his elder brother the Duke of Gandia, and many others.

within leſs than a mile of the ſea; a ſmall river running cloſe to the walls that are next the road which leads to Fano. So that to come at the town, you muſt travel a conſiderable way along the bottom of the hills, till you arrive at the river; and then turn to the left for the ſpace of a muſket-ſhot along the bank of it, where there is a bridge which leads, though not directly in a ſtraight line, to one of the gates of the town: but before you get to the gate, there is a little Bourg with an area or ſort of a ſquare in it, one ſide of which is made by the river.

The Vitelli and Urſini having determined to wait upon the Duke in perſon, and to receive him with all poſſible reſpect, had cauſed all their own forces to retire into certain neighbouring caſtles about ſix miles from Sinigaglia, in order to make room for the Duke's; except thoſe under the command of Oliverotto da Fermo, which conſiſted of a thouſand foot and a hundred and fifty horſe, and were quartered in the Bourg abovementioned. Things being in this ſituation, Duke Valentine drew near the town: but when his advanced guard of two hundred horſe arrived at the bridge, they did not paſs it, but made a halt, and facing about, opened to the right and left to let the infantry paſs, who immediately marched into the town. Upon which, Vitellozzo Vitelli, ſignior Paolo Urſini, and the Duke of Gravina being now aſſured of the duke's approach, preſently mounted their mules, and went out to meet him, attended only by a few horſe: Vitellozzo, who had only thrown a cloak round him, without any ſort of armour under it, ſeemed to be very melancholy and dejected, as if he had had a preſentiment of his approaching deſtiny; at which ſome could not help being a good deal ſurpriſed, who had been witneſſes of his former bravery and conduct: it is ſaid, that when he left his family to go out and meet the Duke, he took a ſolemn leave of them, as if he expected never to ſee them again; earneſtly recommending them and their intereſts to the care of his principal officers, and exhorting his children and grandchildren to remember the virtues and magnanimity rather than the fortune of their Anceſtors.

As ſoon as they met the Duke, they ſaluted him with much civility, and were very graciouſly received by him; after which, thoſe that had been appointed to take charge of them, immediately placed themſelves on each ſide of their man. But the Duke perceiving that Oliverotto da Fermo was not there, (as he had ſtaid behind to exerciſe his men and keep them under arms to receive the Duke in the ſquare of the Bourg, where they were quartered) made a private ſignal to Michelotto, (who was one of the two that were to have

have watched Oliverotto) to take care that he did not eſcape. Upon which, he rode forwards to Oliverotto as faſt as he could, and told him, he had better draw off his men into their quarters again, leſt they ſhould be occupied by the duke's, who was near at hand, and would take it well, he thought, if he would come out to welcome him, as the reſt of his friends had done. Oliverotto, therefore, thinking this no bad advice, ſent his men back into their quarters, and returned with Michelotto to meet the Duke, who, as ſoon as they drew near together, called to him by name, and ſaid, he was heartily glad to meet him again as a friend: upon which, Oliverotto having made his obeiſance, returned the compliment, and joined the reſt of the company. But as ſoon as they got into the town and had diſmounted, they were introduced into a private apartment in the lodgings which had been prepared for the Duke; who, having taken effectual care to ſecure them there in the firſt place, immediately mounted his horſe, and ordered their ſoldiers to be diſarmed and plundered. Thoſe accordingly that belonged to Oliverotto, being upon the ſpot, were inſtantly ſtripped: but the others, who had been under the command of the Urſini and Vitelli, being quartered at a greater diſtance, and hearing of the misfortune that had befallen their leaders, had time to unite, and by dint of courage and good diſcipline, bravely fought their way through an enemy's country, in ſpite of all oppoſition, till they arrived ſafely in their own. The Duke's ſoldiers, however, not content with ſtripping Oliverotto's men, began to pillage the town; and if the Duke had not taken timely care to prevent it, by killing ſeveral of them with his own hand, they would certainly have ranſacked it from top to bottom.

But when night came on, and all diſturbances were compoſed, the Duke having reſolved to put Vitellozzo and Oliverotto to death, had them conducted into another room, where he ordered them both to be ſtrangled. It was ſomething remarkable, that when they came to die, neither of them ſhewed the leaſt ſign, either in their words or actions, of that ſpirit, which they had given ſo many proofs of in the courſe of their lives: Vitellozzo beſeeching the Duke that he would ſupplicate the Pope to grant him a plenary indulgence for his ſins [*d*]; whilſt Oliverotto humbly begged his pardon for the injuries

[*d*] "Would one imagine, (ſays Voltaire, in his general Hiſtory of Europe, Vol. II. p. 123.) that Vitelli, when he was expiring, begged of his murderer to obtain a plenary indulgence for him, from the Pope his father, in the article of death? And yet this is mentioned by cotemporary writers. Nothing ſurely can be a greater proof of human weakneſs, or of the power of ſuperſtition. If Cæſar Borgia had died before Alexander VI.

ries he had done him, and laid all the blame upon Vitellozzo. Signior Paolo Urſini, and the Duke of Gravina were kept alive, but cloſely confined in the Caſtle of Pieve, till Duke Valentine had advice from Rome that the Pope had ſecured Cardinal Urſini, the Archbiſhop of Florence, and Jacopo da Santa Croce: after which, he cauſed them likewiſe to to be ſtrangled on the eighteenth of January.

VI. of the poiſon which they are ſaid to have prepared for the Cardinals, whom they had invited to ſupper, and to have drank themſelves, I ſhould not have been ſurpriſed that Borgia, at his laſt gaſp, had aſked a plenary indulgence of his father."

The END of the NARRATIVE, &c.

A

SKETCH

OF THE

Conſtitution and Affairs of France.

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Conſtitution and Affairs of France.

THE Crown and Kingdom of France may juſtly be eſteemed much richer and more powerful at preſent [a] than ever they were before, for the following reaſons.——In the firſt place, the crown deſcending by lineal ſucceſſion, is become richer; becauſe, when the King has no ſons to ſucceed him in his own private inheritance and eſtate, they are annexed to the crown. And as this has often been the caſe, the crown is become exceeding powerful by the addition of many territories which have devolved to it in ſuch a manner; particularly the Duchies of Anjou, Milan, and Orleans; the firſt of which it has lately got poſſeſſion of, and the two laſt muſt ſoon fall to it, as the preſent King has no ſons to inherit them. So that almoſt all the ſtates and great towns in France have now changed their maſters, and are veſted in the crown.

Another circumſtance which adds conſiderably to the French King's ſtrength, is, that whereas the Kingdom formerly was not entirely dependent upon him, but divided, and in ſome meaſure ſubject to ſeveral powerful Barons, who often were ſtrong and inſolent enough

[a] That is, about two hundred and fifty years ago.

to take up arms againſt their Prince (as the Dukes of Guienne and Burgandy in particular uſed to do) thoſe Barons are at preſent reduced to ſtrict obedience and dependence upon the King.——Beſides, in former times, the neighbouring Princes were frequently encouraged to invade France by the Dukes of Bretagne, Guienne, Burgundy, and the Counts of Flanders, who were always ready to open a back-door, and give them reception; thus, when the Engliſh were at war with the French, they commonly were aided by the Duke of Bretagne; as the Duke of Burgundy likewiſe was by the Duke of Bourbon: by which the Kings of France were often reduced to great diſtreſs. But at this time, Bretagne, Guienne, the Bourbonnois, and greater part of Burgundy being united to the crown, are become very loyal and faithful; and ſo far from being diſpoſed to give the leaſt aſſiſtance to any neighbouring Prince who ſhould attempt to invade France, that they would oppoſe him with all their might: all which being deducted from the ſtrength of a foreign enemy, and thrown into the oppoſite ſcale, muſt be conſidered as a vaſt addition to that of France.

The fourth reaſon is, that the richeſt and moſt potent of the French nobility being now of the Royal blood, the crown, in caſe of a failure in the right line, muſt deſcend to ſome or other of them. Upon which account, they all keep firmly united to it, in hopes that, ſome time or other, either they themſelves, or their poſterity, may poſſibly ſucceed to the throne: and therefore they find it their intereſt as well as their duty to be very obſequious, and ſupport their Prince to the utmoſt of their power; leſt, upon any act of diſobedience, they ſhould be declared rebels, and loſe their right of ſucceſſion; as it had like to have happened to the preſent King, who was taken priſoner at a battle in Bretagne, where he was engaged on the Duke's ſide againſt the French: For, after the death of Charles VIII. it was warmly debated in the Aſſembly of the States General of the realm, whether he had not forfeited his right to the crown by rebelling againſt it: but the Duke of Angoulême (who would have been the next heir to the crown, in caſe they had ſet the Duke of Orleans aſide) being then but an infant, and the other enabled by his great riches to gain a conſiderable party in the ſtates, he had the good fortune to ſucceed, which otherwiſe he could not have done.

The laſt circumſtance, which makes the King and Kingdom ſo ſtrong, is, that the eſtates and territories of the Barons in France are not divided amongſt their children, as in Germany, and many parts of Italy, but always deſcend to the eldeſt ſon, who is the lawful heir: ſo that the younger children, being left without

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any fortune of their own, except what little aſſiſtance their elder brother is pleaſed to give them, for the moſt part betake themſelves to a military life, in hopes of raiſing a fortune that way: and hence it comes to paſs, that the French Gens d'Armes, being compoſed of theſe younger brothers of great families, are reckoned the beſt ſoldiers in the world, and commonly riſe to the higheſt preferments in the army.

The infantry of France is but indifferent: for as it is a long time ſince they were employed in any ſervice, they muſt be ſuppoſed to have little or no experience. Beſides, they are compoſed altogether of peaſants, and pitiful mechanics, who, having been long uſed to live in the moſt ſervile and abject ſubjection to the Nobleſſe, at laſt become diſpirited, and always behave like cowards and poltroons when they come to action: of which a thouſand inſtances might be given. The King, therefore, makes little or no account of them, and ſeldom or never employs them. Indeed there are ſome regiments of Gaſcon infantry in the ſervice, who are ſomething better than the reſt; for, as they live near the confines of Spain, they ſeem to have caught a little of the Spaniſh diſcipline and ſpirit: and yet, from what has been ſeen of them for many years paſt, they have behaved more like freebooters and marauders, than good ſoldiers. In defending or aſſaulting towns, however, they make tolerable proof; but in the field they are good for nothing: in which they are very unlike the Germans and Swiſs, who have no equals in open action, though they are very little eſteemed when they are made uſe of either to ſtorm or defend a fortified place. The reaſon of which I take to be, that the method of fighting and diſcipline is very different in theſe two caſes: and, upon this conſideration, the King of France always employs either Swiſs or German infantry in the field; becauſe his Gendarmerie cannot be perſuaded to put any confidence in the Gaſcons in time of action. But, if his infantry was as good as his Gens d'Armes, he would be able to make head againſt all the Princes in Europe.

The French are naturally rather fierce and impetuous than truly courageous; and if their firſt charge is well ſuſtained, they ſoon loſe their ardour and grow as faint-hearted as women: they are likewiſe ſo impatient of hardſhips and fatigue, that it is ſeldom long before they begin to grow weary, and ſink under them: ſo that if an enemy ſhould chance to attack them in thoſe circumſtances, they are eaſily vanquiſhed. Of this they gave many remarkable proofs during their ſtay in the Kingdom of Naples; and a more recent one at Farigliano, where their forces were ſo much ſuperior in number to thoſe of the Spaniards,

that it was hourly expected they would have ſwallowed them up. Nevertheleſs, when winter came on and the rainy ſeaſon ſet in, they began to deſert one by one, and take ſhelter in the neighbouring towns, where they thought they could live with more comfort and ſecurity: ſo that their camp was in a manner abandoned, and thoſe forces that ſtill continued there in ſo mutinous a temper, that being attacked by the Spaniards, they were preſently beaten, contrary to the opinion and expectation of every one. The Venetians might have ſucceeded as well as the Spaniards had done, without running any riſk at all of loſing the battle of Vaila, as they did to their prejudice, if they would have had the patience to wait upon the French only ten days longer: but Bartolomeo d'Alviano their General, being a haſty impetuous man himſelf, raſhly attacked them before their natural ardour had began to abate, and thereby loſt the day. The ſame thing would have happened again at the battle of Ravenna: for if the Spaniards had not been too eager to engage the French there, but kept aloof and hovered about their camp at a proper diſtance, they muſt certainly have reduced them to the laſt degree of diſtreſs; ſince there was very little diſcipline obſerved at that time in the French army, which was likewiſe in great want of proviſions, whilſt the Venetians cut off all ſupplies from Ferrara, and the Spaniards themſelves had it in their power to have intercepted any that might be ſent from Bologna. But as they imprudently neglected this advantage, the French beat them both, though they bought the victory very dear: and the battle would have been ſtill more bloody, if the ſtrength of each army had been compoſed of the ſame ſort of Soldiery: but the flower of the French forces conſiſting chiefly of cavalry, and that of the Spaniards in their infantry, the ſlaughter was not ſo great as it otherwiſe would have been. Whoever therefore has to deal with the French, muſt either carefully endeavour to avoid an engagement with them whilſt they are in the full tide of their courage, and to wear out their ardour by patience and delay; or reſolve to bear the fury of their firſt onſet with firmneſs and reſolution; and then he will be ſure to defeat them. For the obſervation which Julius Cæſar long ago made upon the Gauls their Anceſtors, ſtill holds good with regard to the French at this day, viz. that they were more than men at firſt, and afterwards leſs than women [*b*].

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[*b*] Much the ſame was ſaid of them by our late warlike and glorious King George II. when he led on his troops at the battle of Dettingen; "Charge home, my brave Soldiers, they are Frenchmen, and will ſoon run away when they come to be puſhed with the bayonet." Voltaire, however, in his *General Hiſtory of Europe*, Part IV. Chap. 2. ſpeaking of the Battle of Marignan, which happened in the year 1515, ſays, "Of all the Battles fought in Italy, this was the bloodieſt and longeſt. The French and Swiſs being mixed together in the obſcurity of the night, were obliged to wait for day-light to renew

The great extent of the kingdom of France, and the many fine Rivers that water it, contribute likewiſe to make it fertile and opulent. Proviſions and Manufactures are exceeding cheap there; which is owing to the great ſcarcity of money amongſt the lower people, who are hardly able to ſcrape ſo much together at the year's end as is ſufficient to pay their Landlords, though their rents are very moderate. This ſcarcity of money ariſes from the great plenty of corn which is yearly produced; for every farmer ſows full as much as he can conſume in his own family: ſo that if any of them ſhould have occaſion to ſell a buſhel or two of wheat in his own village, he would find nobody to buy it. And as to the Gentry, they have no occaſion to ſpend the money which they receive from their tenants in any thing but cloaths; having cattle, poultry, game, fiſh, veniſon, and all manner of other proviſions in great quantities upon their own eſtates. All the money therefore centers in their hands, which makes them very rich indeed; whilſt few of the country people have a ſhilling in their pockets.

The Clergy are poſſeſſed of two fifths of the wealth of the whole kingdom. Several Prelates enjoy temporal as well as ſpiritual revenues; and having all other neceſſaries from their eſtates in greater abundance than they want, the money that comes into their hands, ſeldom or never goes out of them again, according to the avaricious diſpoſition of that order. The rents ariſing from the eſtates that belong to Chapters and Colleges are generally laid out in Jewels, paintings, plate, and other ornaments for the decoration of their Churches and Chapels: ſo that the treaſures hoarded up by the Prelates in their own coffers, and thoſe expended on the Churches, added to their other poſſeſſions, amount to an infinite ſum.

The Miniſtry and Privy Council conſiſt for the moſt part of Churchmen: of whom the temporal Lords are not at all jealous, as they know the executive part of the adminiſtration muſt fall to their Share.

renew the engagement. The King ſlept upon the carriage of a Cannon within fifty paces of a Swiſs Battalion. In this engagement thoſe people always attacked, and the French acted upon the defenſive. This, in my opinion, is a ſufficient proof that the French have alſo that patient courage, which ſometimes is as neceſſary as the impetuous ardour generally allowed them. It was very extraordinay in a young Prince (Francis I.) only one and twenty years of age, not to loſe his preſence of mind in ſo long and bloody an action."

One might obſerve here that Machiavel is guilty of an error in aſcribing to Cæſar the character above given of the French: for it is Livy's. That Hiſtorian's words are as follow. "Romani apud Fabium arcebant magis quam inferebant pugnam: extrahebaturque in quam maxime ſerum diei certamen, quia ita perſuaſum erat Duci, & Samnites & Gallos primo impetu feroces eſſe, quo ſuſtinere ſatis ſit; longiore certamine ſenſim reſidere Samnitium animos: Gallorum quidem etiam corpora intolerantiſſima laboris atque æſtus fluere; *primaque eorum prælia pluſquam virorum, poſtrema minus quam fœminarum eſſe.*" Lib. X. Chap. 28.

Both

Both ranks therefore are contented, one with giving Counſel, and the other with putting it in execution. Sometimes, however, ſome of the oldeſt and moſt experienced Generals are admitted into the Council, when military enterprizes are to be concerted there, in order to aſſiſt the others in ſuch matters as they cannot be ſuppoſed to underſtand themſelves.—The Chapters of the ſeveral Cathedrals in France have the appointment of their reſpective Biſhops upon the vacancy of any See; a privilege that was long ſince granted them by the Pope [c]: ſo that upon the death of their Biſhop or Archbiſhop, the Canons aſſemble to chuſe another. From hence diviſions often happen amongſt them in the election of a ſucceſſor; as ſome endeavour to advance themſelves to thoſe dignities by bribery, and others by dint of merit alone. The Monks likewiſe have the privilege of chuſing their Abbots: but the inferior Benefices are diſpoſed of by the Biſhops to whom they pleaſe. But if at any time the King has a mind to break in upon this privilege and nominate a Biſhop himſelf, he muſt do it by force; otherwiſe they will not give him poſſeſſion: and if they are at laſt compelled to receive the Prelate ſo appointed, they are ſure to expel him whenever the King dies, and to reſtore the perſon whom they had choſen themſelves.

The French are naturally as covetous of other peoples wealth, as prodigal of their own. When they have ſtripped a man at play, or by any other means, they will preſently afterwards ſpend not only all they have won, but their own money too, in feaſting and making merry with him. But the Spaniards are of a very different turn: for if they happen to get any thing of you, you muſt never expect to ſee the leaſt part of it again, or to ſhare in the enjoyment of it.

This nation ſtands in great awe of the Engliſh, on account of the miſerable havock and devaſtation they formerly ſuſtained from them: indeed the very name of an Engliſhman ſtill carries terror with it there. But this proceeds from their not knowing how much the circumſtances of the Kingdom are altered from what they were in thoſe times: for at preſent France is much better fortified, more inured to war, and firmly compacted in itſelf; as it is now in poſſeſſion of thoſe States (particularly the Duchies of Bretagne and Burgundy) which alwas uſed to ſide with the Enemy. Whereas the Engliſh, on the contrary, are at this time in a manner entirely undiſciplined; for it is ſo long ſince they were engaged in any war, that there is hardly a man amongſt them that has ever faced an enemy: beſides, there is nobody now left but the Arch Duke of Auſtria to abet or aſſiſt them in their invaſions.

They would likewiſe have much reaſon to be afraid of the Spaniards on account of their vigilance and circumſpection. But whenever the

[c] And confirmed by ſeveral of their Kings in an inſtrument called the *Pragmatic Sanction*. But it is now no longer obſerved.

Spaniſh

Spaniſh King invades France, he is ſure to encounter ſo many obſtacles in his way, that the enterprize muſt be very difficult and dangerous: for it is ſo long a march from the interior parts of Spain to the Paſſes over the Pyrenean mountains which divide the two kingdoms, and the country ſo barren all the way, that if the French take proper care to defend thoſe paſſes againſt them, they muſt ſuffer great inconveniencies, whether they make their attempt on the ſide of Perpignan or Guienne, both from the want of proviſions and reinforcements; the latter of which they could not receive from home in time at ſuch a diſtance, if they ſhould be wanted; nor would there be any poſſibility of obtaining the former elſewhere; almoſt all that tract of land being uninhabited on account of its ſterility, and the ſmall compaſs that is not ſo, hardly producing ſuſtenance enough for the inhabitants.

For theſe reaſons, the French are under no apprehenſions from the Spaniards on that ſide. Nor have they any occaſion to fear the United Provinces: becauſe that climate is ſo cold that it does not produce the neceſſaries of life, eſpecially corn and wine, in ſufficient quantities to ſupport the natives; who therefore are obliged to furniſh themſelves with ſuch proviſions from Burgundy, Picardy, and other Provinces of France. Beſides, the inhabitants of the Low Countries live wholly by Merchandize and Manufactures, which they vend chiefly, if not altogether, at the Fairs in France, particularly at Lyons and Paris: for they cannot diſpoſe of them in the parts near the Sea-coaſt, nor upon the confines of Germany, as more of thoſe Manufactures are worked up there, than in the United Provinces themſelves. So that whenever their commerce with France is at a ſtand, they have no market for their Manufactures, and conſequently cannot ſupply themſelves with victuals. Upon theſe conſiderations they will never embark in a war with France, except they are compelled to it by abſolute neceſſity.

The French, however, have ſufficient reaſon to keep a watchful eye upon the Swiſs, on account of their vicinity, and the ſudden invaſions they are Subject to from them; in which they are ſo alert and expeditious, that it is often a very difficult matter either to foreſee or prevent them. But theſe, indeed, may be more properly called incurſions or depredations, than a regular war: for as they have neither cavalry nor artillery, and their frontier towns in that part of France which lies next them are pretty well fortified and garriſoned, they ſeldom make any conſiderable progreſs. Beſides, the Swiſs are more expert in battles and field encounters than in Sieges; and the French upon thoſe confines are very unwilling to come to any open engagement with them there: for as they have no infantry that is able to face the Swiſs foot, they know very well that their cavalry will be of little ſervice without it. The country likewiſe is ſo mountainous, that their cavalry could not exert their

their proper ſtrength: and the Swiſs, for their part, do not care to quit the confines and leave thoſe fortified towns behind them, leſt their proviſions ſhould be intercepted, and their retreat cut off when they were got down into the plains.

France is pretty well ſecured on the ſide towards Italy by the Alps which ſeparate them, and by the ſtrong places they have at the foot of thoſe mountains. Whoſoever therefore attempts to invade France from that quarter, will have many impediments, and much oppoſition to ſtruggle with in paſſing the Alps: after which, the country is ſo barren that his forces muſt be in great danger of being ſtarved, if they either leave thoſe fortified towns upon their back (which would be madneſs) or ſit down in form to beſiege them. But, indeed, there is no Italian Prince that is now equal to ſuch an enterprize; as Italy is not at preſent united in the ſame manner as it was under the Romans.

This kingdom is alſo very ſafe from any deſcent on the South part of it, which is bounded by the Mediterranean, and has many ports that are always full of men of war, or other ſhips belonging to private Subjects, which ſufficiently ſecure it from a ſudden invaſion: and againſt one that is foreſeen it is eaſy to provide, as the whole country has notice to riſe on ſuch an occaſion, and the King keeps garriſons of horſe in all the towns upon that coaſt ready to ſcour it at a moment's warning.

His Majeſty is not obliged to be at any great expence in garriſons; for as his Subjects are very obſequious, he has no occaſion for many fortreſſes for the defence of the kingdom.—The Commonalty of France are very dutiful and obedient, and hold their King in great veneration. Proviſions are ſo cheap that they live at a very ſmall expence; and moſt of them have ſome little inheritance of their own. Their cloathing is generally coarſe and ordinary: neither the men nor women wear any ſort of ſilk; for indeed the Nobleſſe would not ſuffer it.—According to the laſt computation, there are eighteen Archbiſhopricks in France, a hundred and forty-ſix Biſhopricks, Seventeen hundred thouſand Pariſhes, and ſeven hundred and forty Abbies, beſides many Priories, the number of which I do not certainly know: nor could I ever get an exact account of the ordinary and extraordinary revenues of the crown. For though I have made many enquiries concerning that matter, I never could receive any further information, than that they were as much as the King pleaſed to make them. I have been told, however, that one part of his ordinary revenue ariſing from Gabels upon bread, wine, fleſh, and other proviſions, amounts to ſeventeen hundred thouſand crowns; and that the extraordinary is raiſed by taxes, which he lays upon the people according to his pleaſure: but if they fall ſhort, he has recourſe to loans, which are very ſeldom repaid. The Letters iſſued

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out for that purpoſe run in this manner. "Our Sovereign Lord the King recommends himſelf to you, and having occaſion for money, prays you to lend him the ſum mentioned in this letter." This being complied with, the money is paid into the hands of the Receiver, there being one appointed in every town to collect the revenues ariſing from taxes, Gabels, loans, &c. according to the orders given by the King, whoſe will and pleaſure is the only rule they are to obſerve in theſe matters.—The Barons take half the produce of the lands occupied by their tenants, in corn, wine, cattle, &c. beſides Six or eight Sols [*d*] every quarter for *hearth-money*; but they have no power of laying taxes orraiſing loans upon them, except the King gives his conſent to it, which is very rarely. His Majeſty exempts his Barons from all Duties, except that upon Salt; nor does he ever lay any other tax upon them, except in caſes of the moſt urgent neceſſity [*e*].

In diſburſing the expences that attend a war or other extraordinary occaſions, the King iſſues an order to the Treaſurers to pay his troops, which they do by the hands of Commiſſaries or Muſter-maſters. His Gentlemen and Penſioners have a ticket for their pay from the General Receivers at the end of every Month, which are diſcharged quarterly by the Receiver of the Province where they live. There are two bands

[*d*] A French *Sol* is not three farthings ſterling.

[*e*] France is divided at preſent into twenty-five general Governments, over every one of which, an Officer, called an *Intendant*, is appointed by the King, with a power of controlling the Governor and all other officers of Juſtice, and of preſiding over the Receiver General of his Generality. The whole number of Pariſhes contained in all theſe Generalities, amounts to no more than thirty-eight thouſand, five hundred and two, in which are comprehended one million five hundred eighty-five thouſand one hundred and twelve families that are liable to pay the *Taille* or land-tax, which is only levied upon thoſe that hold by baſe tenures, and tradeſmen, the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry being exempted from this tax. The Citizens of Paris and ſome other free cities are likewiſe exempted from it. The *Taillon*, which the Nobility are obliged to pay as well as the Commons, is only another land-tax, which amounts to about a third part of the former. The *Gabels* are the Duties upon Salt. The *Aids* ariſe from Cuſtoms and Duties upon all other Merchandize. The other taxes are the *Capitation* or poll-tax; the tenths of all offices, employments and eſtates; the fifteenth penny, from which neither the Nobility nor Clergy are exempted; the tenths and free gifts of the Clergy, who are allowed to tax themſelves, but it is expected they ſhould pay as much as the laity at leaſt; and laſtly, the crown-lands, rents, fines, and forfeitures, when added to the ſale of all the offices of Juſtice, bring in a conſiderable revenue; the whole being computed at fifteen millions Sterling. Beſides which, vaſt ſums are frequently extorted by raiſing or lowering the current coin of the Kingdom at pleaſure, by compounding debentures and Government Bills, and other oppreſſive means. In ſhort, the Kingdom is but one great farm to the crown. The whole produce of the country is in the King's power, if he thinks fit to demand it; though he chuſes to take what part of it he pleaſes in this manner. It is computed that there are about Seven hundred and fifty great Convents of Monks in France; two hundred of Nuns; above ten thouſand other leſs Convents; upwards of two hundred thouſand Monks and Nuns; and that the revenues of the Clergy and Religious Houſes of all kinds amount to twenty Six millions Sterling *per annum*.

of Gentlemen, each of which conſiſts of an hundred, and has its own Captain: their pay is twenty crowns a month. The number of Penſioners is not certain, nor the value of their penſions the ſame: ſome have more, ſome leſs, as the King pleaſes: but they all live in hopes of better preferment, as that is not looked upon as a certain eſtabliſhment. It is the office of the General Receivers to lay a certain tax upon hearths and other articles by the King's order, for the payment of his ordinary and extraordinary expences; and to ſee that thoſe payments be made in due time, according to the method abovementioned. The Treaſurers keep all the money, and diſburſe it as they are ordered.

The Chancellor's power is uncontrolled; he can either pardon or condemn in capital caſes, without the King's conſent; he can fix a ſhort day for the final determination of a cauſe betwixt litigious and obſtinate clients; he can collate to certain Benefices with the King's conſent: for thoſe are granted by the King's Patent under the great Seal, of which the Chancellor is Keeper. His Salary is ten thouſand Francs [*f*] per annum: and he has eleven thouſand more to keep a table for the entertainment of ſuch Counſellors and other Officers and Gentlemen as belong to his court, who often dine and ſup with him. —The ſum, which the French King yearly paid to the King of England, amounted to fifty thouſand francs: it was to indemnify him for certain expences which his father the late King Henry VII. of England had been at in the Duchy of Bretagne: but this is now paid no longer. —There is an Officer in France called the High Seneſchal, who preſides over all the provincial Seneſchals or Bailiffs, whoſe power extends over the Militia both ordinary and extraordinary, of which he is the General.

The Governors of the ſeveral Provinces are appointed and paid by the King, who either changes them every year, or continues them for life, as he thinks proper: all the Lieutenants and deputy Governors alſo have their commiſſions from him: for he alone either ſells or gives away every office and employment in the kingdom.—An Aſſembly of the States General of the realm is held every year, either in January or Auguſt, or October, as the King pleaſes. When they are met, an eſtimate of the expences of that year is laid before them by the Intendants of the finances, and a proportionable revenue raiſed to defray them. Here likewiſe the number and value of Penſions is augmented or diminiſhed according to the King's directions.—There is no certain account of the number of Penſioners, or the proviſion made for them: but whatever it may be, it is not ſubject to the inſpection of the Chamber of Accounts; the King's warrant is ſufficient for the payment of

[*f*] A franc is a livre, or twenty ſols.

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it: though the proper duty of this Chamber is to audit the accounts of all ſuch as have any thing to do with the diſtribution of the public revenues, eſpecially the Intendants of the finances, the Treaſurers and Receivers.

There are five Parliaments, namely, thoſe of Paris, Roüen, Thouloufe, Bourdeaux, and Dauphiné; from which there is no appeal [g]. The Principal Univerſities are four, viz. thoſe of Paris, Orleans, Bourges, and Poitiers; after which, we may reckon thoſe of Tours and Angiers; but they are of little account [b]. The Univerſity of Paris is ſupported by the rents accruing from the College eſtates; though but very poorly.

The King puts garriſons and artillery into what towns ſoever he thinks fit; and in ſuch numbers and quantities as he pleaſes: though indeed all towns have ſome few pieces of artillery of their own, and the number of them is much increaſed within theſe two years, in many places of the kingdom, ſeveral having been lately caſt at their own expence: to defray which, they lay a ſmall toll upon cattle and corn in time of peace. The principal garriſons are quartered in Guienne, Picardy, Burgundy, and Provence; which are either changed or augmented as occaſion requires.——Upon enquiry, I find that the King has as much money for the expences of his houſhold and privy purſe, as he is pleaſed to demand.——There are four hundred Archers appointed for the guard of the King's perſon; of whom one hundred are Scots: the pay of each man is three hundred francs a year, and a Livery. Beſides theſe he has a body-guard; of which four and twenty are always upon duty near his perſon: their yearly pay is four hundred francs a man. The former, at preſent, are commanded by Monſieur d'Aubigny Curſol; the latter by Captain Gabriel. He has likewiſe a guard of Swiſs foot; a hundred of whom have twelve francs a month, and two liveries every year, that is, one for ſummer, and the other for winter. In the time of Charles VIII. their liveries were of ſilk, and

[g] France was formerly divided into twelve Provinces, each of which had a Parliament whoſe conſent was neceſſary to make laws and raiſe money; but the Cardinals, Richlieu and Mazarine, who made their Maſters abſolute Sovereigns, deprived the Parliaments of their ſhare in the adminiſtration: ſo that they are now only aſſembled to paſs the arrets or laws which the King is pleaſed to ſend them, and they dare not refuſe it. But in civil cauſes theſe Parliaments are ſtill the laſt reſort; for the Court does not interfere in thoſe matters. They conſiſt of a certain number of Preſidents and inferior Judges, who purchaſe their places openly of the crown. That of Paris is the moſt conſiderable. Hither the King frequently comes in perſon, and ſees his royal acts recorded. This Parliament conſiſts of the Dukes and Peers of France, beſides the ordinary Judges, and takes cognizance of all offences committed by Peers, where the King does not iſſue a ſpecial commiſſion to try them. The others are excluded from taking cognizance of any cauſes which relate to the crown, or the Peers of the realm.

[b] There are now eighteen in all.

their number amounted to three hundred; but their pay was only ten francs a month.——There are thirty two Harbingers, whoſe buſineſs it is to prepare lodgings for the Court when it removes from one place to another. Their pay is three hundred francs and a livery every year. They have four Marſhals over them, each of whom has ſix hundred francs a year. When the Court is upon the road, they divide themſelves into four parties: one Marſhal (or his Lieutenant in caſe he cannot attend himſelf) ſtays at the place from whence the Court departed laſt, to take care that the perſons in whoſe houſes the followers of the Court were lodged, are duly paid and ſatisfied: another waits upon the King himſelf: a third is ſent forwards to provide for his reception at the place where he is to lie the next night: and the fourth, to prepare for him the day after. By which means, things are conducted with ſuch regularity, that every man, even the loweſt perſon in the train, preſently knows his proper quarters when he arrives at the end of the day's journey.—The Prevôt de l'Hôtel is an officer of the crown who conſtantly attends the King's perſon. His power is very great: for in all places whither he waits upon the Court, his juriſdiction is conſidered as the higheſt; and the inhabitants of that country may appeal to him for juſtice if they pleaſe, as ſuperior to their own Governor: even the Parliaments themſelves cannot reverſe his ſentence in capital cauſes. His Salary in ordinary is ſix thouſand francs *per annum*. He has under him two other Judges in civil cauſes, each of whoſe Salaries is ſix hundred francs; and a Lieutenant, in criminal matters, with thirty Archers, all paid by the King. So that he preſides both in civil and criminal cauſes; which he diſpatches in ſo expeditious a manner, that as ſoon as the parties are brought face to face before him, and he has heard both ſides, he immediately determines the matter.

There are eight Maſters of the King's Houſhold: but their Salaries are not fixed; ſome of them having a thouſand francs, ſome more, and others leſs, as the King pleaſes. There is likewiſe a Grand Maſter, who has a Salary of eleven thouſand francs: his authority, however, reaches no further than over the other maſters.—The power of the high Admiral of France extends over all the naval armaments and ports of the kingdom. He may either take up or build all manner of Shipping and Veſſels, and diſpoſe of them as he thinks fit. His yearly Salary is ten thouſand francs.——The number of the *Knights of the King's order* is not fixed; for his Majeſty creates as many as he pleaſes. At their creation they take an oath always to be true to the crown, and never to take up arms againſt it upon any account whatſoever. This honour is always conferred upon perſons of the higheſt diſtinction; and they cannot be deprived of it by any thing but death. Their penſion, for the moſt part,

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is four thouſand francs; though ſome of them have leſs.—The Office of the Chamberlains is to wait upon the King, to take care of his apartments, to walk before him when he comes out of them, and to give him counſel: indeed they are commonly perſons of the greateſt reputation in the kingdom. Some of them have ſalaries of ſix, ſeven or eight thouſand francs a year, and others none at all; as the King frequently beſtows that honorary title upon ſome foreigner of eminent worth. They are exempt from all ſorts of Gabels, and have a conſiderable ſum allowed for the expences of their table, which is next to that of the King.—The Grand Ecuyer, or Maſter of the Horſe, conſtantly attends upon the King: he has twelve Equeries under him, as the High Seneſchal, the Grand Maſter of the Houſhold, and the High Chamberlain have their reſpective Subordinates. His office is to ſee that the King's ſtables, horſes and furniture are properly taken care of, to aſſiſt his Majeſty in mounting and diſmounting when he goes out on horſeback, and to carry the Sword of State before him upon public occaſions.——The Lords of the King's Council all have penſions of ſix or eight thouſand francs, as this Majeſty pleaſes. The principal of them at preſent are the Archbiſhop of Paris, the Biſhop of Beauvais, the Bailiff of Amiens, Monſieur de Buſſi, and the Lord High Chancellor. But in fact, Monſieur Rubertet and the Archbiſhop of Paris rule every thing. No table has been kept for them ſince the Cardinal of Rouen died: for when the Lord Chancellor is abſent, they always dine and ſup with the Archbiſhop of Paris.——The claim which the King of France lays to the Duchy of Milan, is founded upon the following pretenſions. Giovanni Galeazzo Viſconti, Duke of Milan, had two daughters, and I know not how many ſons: one of theſe daughters, whoſe name was Valentina, married Lewis Duke of Orleans, grand-father to the preſent King. Duke Giovanni was ſucceeded at his death by his ſon Philip, who died without lawful male heirs, and left only a natural daughter, married to Count Franciſco Sforza, who afterwards ſeized upon the Duchy, unlawfully as the French pretend, becauſe they ſay it ought to have deſcended to the heirs of the ſaid Valentina. The Duke of Orleans, however, after this marriage, quartered the Milaneſe arms, which are a Snake, with the lilies of France; and they ſtill continue ſo.—— Every Pariſh in France raiſes a Soldier called a *Frank Archer*, whom they are obliged to pay well, to keep a good horſe for him, and to furniſh him with all neceſſary armour, whenever the King calls for him to attend his Majeſty in his wars, either within the kingdom or abroad. They are always ready, therefore, to march into any Province that either is or expects to be invaded: ſo that, according to the number of the Pariſhes, theſe Archers muſt amount to ſeventeen hundred thouſand.

ſand[i]. The Harbingers are obliged by their office to provide lodgings for thoſe that attend the Court; and every man of Subſtance in the country where they happen to be, commonly takes ſome or other of them. But to prevent all complaints either from the Lodgers, or thoſe that entertain them, there is a general rate eſtabliſhed by the King upon theſe occaſions, that is, a Sol *per* day for a chamber with a bed, chairs, table, blankets and Sheets, which laſt are to be changed at leaſt once in eight days. Every man likewiſe pays two deniers [k] a day for vinegar, ſalt, napkins, towels, and other table linen, all which are changed twice a week, or oftner if it is required, as there is great plenty of linen in that country. Beſides this, the maſter of the houſe is to have their beds well made, and their rooms ſwept and kept clean. They alſo receive two deniers a day for the ſtabling of each horſe: for which they are not obliged to furniſh any ſort of provender, or to do any thing but clean their ſtalls. Some of theſe gueſts indeed are favoured by their Hoſts, and pay leſs: but this is the common allowance made by the Court.

The pretenſions which the Engliſh have to the crown of France, upon the ſtricteſt enquiry, I find to be as follow. Charles VI. of France gave his daughter Catharine in marriage to Prince Henry, ſon and heir to Henry VI. of England. In the marriage contract (wherein no mention at all was made of the Dauphin, who was afterwards Charles VII.) beſides the dower which he gave his daughter, he apponted Prince Henry heir to the Kingdom of France after his death: and in caſe that Prince ſhould die before him and leave legitimate Sons, thoſe Sons were to ſucceed to the crown of France. But this did not take place; as it would not only have been depriving Charles VII. of his juſt right, but a manifeſt violation of the fundamental laws of the kingdom.——The Engliſh pretend, on the other hand, that Charles VII. was not legitimate.—There are two Archbiſhopricks, twenty two Biſhoppricks, and fifty two thouſand Pariſhes in England [l].

[i] It is ſurprizing that Machiavel could give credit to ſo exaggerated an account, and that he could relate it without any ſort of animadverſion, or ſo much as hinting that he had it only from hear-ſay. For if the number of Pariſhes was ſo great, and each of them obliged to furniſh an Archer, *and pay him* WELL too; admitting their pay was but merely equal to that of the Swiſs guards abovementioned, it would amount to more money than probably there was at that time in all Europe.

[k] A denier is the twelfth part of a Sol.

[l] There are now twenty four Biſhopricks, and but nine thouſand two hundred and eight four Pariſhes in England: nor were there ever any more. The author, therefore, might here likewiſe have ſpared himſelf this miſtake, eſpecially as he does not profeſs to give his Readers a Sketch of England, but of France alone.

The END of the Sketch of FRANCE.

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Affairs and Conſtitution of Germany.

GERMANY is certainly a very powerful Nation, and abounds in men, money, and arms. There is not ſo much as one *Free Town*, or *Imperial City* (as they are ſometimes called) but has a great deal of money in its treaſury: it is generally ſaid that Straſbourg alone has ſeveral millions of Florins in bank. The reaſon of this is, that thoſe Free towns are at little or no expence in any thing, but in laying up military ſtores and making good their fortifications: and when theſe are once put in a defenſible condition, they coſt but little to keep them ſo. The proviſion made for this purpoſe is ſuch, that they always have victuals, firing, and other ſtores beforehand, in their Magazines, ſufficient to ſerve them a whole year. Their manufactures likewiſe enable them to employ all their poor, and ſuch as live upon their own labour, during the time of a Siege, though it ſhould laſt twelve months, without any burden to the public. Their Soldiery is not very expenſive to them; for all the inhabitants that are capable of bearing arms have proper weapons put into their hands, and are well diſciplined in the uſe of them: and on holidays, inſtead of other diverſions, ſome of them are taught to handle the pike, ſome the muſket, and others ſtill in the exerciſe of other ſorts of arms; in which, thoſe that excel are honoured

with ſome prize, or other mark of diſtinction, which is the chief part of their charge. So that in every Free town the public Treaſury is rich [a].

The private people amongſt them are alſo rich, becauſe they live frugally, and ſpend very little in their cloaths, buildings, or houſhold furniture. If they have bread and meat enough, and a ſtove to warm themſelves in cold weather, they are contented, and deſire nothing more. Their cloaths in general do not coſt them above two florins in ten years [b]; none of them giving themſelves the leaſt trouble in ſeeking after any thing but what they immediately want; and their wants are much fewer than ours. Hence it comes to paſs that very little money goes out of Germany, every man being contented with what his own country produces: on the contrary, a great deal is brought into it by thoſe that come thither to buy their manufactures, with which Italy is in a manner wholly ſupplied; and their gains are very conſiderable, as their exports are altogether manufactured by themſelves, and the materials of which they conſiſt are bought exceeding cheap at the firſt hand. Thus they live in their native liberty and ſimplicity: for which reaſon they are always loth to ſerve as Soldiers, except they are tempted by extraordinary pay; and that is not always ſufficient, unleſs they are likewiſe in ſome meaſure obliged to it by their Governors. The Emperor therefore has more occaſion for money in his wars than almoſt any other Prince: for the more eaſe men enjoy, the more unwilling they are to turn Soldiers.

As things are now circumſtanced in Germany, the Free towns and the Princes of the Empire muſt unite their forces with thoſe of the Emperor, before he can hope to ſucceed in any enterprize of importance: but if they cannot both agree to act in concert with him, it would be ſufficient for his purpoſe if either ſide would join him. Neither of them, however, deſire to ſee his power any greater: for if he ſhould once get poſſeſſion of the Free towns, he would quickly overpower the Princes, and reduce them to ſuch a degree of Subjection, that he might afterwards employ their whole ſtrength whether they would or not; as Lewis XI. of France did, who having got the Free States of that kingdom into his hands, ſoon found means to ſubdue ſome of his Barons, and to take off the heads of others; by which he reduced them

[a] See the tenth Chapters of the *Prince* and *Examen*.

[b] This ſeems incredible, as a Straſbourg Florin is valued at no more than one Shilling and eight pence Sterling. If one might be allowed a conjecture, Machiavel probably ſaid *ten florins in two years*, which, by the haſte or negligence of ſome tranſcriber, might be inverted. But all the printed copies that the Editor of this tranſlation has been able to get a ſight of, ſay, *Spendonſi in doſſo duoi fiorini in dieci anni*. i. e. *They lay out two florins in ten years upon their backs*. The value of money was much greater, it is certain, at that time, than it is at preſent; but not in ſuch a proportion as to make this account credible.

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all to that abject and ſervile condition they are in at preſent.—The very ſame would happen to the Free towns, in caſe the Emperor ſhould humble the Princes firſt. But ſuch is the diverſity of intereſts and humours in that country, that the Free towns and the Princes can ſeldom or never agree in any thing: it may be ſaid in general, however, that they all regard the Swiſs as their common enemies; and that the Emperor looks upon the Princes in particular with a jealous eye. Now it may appear ſtrange perhaps, that the Swiſs and the Free towns ſhould not accord, as they both have the ſame views; that is, only to preſerve their liberties, and to defend themſelves againſt the ambition of the Princes. But this may be eaſily accounted for, when we conſider that the Swiſs are not only as jealous of the Princes as the Free towns are, but cannot endure any ſort of Nobility or Gentry whatſoever: and indeed they have none of either kind in their own country, but live in perfect liberty and equality, without ſhewing the leaſt deference or diſtinction to any man, except their Magiſtrates. This levelling diſpoſition makes the Nobility and Gentry who reſide in the Free towns ſo afraid of the Swiſs, that they make it their conſtant endeavour to foment ſuſpicions and animoſities by all manner of artifices betwixt them and their countrymen. Beſides which, there is a natural ſort of envy betwixt the Soldiery of thoſe towns and the Swiſs, becauſe the former think they are not ſo much eſteemed: ſo that whenever they happen to ſerve together in the ſame army, they are ſure to quarrel, and perhaps, come to blows.

There is little or no occaſion to add any thing concerning the ill will which the Princes of the Empire bear to the Free towns as well as to the Swiſs, or of the jealouſy with which the Emperor looks upon thoſe Princes; as theſe things are already ſufficiently known to the world. But it muſt not be omitted, that the Emperor being more afraid of the Princes than of either of the other two, and not able of himſelf to curb their power, has ſometimes had recourſe to the Free towns, and ſometimes even to the Swiſs themſelves (in whom he has ſeemed to put ſome degree of confidence of late) for ſuccours to humble them. So that when all theſe general averſions and diſſenſions are conſidered, as well as the particular picques and ſuſpicions that ſubſiſt, not only betwixt the Princes, but even betwixt the Free towns themſelves, it muſt ſeem a very difficult matter to unite the Empire in ſuch manner as to be of any great ſervice to an Emperor, that has any enterprize of moment upon his hands. And though any one that reflects upon the ſtrength of Germany in general, may be inclined to think the Emperor is capable of doing vaſt things, becauſe there is no Prince at preſent that either can or dare oppoſe him, as there uſed to be formerly: yet let

him conſider, at the ſame time, that if he is not oppoſed, it muſt ſtill be a great diſappointment and impediment to him not to be aſſiſted by ſuch Princes. For, admitting that no one Prince is now powerful enough to make war upon him, or openly to thwart his meaſures, he may however refuſe to furniſh him with ſupplies; or if he dares not do that, he may break his word, or at leaſt be ſo dilatory in ſending them, that they will be of no uſe: and any one of theſe ſteps is ſufficient to embarraſs, or even defeat moſt enterprizes. Accordingly, when the Emperor determined the firſt time to have marched into Italy, in ſpite of the French and Venetians, the Free towns, in a diet held at Conſtance, promiſed to furniſh him with a very conſiderable army of foot, beſides three thouſand horſe: but after all, the forces which they ſent him, never amounted to five thouſand in the whole. For when thoſe arrived that were promiſed by one town, others were returning home, upon a pretence that the time was expired which they had contracted for: ſome again ſent money inſtead of ſoldiers; and ſeveral made other excuſes: ſo that, as he was never able to collect forces ſufficient at one time to proceed in that expedition, it entirely miſcarried.

The Free towns contribute much more without doubt to the ſtrength of Germany, than the Princes, who are of two ſorts, that is, temporal and ſpiritual. The temporal are reduced to a very low ebb of power, partly by adhering to the ancient cuſtom of dividing their dominions amongſt their children (for every ſon has a ſhare of the Principality at the death of his father) and partly by the Emperor, who at laſt has found means to humble them by the aſſiſtance of the Free towns: ſo that they are but feeble allies. As to the Eccleſiaſtical Princes, if they are not hurt by the diviſion of their inheritances, they are brought ſo low by the ambition of the great towns in their ſtates, (which is continually fomented by the Emperor) that they have but little power over thoſe towns. Hence it comes to paſs, that being divided at home, they could not give the Emperor any conſiderable aſſiſtance, even if they were ſo inclined.——But to proceed to the Free and Imperial towns, which are the main ſtrength of the Empire; as they are opulent and well governed. Theſe communities are ſo far from being ambitious to make any new conqueſts, that they are become much cooler than they uſed to be in the defence of their own liberties: and what they do not aſpire to themſelves, they are not very forward in endeavouring to procure for others. Beſides, as there are ſo many of them, and every one independent on the reſt, their ſupplies (when they vouchſafe to ſend any) are too tardy to be of any material ſervice: of which we had a ſufficient proof not many years ago, when the

the Swiſs invaded Suabia, and the ſtates of the Emperor Maximilian. For his Imperial Majeſty having agreed to join forces with the Free towns to repel the common enemy, they promiſed to furniſh him with fourteen thouſand men: but he never had one half of that number at the ſame time; becauſe the ſupplies that had been ſent him by one community, were marching home again, before thoſe that were ſent by another could poſſibly arrive. So that the Emperor, deſpairing of ſucceſs, was forced to come to an accommodation with the Swiſs, by ceding the territory of Baſil to them. If they are ſo cool, therefore, in their own intereſts, it cannot be expected they ſhould be any warmer in the concerns of others.

All theſe circumſtances being duly conſidered, it will appear that though Germany is naturally very powerful, the Emperor is but little the better for it: and the Venetians, who from their commerce with the Free towns, ſeem to be more thoroughly appriſed of this than any other people, have always behaved with great petulance in all their proceedings with the Emperor. But if they had thought they had any reaſon to fear him, they would have endeavoured to ſooth him either by preſents, or ceding ſome territory or other to him; and if they had imagined the whole power of the Empire could be united againſt them, they would not have dared to provoke it. But as they know that is impoſſible, it makes them ſtill more arrogant: being certain they ſhall have ſufficient opportunities of taking advantage of circumſtances and conjunctures that muſt be favourable to their deſigns upon any rupture. If then it often happens in a ſingle city, that what concerns every one, is taken care of by nobody, it cannot be thought ſtrange that this ſhould be more generally the caſe in ſo large an Empire, and compoſed of ſuch diſcordant members. Beſides, the Free towns well know that they ſhould not be at all the better for any new acquiſition either in Italy or elſewhere, though the Princes poſſibly might; ſince the latter would have it in their power to go and reſide there, and enjoy the fruit of their conqueſts in perſon, which a Community could not do: and where the reward of many is to be engroſſed by a few; the majority ſeldom care to be at an equal expence with them in making ſuch acquiſitions. We may venture then to lay it down as a certain truth, that though the ſtrength of this Empire is very great, yet it is ſo circumſtanced that it cannot be effectually exerted. If any one is of a different opinion, let him firſt maturely weigh the reaſons I have here already aſſigned for this, and then conſider with himſelf what remarkable feat this great power has been able to perform for many years paſt: after which, he will ſee how little confidence is to be put in its ſtrength.

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The German Cavalry are well mounted and armed too in the upper part of their bodies, but both their men and horſes are heavy: they are not able, however, to cope either with the French or Italian Gens d'armes. This does not proceed from any defect in the men, but from their not covering their horſes in a proper manner, and putting little ſaddles upon their backs without any peaks to them; ſo that upon the ſlighteſt ſhock they are preſently diſmounted. Another circumſtance which makes them inferior to moſt other cavalry, is that the men wear no ſort of armour on their legs or thighs, and therefore being ſeldom able to ſuſtain the firſt onſet, (in which the excellence and chief uſe of cavalry is ſuppoſed to conſiſt, they can afterwards make no uſe of their ſhort weapons: and as both they and their horſes are liable to be wounded, the men not being armed in the lower part of their bodies, and their horſes not covered as they ought to be, it is in the power of any foot ſoldier either to unhorſe or run them through with his pike, if he pleaſes. Beſides, their horſes being ſo heavy, are very clumſy and aukward either in wheeling or making any other motions that are neceſſary upon ſuch occaſions.

Their infantry indeed is excellent, the men being perſonable and well-ſized, and not like the Swiſs, who are little, rough, ill-looking fellows: few of them carry any other arms than a Pike and a ſhort ſword, that they may be the lighter and more active, not being afraid of any thing but artillery, againſt which, they ſay, no ſort of arms or armour would be a ſufficient ſecurity. All other weapons and inſtruments of war they deſpiſe; for they ſtand ſo firm and compact together in their ranks, that it is not poſſible either to break or come any nearer them than the heads of their pikes: ſo that they are admirable forces in a field battle; but in ſtorming or defending fortified towns they are of little account: and it may be ſaid in general, that when they are put out of their wonted diſcipline and manner of fighting, they are good for nothing. Of this there have been many inſtances in their wars with the Italian Princes, particularly at the ſiege of Padua, (and other places that might be mentioned if there was occaſion) where they made very bad proof: on the contrary, no forces in the world could have behaved better when they were engaged in the open field. For in the battle that happened at Ravenna betwixt the French and the Spaniards, if the former had not been ſupported by the German Pikes, they muſt certainly have loſt the day. Whilſt the cavalry on each ſide were warmly engaged, the Spaniards had thrown the French and Gaſcon infantry into ſuch diſorder, that they would have been not only routed, but all taken priſoners or cut to pieces, if they had not been

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timely ſuccoured by the German battalions. And in the laſt war which his Catholic Majeſty made upon the French in Guienne, it was obſerved, that the Spaniards were more afraid of a body of ten thouſand German foot that were then in the French King's Service, than of all the reſt of his infantry; upon which account they carefully declined all opportunities of coming to an engagement with them.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.

MAY 16

ERRATA.

Page 6. l. 23. read *promiſe.* p. 20. l. ult. r. *porco.* p. 36. l. 41. r. *Provençal.* p. 38. l. 27. r. *Confidant.* p. 59. l. 31. r. *as they.* p. 135. l. 27. r. *outrages.* p. 162. l. 31. *great reputation.* p. 168. l. 26. r. *preventing.* p. 176. l. 1. r. *conſtitution.* p. 183. l. 39. r. *as it is that.* p. 205. l. 18. r. *rigour.* p. 242. l. 21. dele *all.* p. 257. l. 34. r. *Arbaleſtra.* p. 263. l. ult. r. *the Patriarch of Aquileia.* p. 283. l. 2. r. *could not help looking.* p. 297. l. 33. r. *wear your yoke.* p. 304. l. 11. r. *revolution.* p. 310. l. 19. r. *than in.* p. 311. l. 5. dele *ſo.* l. 36. r. *that very.* p. 320. l. 25. r. *float with.* p. 356. l. 10. r. *had had.* p. 375. l. 3. r. *other ſuch.* p. 376. l. 37. dele *ſo.* p. 386. l. 8. r. *moſt intimate.* p. 388. l. 1. r. *Lampognano.* p. 397. l. 17. dele *ſtill.* p. 401. 30. for *was* r. *were.* p. 403. l. 38. r. *Cuenſa.* p. 419. l. 33. r. *has been ſubſtituted* p. 424. l. 18. r. *diſpoſition.* p. 444. l. 12. dele *the.*